

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

exhaust calumny by silence rather than to increase it by writing further.”¹ Then as if drawing himself up suddenly, lest he should be accused of being acquainted with the Brethren “as to their persons,” the apologist concludes his preface with these qualifying words: “Meanwhile, I do not consider this Society stands in need of my insignificant patronage and apology, while I myself expect nothing from its members but goodwill, which they as honest and upright persons extend willingly to all who are upright and pious. Yet I could not omit to defend the truth therein, so at least that they should not be more oppressed by the ill-favour and envy of the ignorant than exonerated by the uprightness of intelligent and good-hearted persons.”

We can take our choice between two ways of regarding this preliminary discourse, either as an *ex parte* argument on the part of one whose congenital credulity has been stimulated by desire to recommend himself in the eyes of an Order which he believes in on its own warrants and desires to be received therein or as a defence issued from within the occult circle,² which—while advancing what it can on its own behalf—is determined to remain anonymous and requires its champion to dissemble. The difficulty about the second view is in the text itself and in the fact that so many declared aspirants followed strictly analogous ways to earn a title of admission. Let us see, however, what light—if indeed any—can be derived from a brief analysis of the work itself.

The alchemist sets out with an intention of proving

¹ We have seen, however, that there were other official documents—whether real or simulated.

² It seems certain, however, that in 1617 Maier wrote as one defending the Society from outside its ranks, but we shall see that in 1618 the testimony of THEMIS AUREA appears to come from within. I am reminded that among rumours current at and about the period there was that reported by Garasse, according to which Maier was Secretary of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood.

A Great German Alchemist

various points but offers in reality only long and mostly arbitrary argumentations to the following effect: (1) That the majority of Nature's secrets are still hidden. (2) That these secrets are exactly such as they are declared to be in the CONFESSIO FRATERNITATIS R.:C.:. (3) That the Universal Medicine is comprised among them, and this is the highest good—after the knowledge of God. (4) That the said Glorious Medicine is found in Nature. (5) That there have been Philosophical Orders and Fraternities among other nations and peoples in ancient times; that these also studied the secrets of Nature and in particular of this Medicine with the highest diligence; that they transmitted it to successors through the centuries, choosing them from among other philosophers. (6) That the existence of such a Society at the present time is not therefore incredible, especially when it is manifested by written and published works.¹ (7) That, according to its own Confession, the Society has existed already for a considerable number of years, watching over the glory of God and the welfare of men, in order to manifest ultimately, which it has now done. (8) That this manifestation could and ought to take place only through the FAMA and CONFESSIO—a fact which has come to pass.² (9) That these publications contain nothing which is contrary to

¹ Maier not realising that printed and published works might proclaim a Society which had no existence outside them.

² I do not cite the arguments on which this contention is based: they are available to those who are concerned—if any—at the present day. The supposition is that the FAMA is true historically and that the CONFESSIO represents the faith of the Brotherhood. Both are relevant therefore to the act of manifestation, as *pièces justificatives*. The will to believe was obviously much too predominant in Michael Maier for him to see that there was another point from which it might be possible to approach the subject, namely, that statements in anonymous documents which offer no evidence and cannot be checked otherwise can at most be left only as open questions and are certainly not justified by the appeal to an alleged possibility of things.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

the nature, rationality, experience or possibility of anything. (10) That for cogent reasons many are called by this Society but few are chosen. (11) That the god Harpocrates and the Sphinx were placed upon Egyptian altars to signify silence, that the Pythagoreans had to keep silence for five years and that the Fraternity must do likewise, lest the secrets of Nature should be revealed to the unworthy. (12) That the Order was actuated by good reasons when it resolved on manifestation up to a certain point and on ascertaining the judgment of the world, while it is on grounds not less solid that it has again decided on concealment for a given space.¹ (13) That the manifestation by means of the FAMA and CONFESSIO was received variously, some denying the existence of such an institution as the Order. (14) That certain people are opposed to the Order owing to their ignorance of chemistry. (15) That others disapprove owing to self-esteem and vanity. (16) That there are those who accuse it of Necromancy, Sorcery and such evil practices. (17) That there are yet others who, perceiving that they are not accounted worthy by an Order so highly exalted, have given up their hope concerning it and impeach it in all ways. (18) That there are many who approach the Society by means of letters, asking to be received therein, to be healed of their sicknesses, or to be visited in a certain place and answered according to their desires, but when they fail to succeed herein they find a refuge in slander. (19) That impostors have shielded themselves under the cover of this Order and have cheated the foolish of their money, which persons shall be brought to condign punishment.² (20) That

¹ It is to be noted that this statement was made in 1617, after the publication of the three chief manifestoes of the Rosy Cross and that all subsequent official documents—real or supposed—are different in tone and nature.

² The statement, which may be accepted as one of fact, is not without

A Great German Alchemist

yet others have resorted to other evil practices for their own profit. (21) That these facts have been turned to the prejudice of the Society, whereas it is much to be desired that such judges should seek to understand it better, because it is entitled to all honour, desiring as it does only the general good.

The kind of validity which may be credited to these representations does not need to be recited: they are a testimony to the writer's sincerity and his personal *a priori* belief in the actuality and honesty of the Order, because its claims are, from his standpoint, without offence to possibility. It is probably on these considerations rather than on any first-hand knowledge that Maier represents the Order exhibiting the Rose as something far off in respect of attainment, while the Cross is offered to Candidates. He held also that the Masters desired rather than expected a reformation of the world and of science. Meanwhile, the therapeutics which was their chief study had three objects in view, being body, soul and spirit. In other words, they healed on all the planes, as those who had the freedom of all, holding the keys of life by derivation from that Source which Itself is Life of life. Thus equipped and warranted, they went about doing good to others in humility and the abnegation of self, pursuing an honest and moderate mean, inconspicuous by their clothing and frugal in their food. It is true that they were distinguished from the crowd, but this was by veneration of God and by hatred of evil things.

Another text to which I have referred previously was consequence in the early history of the subject. The "rogues and runagates" pilloried in the FAMA would of course bring grist to their mills and at the same time avenge themselves by claiming that they belonged to the Order. But while individuals went to work in this manner it is probable also that there were cases of grouped imposture.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

a much more considerable and ambitious work entitled *SYMBOLA AUREÆ MENSÆ*,¹ in which—as I believe, for the first time—the Brotherhood is referred to as a College of German Philosophers R.:C.:. The denomination was perpetuated by occasional use among later German writers and in the nineteenth century was remitted from one to another by various imitative Societies, some of which still maintain it. According to Maier, the Rosicrucian establishment was preceded by a College of Gymnosophists among the Ethiopians, a College of Magi among Persians, a College of Brahmins in India. Of such is the genealogy of the Order, though according to a certain spiritual descent, for there is no suggestion of lineal succession, as if one derived from another. I question whether German occultists of the seventeenth century followed any quest of origins in this direction. A long preface to the work explains that the Golden Table is that at which Triumphs were celebrated among the Romans, but Maier is concerned with the victory of *Chymia*, “than which there is nothing more sublime.” The Rosicrucian references, which are comparatively few, considering the bulk of the text, may be thus collected together.

(1) As against modern gratuitous inventions which represent Michael Maier carrying the Rosy Cross in his pocket to England and initiating Robert Fludd in Coleman Street or Bearsted, he states in his sub-section entitled *Collegium Philosophorum Germanorum de R.:C.:.* that the report of it reached him when he was at work in

¹ The work extends to seven hundred quarto pages, with copper-plates by Rudolph de Bry. It appeared at Frankfurt *apud Lucam Jennis*. It is impossible to quote the entire title, but a shortened form begins: *SYMBOLA AUREÆ MENSÆ XII Nationum, hoc est Heroum XII Selectorum Artis Chemicæ, usu, sapientia et auctoritate, parium augmenta, quibus adversarius jam tot annos ipsi, tam vitiosis argumentis, quam argutis convitiis, injuriam atrocissimam inferens, confunditur et exarmatur, etc. etc.* 1617.

A Great German Alchemist

England on the business of Alchemy—meaning probably that he was in search of fellow-students—and that he regarded it doubtfully.¹ (2) He mentions a certain prophet, said to be of the number of the wise, who had sprung up in the vicinity of Morocco and Fez and whose wonderful innovations were credited to the College. This was in 1613. (3) His return to Germany and consequent first-hand acquaintance with the subject of debate must have brought him in a short time to a different point of view, for his conclusion regarding the FAMA is: *Magna sane res est.* (4) It seems evident, however, that he is still speaking as one who is outside. (5) In the next sub-section, which is called *Dubia habita a quibusdam de Collegio Hermetico nostri temporis celeberrimo*, he recites and explains away as he can certain contradictions in the text of FAMA and CONFESSIO. There are eight of these difficulties in all, but it will be sufficient to mention three: (a) C.:R.:C.: is represented as falling sick at Damascus and afterwards being carried thereto; but Maier fails to recognise the distinction between that city and the hidden place called Damcar in the FAMA: it may be added that German printers fell into similar confusion. The point is notable because it indicates that the apologist in chief of the Order in its own country was not a member three full years after the publication of its memorials began. (b) Paracelsus is represented as reading the Rosicrucian Book M.: before he was born, but this misreads the FAMA, on the hypothesis of which all the documents treasured by the early Brethren were in existence early in the fifteenth

¹ I give the Latin passage in full: *Fama illa dictæ Fraternitatis, quæ hic in plurimorum auribus oreque jampridem perstrepuit, adque exteras oras circum circa vagata latissimas regiones pervolavit, mihi quoque tum in Anglia agenti, reique Chemicæ unice invigilanti, obscuris quibusdam rumusculis, incredibilibus ipsaque veritate longe majoribus insonuit, cui fidem, pro referentis fide, dubiam prima vice adhibui.*

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

century and could have been read by Paracelsus, supposing that he had access thereto.¹ (c) A VOCABULARIUM of Paracelsus is said to have been found in the tomb of C.:R.:C.:, but this is impossible, as the Sage of Hohenheim was not in existence when the Mystic Vault was sealed up for a period of one hundred and twenty years.

In the next sub-section Maier presents various metrical enigmas on the part of Apollo and the Nine Muses concerning the College of Philosophers and their Hidden House—*eorumque locus*—but it need only be said concerning them that their business is to darken counsel. It is obvious that the physician of Emperor Rudolph II was not in a position to disclose that with which only the initiates were acquainted. After these barren ingenuities there follows a summary history of Frater C.:R.:C.:, reproduced from the FAMA to determine some points of chronology, as for example that the Master died in 1484 at the age of one hundred and six years, whence it would follow that the one hundred and twenty years during which his tomb must be concealed ended in 1604. The successive circles into which the Order was divided by the effluxion of time are set out in the last place and it will be seen in the following tabulation that they are at variance with the original lists.

FRATRES PRIMI ORDINIS ET SÆCULI: (1) *Fr.:C.:R.:,*
Author et Inceptor. (2) *Fr.:G.:V.:* (3) *Fr.:I.:A.:*
(4) *Fr.:I.:O.:,* who was the first to die in England.
(5) *Fr.:R.:C.:,* *patris ejus filius.* (6) *Fr.:B.:* (7)
Fr.:G.:G.: (8) *Fr.:P.:D.:* FRATRES SECUNDI

¹ There was a tradition that Paracelsus had visited the East and had drunk at its founts of wisdom. The suggestion of the FAMA might be therefore that he also visited Damcar and knew something of its archives; but the real meaning is that *Liber M.:* contained the Principles of Nature, which Paracelsus also had mastered.

A Great German Alchemist

ORDINIS ET SÆCULI : (1) *Fr :: C :: H ::*, electione caput Societatis. (2) *Fr :: R :: C ::* Junior, hæres S. Spiritus, Successor *Fr :: C :: R ::*, cum Christo triumphantis. (3) *Fr :: M :: P*. (4) *Fr :: P :: A ::*, pictor, architectus, mathematicus. (5) *Fra :: B :: M ::* (6) *Fra :: P :: I ::*, Cabalista (7) *Fr :: C ::* (8) *Fr :: A ::* successit ipsi *P :: D ::*, et cum multis vixit tertii Ordinis. FRATRES TERTII ORDINIS ET SÆCULI : (1), (2), (3) *Tertius in Ordine*, qui *Wetzlaricæ*, A. C. 1615, se fratrem ore est confessus et multis modis demonstravit. (4), (5), (6), (7) *B :: M :: I ::*, qui *Hagenosæ* scripsit quædam impressa, A. 1614, Sept. 22. (8) *N :: N ::*, bonus architectus; casu aperuit fornicem sepulchri *Fr :: R :: C ::*, anno Christo 1604, aut circiter.

The Rosicrucian subject was taken more seriously in hand when Maier published his *THEMIS AUREA*¹ in the following year, the Golden Rule in question being the Laws of the Fraternity, which are said to have been discovered in the tomb of Christian Rosy Cross, inscribed in a golden book, though the traditional history of *FAMA FRATERNITATIS* does not favour the invention. They are those with which we are acquainted and not, as might have been expected, a new catalogue or enumeration. It follows that *THEMIS AUREA*, though in its dimensions a considerable tract, is merely an exposition and defence of six very simple rules which stand at their individual value and by no means call for comment, much less at inordinate length. It is explained that the senary is a perfect number, free from the confusion which

¹ *THEMIS AUREA, hoc est, de Legibus FRATERNITATIS R :: C ::* Tractatus . . . Authore MICH. MAIERO. Francofurti, typis NIC. HOFFMANN, sumpt. LUCA JENNIS. 1618. The addendum to the title affirms that the said Laws are shewn in the text to be "in conformity with the truth of their object and contribute to public and private utility." A second edition was called for in the same year and also a German version. Finally, an English translation appeared in 1656 and was dedicated to Elias Ashmole as "the only philosopher in the present age."

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

might follow from greater magnitudes and simple to this extent, like the great laws of Nature, for which reason the adepts or epopts of the Order adopted six rules. It cannot be said otherwise that the *Apologia* of Maier itself makes for simplicity. We know that according to the Third Law of the FAMA all Brethren were required to be present at the House of the Holy Spirit on a certain *Dies C*,¹ "or write the cause of absence." The commentary offered hereon certifies in the first place that "we are unable to specify the Houses in which they meet" and thereafter proceeds thus: "I beheld on a day the Olympian Towers shining by a certain stream and famous city, which we have consecrated by the Name of the Holy Spirit. I speak of Helicon—or double-peaked Parnassus—whereon the steed Pegasus opened a fountain of perennial water, flowing unto this day. Therein Diana bathes; therewith are associated Venus as a waiting-maid and Saturn as a patient client." We know that the House of the Spirit is a House of Holy Inspiration and Divine Rapture; we know also—or some of us—that there is a Helicon which is not of this world and a Parnassus which is not in any earthly Greece; and it may be that the Brethren of the Rosy Cross, as conceived if not known by Maier, observed the High Festival of *Dies C* in the Hidden Church of Eckartshausen; yet I cannot think that the direction thus given is of the kind which those who run may read, nor do the alchemical references make for understanding, even if the Copper and Lead of the Wise assist at those ceremonies in the course of which Adept-Hermetists testify that they have seen Diana unveiled. Maier is,

¹ In the opinion of M. Sédir the formula *Dies C* signified the "Day of the Cross," presumably the Invention of the Holy Cross, but he does not say why, and it is unlikely that such a purely Roman Festival would have been countenanced by the Lutheran FAMA. *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

A Great German Alchemist

however, of another opinion and adds: "These are words which will say too much to those who understand, but to the inexpert little or nothing."

The heads of the consideration¹ otherwise may be summarised briefly thus²: (1) The Rosicrucians are servants of the King of kings. (2) Religion is held by them at a higher value than is anything in the whole world. (3) In the Book M.:, as in a glass and clearly, they behold the anatomy and idea of the whole universe. (4) Their Medicine is comparable to the marrow of the great world, but also to that fire of Prometheus which he is fabled to have stolen from the sun. (5) It is brought to perfection by the help of a fourfold heat. (6) It is to be understood, however, that the Brethren make use only of lawful and natural remedies. (7) It is perhaps in this sense that they are certified as dedicated only to the study of Natural Magic. (8) With further reference to the Book M.: it is affirmed to comprehend "the perfection of all arts," beginning with the Heavens—probably in an astrological sense—and coming down to the inferior sciences. (9) As against current exaggerations and enthusiasms on the part of postulants and defenders, the disposition of Maier throughout is to paint his portrait of the Brotherhood in sober terms. (10) It is said that they are mortals only and will therefore cease to be, meaning of course that they will die in the physical sense when their time comes. (11) As custodians of their Mysteries they are secret, true in their dealings, and—for the rest—frugal, temperate and laborious. (12) They are anxious for the reservation of their hidden

¹ I should mention that THEMIS AUREA has a preface addressed to the Brotherhood and to a certain S. P. D., described as *Theod. Verax.*, *Theophil. Cælnatus*.

² It will be observed that the thesis throughout is written as if by one who is initiated and is speaking in the name of his Brethren.

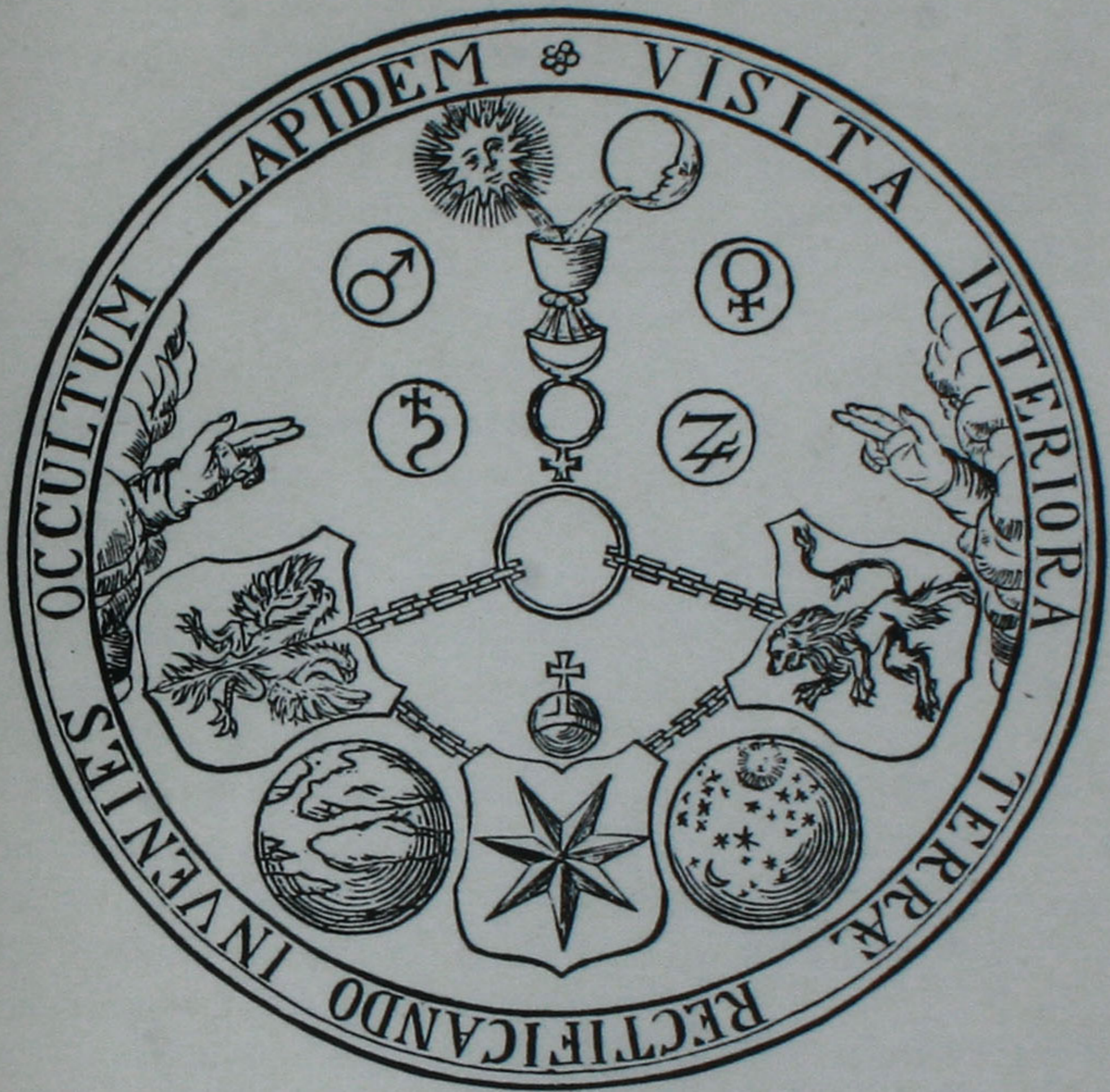
The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

knowledge to those whom God may call. (13) Its unbroken transmission is therefore an important point. (14) They have always "had one among them as a Head and Ruler, unto whom all are obedient."¹ (15) In this manner there is no confusion among them, and from one to another their secrets are handed on, after the manner of ancient knowledge. (16) So also they follow the custom of Colleges in past ages, which were composed of "the pick of the most able, and these were few." (17) It is claimed finally that the Order has one secret of "incredible virtue," and by means thereof they can cause piety, justice and truth to predominate in any person who is brought under their influence, suppressing the contrary vices. It will be observed that several of these testimonies appear to come from within the secret circle.

THEMIS AUREA is the last publication in which Michael Maier espoused the cause of the Rosy Cross to the exclusion of all else, and he died—as we have seen—in 1622.² His VERUM INVENTUM of 1619—otherwise MUNERA GERMANIÆ—could scarcely do otherwise than include the Order among the Fatherland's gifts to the world, but it deals with such inventions as printing and other discoveries innumerable, not to speak of the religion of reform. SEPTIMANA PHILOSOPHICA, 1620, is described as Golden

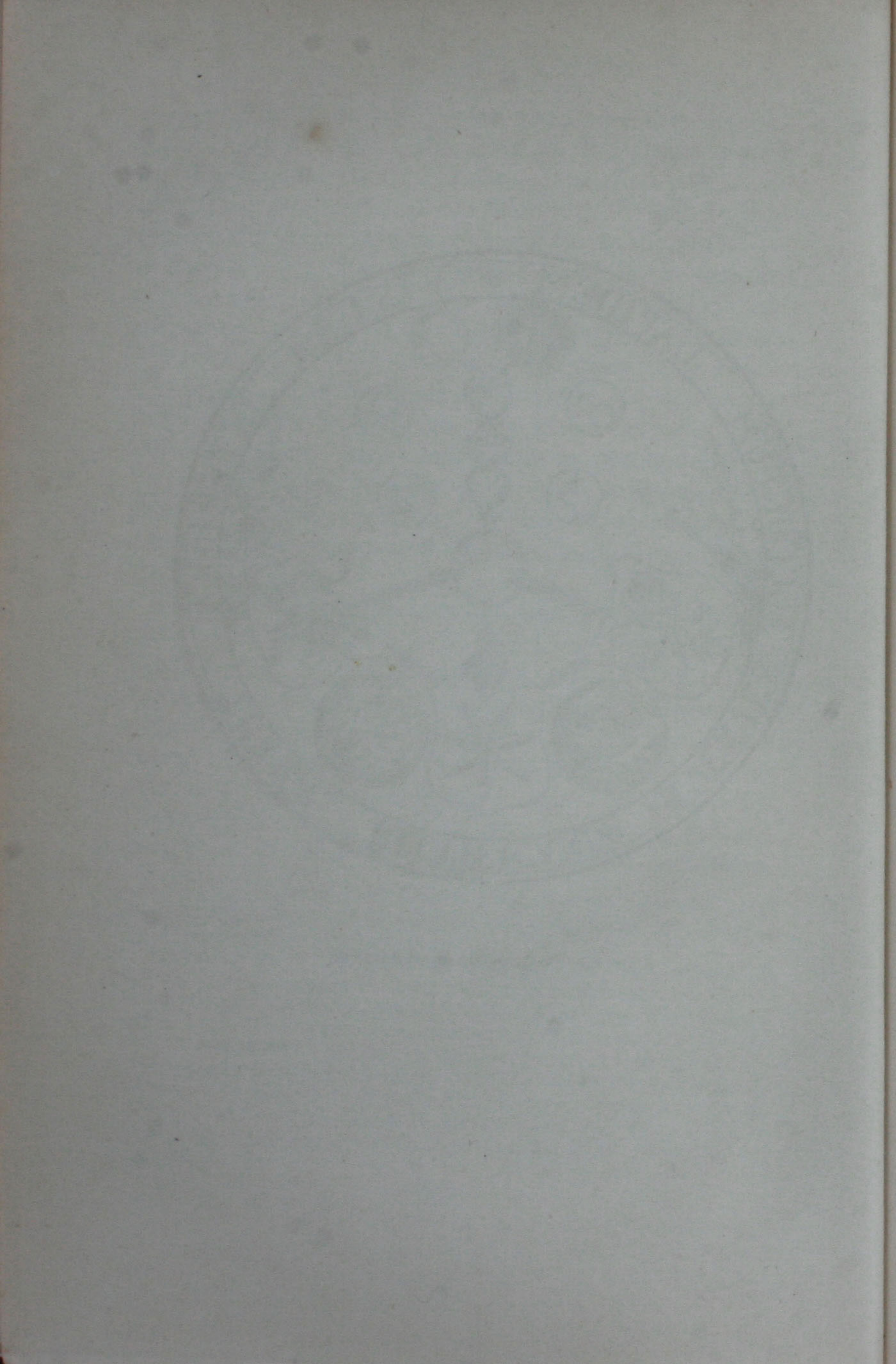
¹ It would follow that the Order was governed by an Emperor from the beginning, though he may not have been distinguished by this title, which is characteristic of a later period.

² A manuscript of Michael Maier is preserved in the University of Leipsic and is mentioned by Fessler in his HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY. There is also an account of Yarker, published in THE KNEPH, Vol. IV, August 3, 1884. As usual, this is a tissue of inextricable reveries, reproducing matter from THE ROSICRUCIAN UNVEILED of Magister Pianco, concerning the year 1570, when the Old Magical Brethren are said to have been re-established as Brethren of the Rose-Cross of Gold. Pianco's story is confused, moreover, with the history of the German Steinmetzen and their Head-Lodge at Strasbourg. The testimony of Magister Pianco will be reviewed in my sixteenth chapter.



TABULA SMARAGDINA HERMETIS

To face page 330



A Great German Alchemist

Enigmas on the whole system of Nature. It is in the form of Dialogues between Solomon King of Israel, Hiram King of Tyre and the Queen of Sheba, who is characterised, however, as Saba, Queen of Arabia. They embrace the whole scheme of the cosmos, from the firmament and the four elements to fossils beneath the earth. The animate creation is represented by vegetables, animals and man. It happens that the Rose is described, but Maier's testimony concerning it has been quoted in my fourth chapter, and it remains only to note that the obvious opportunity to mention the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross seems missed on purpose, possibly because Maier had a counter-explanation of the letters R.:C.:. In a posthumous tract, published long after his death, SCRUTINIUM CHYMICUM, 1687, it is said (*Emblema XVII*) that the ROSARIUM of Arnoldus de Villanova was the progenitor of Maier's Rosicrucian writings. It is difficult to understand how, because the latter are apologetic and polemical, while the former contains a presentation of the author's theory and practice of Alchemy. But the meaning may be that as Maier valued the ROSARIUM, Rosary, or Rose-Garden of Arnold, so he was drawn to the Rose-Cross of the Order before he questioned the correctness of this denomination.¹

We are concerned more directly with another posthumous work which appeared at Frankfurt in 1624 and is entitled ULYSSES,² alternatively, Wisdom or Understanding, regarded as a certain ray of celestial beatitude,

¹ NOTTON'S ORDINAL OF ALCHEMY and CREMER'S TESTAMENT, two precious English MSS. obtained by him in his travels were translated by Maier into Latin and published, together with the TWELVE KEYS of Basil Valentine, under the title of TRIPUS AUREUS at Frankfurt in 1618.

² The text occupies 31 pp. only in a duodecimo book. Ulysses is regarded as a symbol of absolute human wisdom. Maier affirms: (1) that only the wise are blessed, (2) that the unhappy are those who are foolish—*intellectus dextere non utens*. According to one of the aphorisms, *Diadema coronat Regis exterius, et Sapientia interius*.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

by the help of which those who are shipwrecked as regards benefits of body and fortune can retire on their oars into the harbour of meditation and patience. It will be seen that it is an exhortation of a moral and spiritual kind, shewing that other side of the author's dedications to which I have referred previously. It is not of great importance otherwise and there is no space for its analysis. On the other hand, a singular interest attaches to certain additamenta, being two tracts which follow in the same volume, and the prefatory remarks of its editor, who appears to have been an intimate personal friend.¹ I have quoted the latter at the beginning of this chapter, as regards the Christian piety of Maier. He makes two further statements concerning him: (1) that he did not know whether the famous alchemist who had defended the Brothers R.:C.: ever became a member of that Fraternity; but however this might be (2) that he was assuredly integrated in the Brotherhood of the Kingdom of Christ and in the Order of the Christian Religion. A so-called appendix, occupying the bulk of the volume, is specified as containing tracts on the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross. These are four in number. The first is entitled COLLOQUIUM RHODOSTAUROTICUM, and was published originally in German, 1621.² It is described as a colloquy between three persons on the subject of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood, as made known by the FAMA ET CONFESSIO.³ Tyrosophus, the

¹ He describes Maier as *Amicus et Favitor meus honorandus*, and says that he paid the debt of Nature at Magdeburg in 1622, *in tempore æstiva*. The tract ULYSSES was received by its editor from Maier himself.

² COLLOQUIUM RHODOSTAUROTICUM *Trium Personarum, per Famam et Confessionem quodammodo revelatum, de FRATERNITATE R. C. 1621, sine loco.*

³ The writings of Maier are quoted, and so also are Schweighardt, Irenæus Agnostus, Menapius, the PRODRONUS and TINTINNABULUS. There are allusions, moreover, to Gutmann and Weigel. One subject of debate is the relation of MOLTHERUS WETZLARIÆ, *qui a viro quodam qui anno 1615 illic transierat, testatus est quod non solummodo sese ROSEÆ CRUCIS FRATREM*

A Great German Alchemist

third of these, makes reference to Michael Maier and speculates whether his labour of love was barren to himself of fruit. There is nothing else to our purpose. This tract bears the date of February 13 in the year mentioned. In the second and more important Benedict Hilarion came forward with an *ECHO COLLOQUII RHODOSTAURITICI*¹ in German, claiming that his answer was given by command of the Superiors, otherwise the Masters of the Rosy Cross. It is a pamphlet of considerable interest, more especially in respect of two statements addressed to Tyrosophus of the Colloquy: (1) He is assured that Maier should not work to no purpose in his notable defence of the Order, which can carry one meaning only, and indeed it is intimated to all intents and purposes that he would be brought ultimately within the circle.² (2) It is testified further

professus fuisset, sed etiam multifaria eruditione, omnisque generis rerum scientia, verbis et operibus ita sese tum temporis exhibuisset, ut ejus singuli mirati fuerint.

¹ The tract is dated *Mense Martis, anno 1622*, so that Maier was still alive. That which it registers concerning him is actually a record of intention. I quote from the Latin edition. *Quemadmodum etiam Dominus MICHAEL MAIERUS, tamquam vir clarissimus, illud ipsum scribendo egregie præstitit, veluti ejus rei luculentum præbent testimonium, ipsius SILENTIUM POST CLAMORES, THEMIS AUREA, VERUM INVENTUM, SYMBOLUM AUREÆ MENSÆ, etc.; quæ scripta etiam a Domino Authore ipso, non frustra scripta esse debent, sed illum, haud immerito, ante mortem ipsius, tam ingentibus honorariis, quam non minus singularium mysteriorum communicatione, beabimus.*

² There is indeed a very general promise of reception, and it seems to stand upon the threshold. *Cum enim nobis omnium actiones hinc inde satis superque notæ sint, iccirco nuperrimo tempore iterum non contemnendam partem bonorum, bene affectionatorum moderatorumque hominum in Fraternitatem nostram recipiendi, eosdemque nostræ tam spiritualis, quam secularis a divina bonitate acceptæ sapientiæ participes reddendi elegimus.* Benedict Hilarion proceeds next to enumerate pious and steadfast theologians, proved Christians, lawyers, doctors, philosophers, poets and other lovers of liberal arts. He gives even the initials of alleged personalities. There is an allusion also to the number of appeals put forward in the course of the years: *A publicatione FAMÆ nostræ insuper huc usque non pauci, tam docti, quam indocti homines nos tentarunt, an videlicet nos commovere possint, ut in Fraternitatem nostram reciperentur.*

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

that the possibility of their reception is still held out to others in a due time to come.¹

Benedict Hilarion is a new name and does not recur in the debate, which was now practically at an end. It ought to be unnecessary to indicate, even in those places of folly which are called occult circles, that his statement, had it been put in much more positive terms, would not constitute evidence and leaves everything doubtful as it stands. But if it proves nothing I think that the fact of its existence is more difficult to explain on the ground of lying fable than on the supposition that there was something behind it. We must remember that seven long years had worn themselves slowly out since the strife of words began : in the nature of things it would have been exhausted much earlier had there been nothing to support it but its own verbose extravagance, stimulated only by occasional contributions on behalf of the alleged Order itself. I feel certain that the report of an Order was being heard of from time to time outside documents, that a general feeling was abroad concerning something which was alive in the world, that the debate was sustained thus and could not have been otherwise. The people who issued the first manifestoes may have gone about their ways in other directions : on this question it is impossible to hold a decisive opinion for or against ; but, if they had so scattered, something sprang up in their place, and the rumour of it was current in Germany. It may have been framed seriously on the plan outlined in the early memorials—we cannot tell : it may have

¹ The text of the Latin edition covers 20 pp. It is addressed more especially to Tyrosophus as *Christiano innominato et omnium artium amatori verissimo*, and affirms that the *COLLOQUIUM nobis Collegio Ordinis ROSEÆ CRUCIS satis maturo tempore acceperimus*. One of its mottoes is a promise of a good time in prospect—presumably for worthy aspirants :

*Post pluvia formosa dies, post nubila Phæbus,
Post lacrymas tandem cælica hora venit.*

A Great German Alchemist

been rank imposture—again, we do not know; but that there was something which people could join who had a lucky star in their heaven I shall always think. Into this something Maier may have been brought ere he died—in which case the intention expressed by ECHO COLLOQUII connoted a hidden fact accomplished—and if it lied to him in respect of claims and antecedents there is no question that he would have believed. That he founded anything on his own part which by intent and otherwise was fraudulent I want no evidence to disbelieve otherwise than is furnished by the man himself and his writings. While on the tentative hypothesis here outlined it may seem as easy to suppose that the little loosely interlinked circle which issued the FAMA continued in secret activity, I feel this explanation precarious. If Benedict Hilarion writing *mandato Superiorum* represented a Society in fact under the Rosicrucian name, it had undergone a new birth in time, of which there are indications otherwise. The virulent sectarian spirit in respect of religious reform is absent from ECHO COLLOQUII; the traditional history of the Order and its founder has faded into the background; there is no offering of gold to princes; there is a spirit of theosophical religion on a reasonably broad basis. It is by no means the later mind of Robert Fludd testifying to the spirit and the truth of a regenerated Rosy Cross; but on a lower level it is like a herald of that mind to come.

At the end of ECHO COLLOQUII there are certain Declaratory Canons, specified as *Ergon et Parergon F::R::C::*, otherwise a Kabalistic Chart from the Terrestrial Olympus, setting forth after what manner Nature, whose mastery is concealed chiefly in the earth, follows in the steps of her Creator, tingeing and transmuting metals. The Canons establish (1) that from the

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

Eternal there was the Father God, without beginning or end, an incorruptible fire, an everlasting light, filled with spirit and eternal splendour ; (2) that this Spirit in God is stronger than His body because it is vivified by fire ; (3) that the soul of the Creator dwells in this life of fire ; (4) that the said Spirit in Divinity, united in itself and fortified, brings forth a third, to wit, a soul which hath dwelt in the Spirit from eternity, being the very Word ; (5) that in and by the Word the Spirit is fire ; (6) that this Spirit of fire abides without end by the fire of love in God ; (7) that it is the Divine all-powerful Spirit which spake and all things were made, even by the power of the Word ; (8) that the Spirit which moved upon the waters was in the Word ; (9) that the eternal Wisdom and Word of the Father God, Spirit and Soul of God, invisibly and incomprehensibly perfected all things in itself ; (10) that for the manifestation of the most high mysteries of the Fire and Spirit of God in God, the Fire and Spirit of God descended and came forth in bodily form, and commanded that the Fire and Spirit within it should be poured forth therefrom into a virginal human body ; (11) that the hidden should be manifested thereby ; (12) that the Fire and Spirit of God from God should be glorified throughout all Nature ; (13) that by means of the Spirit moving upon the waters the Creator divided His eternal creative fire from the outward bodies of created things ; and (14) that such division being made in the mind of the Creator, God ordained the four elements.

The first cosmic epoch being thus completed, the recital goes on to affirm (1) that the Fire and Spirit of the Creator poured out on the stars and firmament ; (2) that the Most Holy and Blessed Essence of the Creator was hidden in each and all of these, as Soul is hidden in Spirit ; (3) that it went forth afterwards through all

A Great German Alchemist

its marvels of created things, as through bodies ; (4) that hence also the divine cognition of things was sealed upon the inward side of that which was created ; (5) that inferiors were thus drawn to superiors ; (6) that from this divine soul bodies imbued by its law proceeded and were multiplied ; (7) that the Fire, Spirit or Divine Essence being provided by the Creator's blessing and the thing thus confectioned, it was developed as a beautiful, pure and pellucid body, and the Creator fumigated that which was pure, pellucid and beautiful out of earth, and drew the same from the hiddenness and made it manifest by forming an image in His own likeness, namely, man, whom he built up out of the quintessence of Olympian earth, which consists in spirit and soul through the Spirit and Soul of the Creator, which in earth is most brilliant Salt, Sulphur and Mercury.

The alchemical thesis follows and is to this effect : (1) that metals and the other minerals are found only in mountains and under earth of Salt, Sulphur and Mercury ; (2) that this earth is impregnated by Nature with mineral water ; (3) that whilst the metals grow undisturbed the root of all metals comes forth ; (4) that this is the First Matter of all the wise, whom God hath made glad by knowledge of the most High Mastery of Nature ; (5) that the virtue of this Nature is in the body, that is, in Salt, which Salt or the body maintains the Sulphur and Mercury, otherwise spirit and soul with itself ; (6) that the matter of Highest Mastery is found in fire and water or in impregnated water, which water is not moist and does not wet the fingers ; (7) that all things are one thing only ; (8) that this water cannot abide without earth, which earth nourishes fire and air by the active Spirit of the Creator ; (9) that there is a perpetual intercourse of the Divine Essence with created bodies ; (10) that the Divine Essence is manifested through fire and water,

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

as through Spirit and Soul ; (11) that created things are brought forth and manifested by earth and water, as through bodies ; (12) that herein lies the sacrament and mystery of the correspondence between the philosophical work of highest science and the harmony of the Sacrosaintly Divine Trinity, even as *Ergon* with *Parergon*. Glory unto God alone.

I have quoted these Canons in full as a specimen of affirmed Rosicrucian doctrine and theory during the first decade which followed the FAMA FRATERNITATIS. Their arrangement has been simplified as far as possible for the sake of the general reader, while recognising that a process of tabulation will not make them intelligible. I can say only concerning them that they seek to illustrate and justify the dream of metallic transmutation by establishing its theosophical correspondences. It may be observed in this connection that the seventh paragraph in the alchemical thesis is an arbitrary introduction without reference to what precedes or comes after, and yet it provides a keynote of the whole intention. The words in the Latin are : *Omnia sunt res una*, and their analogies are recurrent in Hermetic literature, the most notable being : *Est una sola res*. The last as it stands, apart from any context, is an unconditional affirmation of the doctrine of unity—namely, that God is All, rather even than All in all. I have cited it, however, because as such it is to be distinguished from the Declaratory Canons. To say that *Omnia sunt res una* is very like saying *Est una sola res*, but the sentences are not synonymous ; the one is the doctrine of multiplicity becoming unity, while the other denies multiplicity. Moreover, as it seems to me, the *res una* of the Canon signifies an unity of concordance rather than oneness of essence, and this is illustrated throughout the text. I do not remember that a correspondence has been established

A Great German Alchemist

in other alchemical writings between the Trinity in Unity of the Divine Persons and the kind of hypothetical unity which can be predicated as subsisting between Salt, Sulphur and Mercury according to the mind of Hermetic literature, but the work in the alembic has been compared to the work of God in creation and to the redemptive work of Christ in the soul of man.

CHAPTER XII

LATER CONTINENTAL HISTORY

THE testimony of Robert Fludd brings the literary history of the Rosy Cross in England to the year 1629 and closes its first period. So far as records are concerned, it is the story of a single individual and of that which he was able to find in his glass of vision. With the exception of MOSAICAL PHILOSOPHY, which does not belong to our subject unless in that almost spectral sense which might be suggested by far-off analogies with the theosophy of Ægidius Gutmann—a writer favoured by early memorials or traditional concerns of the Brotherhood—and with the exception of PARSON FOSTER'S SPONGE, which is of no consequence or interest from any standpoint whatever, all writings of Fludd—his Rosicrucian apologies included—were published abroad, and there is no direct evidence forthcoming that they created any concern or had a circulation to speak of in England. Dr. Craven has given us a careful summary account of Hutchinson and his system and has shewn us that he was to all appearance unacquainted with his predecessor of a few years back, yet he was perhaps the most likely of all to have known him. It is to be questioned whether there was any Rosicrucianism at all in these islands during the first quarter of the seventeenth century beyond that which was centred in the person of Robert Fludd—a restricted circle of course—and the whole subject may have fallen into complete desuetude at his death in 1632.

Later Continental History

We have now to return on the years, so far as the Continent is concerned, to see what took place in Germany and elsewhere during the period immediately subsequent to 1620, until we reach a date, about 1630, when the records and doings of the Rosy Cross passed into apparent suspension for a space of seventy years. The halter of the Thirty Years' War had tightened about the neck of the German people; the miserable strife of sects was another yoke upon the land; the blessing brought by Luther was as much qualified in respect of reform as it was dubious in the matter of freedom and desolating in the religious sense.

After 1620, but few and far between, there still emerged for a moment some apologies for the Order, recalling those which served no purpose in the past but to exhibit the zeal of their writers and—in most cases—to notify that which they sought. Among all it will be sufficient to cite the following casual examples: (1) *SCRIPTUM AMICABILE*, in which the piety of the Brotherhood is defended against impostors.¹ (2) *A CHRISTIAN EPISTLE* addressed to the Brethren R.:C.: respecting its doctrine.² (3) *THE GARDEN OF ROSES*,³ comprising a fundamental and apologetical account of the new heavenly prophets, Rosicrucians, Chiliasts and Enthusiasts, by George Rostius, who seems also to have investigated alleged Rosicrucian calculations on the subject of the Last Day. But this was in another tract entitled *PROGNOSTICON THEOLOGICUM*, about which I know nothing except that the date of publication was

¹ *SCRIPTUM AMICABILE ad venerandam Fraternitatem R. C., in quo pietas eorum contra Impostores defenditur.* Francofurti, 1621.

² *CHRISTLICHES SCHREIBEN an die Bruderschaft R. C. wegen ihrer lehre, ihren meinungen, etc.* Frankfurt, 1621.

³ Literally the *HEROIC BOOK* concerning the Garden, etc., which seems nonsensical. The full title is: *HELDENBUCH VOM ROSENGARTEN, oder gründlicher und apologetischer Bericht von dem newen himmlischen Propheten, Rosenkreutzern, Chiliasten und Enthusiasten, durch Georg Rostium.* Rostoch, 1622.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

1621. Some attacks of the same period were more to the purpose—in violence of language at least. A notable specimen is called *WARNING TO ROSICRUCIAN VERMIN*,¹ by Philipp Geiger. It appears to have evoked a reply on the part of J. H. Cochheim, described as of Holbrieden, but the witness which he bore in defence of the Order, thus scurrilously attacked, has eluded my research, even in the matter of its title.² Equally explicit in a different sense seems another tract which I know only by name, that is, *THE FAITHFUL ECKHART*³—reflecting in its title an old German legend. It speaks of Rosicrucian heresies relative to baptism and conversion, evidently a recurrence to the Anabaptist charge of earlier years. It describes the Brotherhood as a disordered troop going to and fro in the country and as a brigandage which slaughters souls. I am unacquainted also with J. Brenna and his *WOOLCOMBER'S FAIR* of the Brothers of the Rosy Cross, which appeared in 1625, but it may be judged from the title. In conclusion as to miscellaneous hostile criticism, I may mention Johannes Robertus, a Jesuit of Luxembourg who died at Namur in 1651. He was an opponent of Fludd, Goclenius and others on the subject of cure by sympathy and the so-called magnetic cure of wounds. One of his treatises was published posthumously in *Theatrum Sympatheticum*, Norimbergæ, 1662, and was entitled *Goclenius Heautontimorumenos*. It contains two sections, (1) on the *Acheruntici Fraterculi* who call themselves Brethren of the Rosy Cross

¹ *WARNUNG für die Rosenkreutzer Vngeziefer*. Heidelberg, 1621.

² See Franz Fendenberg: *Aus der Älteren GESCHICHTE DER ROSEN-CREUTZER*, a small treatise, issued undated and with no place of publication.

³ Valentin Griesmann: *GETREWER ECKHART, welcher in den ersten neun Gemeinen Fragen der Wiedertaüferischen, Schwenkfeldischen, etc., Rosenkreutzerische Ketzereyen im Lande herumstreichende wüste Heer zu flichen . . . verwarnet, etc.* 1623. It might be useful to know more of this lucubration, because of the suggestion in the title that there were many going about in Germany using the name of the Order to substantiate their claims.

Later Continental History

and (2) on the said Brotherhood as exhibited by their own writings.

Of tracts which claim to speak with individual or official authority from within the circle of initiation there is no question that the most important and interesting is the ECHO COLLOQUII of Benedict Hilarion noticed in my last chapter; but there were other sporadic testimonies. I have mentioned J. H. Cochheim—otherwise Kocheim von Hellrieden—on the authority of Freudenburg, but he can be traced in a more direct manner, for he entered the field of debate for a second time in 1626, and now as a professed alchemist who was able to lead those who wandered through devious paths into the only straight way respecting the true matter of the Philosophical Stone. His “firm, irrefutable and fundamental” relation on these subjects appeared at Strasbourg and was dedicated to the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse,¹ who is described as his friend. It is of our concern only because it describes the Brotherhood as the Order of the Fleece, otherwise the Golden Cross, recalling the insignia worn by *Equites Aurei Lapidis* in the CHEMICAL MARRIAGE. It is said also that the association ought not to be too easy of access and that persons of vulgar status should not be admitted at all. It may seem arbitrary to suggest that these statements are intended to imply membership on the part of the writer and if I incline in this direction it should be understood that the view is tentative, while on either side it is not of particular consequence. The new designation is in any case of some importance, as it is the second of two early allusions to the Society as an Order of the Golden Cross and the first and only time that it is connected by a distinct designation with the Golden Fleece—outside the CHEMICAL MARRIAGE.

¹ TRACTATUS ERRANTIUM *in Rectam et Planam Viam Reductio*, with a long sub-title in German. It is an octavo pamphlet of 117 pages and was issued on December 1 of the year 1626.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

According to Lenglet du Fresnoy, Peter Mormius attempted to revive the Rosy Cross in Holland about 1630¹, and we shall see shortly that there is some evidence for its existence at the Hague in 1622. Moreover, he sought audience of the States General as ambassador of the Order, to lay before those august legislators the nature and importance of its secrets. The States General saw fit to refuse him audience, having possibly enough business in hand, and at that time and in that place the story is that the projected second birth also proved a failure. Mormius is represented as indignant, more especially at his own treatment, and to mortify "those wise republicans" he issued a treatise at Leyden on the most hidden secrets of Nature, brought to light by the *Collegium Rosanium*.² As understood and represented by him the Order was alchemical and concerned with nothing but alchemy, the Universal Medicine and the secret of perpetual motion. We have had ample evidence already that it stood always and only for that which appealed to its exponents, for spiritual mysteries according to Robert Fludd, because in the last resource he understood everything spiritually, but for the letter of occult claims according to Peter Mormius, because the letter to him was life. It is very probable that Temples and Colleges—or whatever the title assumed by such fluidic foundations—rose up there and here in Germany to represent the dedications of those who after this manner sought to incorporate their concerns.

It will be observed, however, that in this case the new designation of *Collegium Rosanium* is not synonymous with a College of the Rosy Cross. Mormius ceased from testifying, but if in the absence of any quoted authority we

¹ HISTOIRE DE LA PHILOSOPHIE HERMÉTIQUE I, 379.

² ARCANA TOTIUS NATURÆ SECRETISSIMA, nec hactenus unquam detecta, a Collegio Rosanio in lucem produntur, opera Petri Mormii. Lugduni Bavorum, 1630.

Later Continental History

can trust Lenglet on the question of fact and admit that the alchemist applied to the States General, his rebuff is explicable on other grounds than those of preoccupation or simple scepticism. There was Rosicrucian activity in Holland prior to 1625 and in that year. It is said to have been "old" in Amsterdam¹ and generally in the Netherlands.² We hear also of nocturnal meetings at Haarlem. In the year mentioned the Court of Justice in the Dutch Province of Holland sent to the Theological Professors at Leyden for an opinion on certain printed books which accompanied the letter of inquiry, and were concerned with the "creed and doctrine" of the Rosy Cross. The Leyden Faculty replied, reciting the claims and tenets found in the FAMA, from which manifesto it was concluded that the sect in question was founded by Christian Rosencreutz, that it was spread by initiated Brothers and that it pretended to be a leading power in "the domain of religion." Examination shewed, however, that it was nothing but false doctrine, fanaticism, magical art and so forth. It should be therefore opposed in good time, as prejudicial to Church and Republic. The best way of stopping the proceedings of the sect must be left to the judgment of the Court, but the members might be dealt with as people on the verge of insanity, unless they attacked the inviolability of the Church and the peace of the State, in which case they should be punished more severely. The document setting forth these views is dated at Leyden on May 10, 1625, and is signed by four members of the Faculty. It resulted in a letter addressed to the Officers, Mayor and Rulers of Haarlem, reciting what had been done and further stating (1) that Rosicrucians from Paris had appeared in the Provinces, (2) that the sect was increasing daily, (3)

¹ P. P. Reubens : LETTRES INÉDITES, 1840.

² See L. Ph. C. van der Bergh : GRAVENHAAGSCHE BYZONDERHEEDON, 1857, I, 66, 67.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

that its doctrines were heterodox and hurtful to the Commonwealth and (4) that its meetings were held at unreasonable hours and in different places. The instructions were that the sect was to be watched and in particular one of the principal members, named Thorentius. There is no account of what followed, but the three documents—thus fully described—are extant among the State Records,¹ and if only five years subsequently Peter Mormius came forward with pleas for a hearing on the subject of the Rosy Cross, it is rather curious on the whole that he escaped so easily.

There is another story of Holland and the Rosy Cross, the scene of which is at the Hague, and it offers considerable difficulties to research, owing to the mixed and elusive nature of the evidence. It begins on the authority of Nicolai, who says (1) that in the year 1622 there existed at the place just mentioned a society which had adopted the title of Rosy Cross and was concerned with alchemy; (2) that the founder was Christian Rose; and (3) that the said Order had other assemblies at Amsterdam, Erfurt, Nuremburg, Hamburg, Dantzic, Mantua and Venice. This distribution suggests, however, the original establishment—whatever it can be held to have been—with Rose as an envoy, rather than an invention of his own devised in the likeness of the FAMA. It must be said, further, that Christian Rose seems to be a name rather than a person who can be brought to book with a reasonable account of himself. In so far as it responds to any test of identity we find a Christian Rose in the last years of the eighteenth century as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre discoursing

¹ My authority for this account is a manuscript in the Library of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2864, entitled: REPORT READ BY THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION *at the Meeting of the Supreme Head Chapter of Higher Degrees, held at the Hague on the 21st of May, 1864.* I have given a simple summary.

Later Continental History

on the subject of Freemasonry.¹ As such he is nothing to our purpose, nor do we fare better when his name is transformed into Frederick by the *fabulator magnus*, Kieswetter. On the authority of Peter Mormius, we hear of a certain Rose, not otherwise designated, who was very old in 1620 and dwelt on the frontier of Dauphiny.² He affirmed that he was a member of the Golden Rosy Cross, which was composed of three persons only and refused to accept Mormius, who had come over from Spain in the hope of securing this advantage; but in the end Rose permitted the future author of *ARCANA TOTIUS NATURÆ* to remain as his servant or *famulus*, and the latter obtained sufficient knowledge to warrant in his own opinion the attempted inauguration of *Collegium Rosanium*, as already seen. The octogenarian or what not of 1620 could not well have been the Christian Rose of 1622, and the Order with three members which refused a fourth could not have been the Hague foundation, dwelling—as it has been said—in a palace. To make an end of enumerations *sub nomine*, an apothecary named Jacob Rose is reported as founding a Rosicrucian Society at Paris in 1660 which lasted till 1674, when it was dissolved, owing—unaccountably enough—to the Brinvilliers case. This is how the records stand with the Hermetic Sodality at the Hague, as regards the allegation of its origin. The Rose mythos would seem to have originated with Mormius about 1630, and as regards Christian Rose a moment's reflection will tell us that he stands for Christian Rosencreutz, “the chief and original of our Fraternity.” How and with whom the misnomer first arose it would seem impossible to trace.³

¹ FREYE BERMUKUNGEN über die politische Verfassung des Ordens der Freyen Maurer, von dem Bruder CHRISTIAN ROSE. 1787.

² It is perhaps on this authority that Morhof speaks of a *Collegium Rosanium* founded by Rosay, 1620, in Dauphiny. See POLYHISTORY, Book I, c. 15.

³ It is possible that Mormius spoke at full length of Christian Rose,

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

The authority for Nicolai's Hague story is Ludovicus Conradus Orvius, whose testimony by its claim is contemporary, though it first saw the light in 1737. The most extraordinary confusion has been handed from one to another in his respect, and when this is cleared up it must be said that little remains, and that he is himself, after the manner of a myth, represented by a single memorial which claims to be the work of his hand. It is a tract of some eighty pages in German, entitled OCCULTA PHILOSOPHIA, *oder Cælum Sapientum et Vexatio Stultorum*, the preface to which contains autobiographical matter of singular interest and told in the opinion of Nicolai with convincing simplicity. It affirms (1) that Orvius became a Rosicrucian under the obedience of the sodality established at the Hague; (2) that he undertook many journeys at their instance; (3) that his considerable patrimony was dissipated, as well as that of his wife, which amounted to eleven thousand crowns; (4) that he lived miserably, while his chiefs led a sumptuous life in magnificent palaces; (5) that he discovered a book containing their pretended secrets and much more; (6) that he was reprimanded sharply and the work was burnt; (7) that he gave a remedy for dropsy to a sick friend—presumably a Rosicrucian nostrum; (8) that he was hailed before a convention of adepts, whom Orvius describes as “these great Pharisees” and was expelled; (9) that he was threatened with death if he betrayed their secrets; (10) that he went forth ruined; and (11) that he had done as demanded, “but after the fashion of women, who guard a secret religiously, above all when they do not know it.”¹

giving the full name. I have been compelled to derive information from there and here, as I have met with no copy of the text. It is presumably by reflection from him that Gmelin regards the Hague Fraternity as originating from Christian Rose on the borders of Dauphiny, but he has confused two distinct and mutually exclusive accounts. See *GESCHICHTE DER CHEMIE*, 1797, 98, I, 566, and II, 331

¹ Compare De Quincey's improved version: “Which secrets I have

Later Continental History

In 1751 Johann Ludolph ab Indagine produced a new edition of the Orvius tract, altering title and text, and excising the most incriminating references to the Hague Society.¹ He styled his author L. C. von Bergen, otherwise Montanus, an ascription rejected by Semler and one which has helped to increase the general confusion, as among later writers some speak of Montanus instead of Orvius while others represent Orvius as editing a work of Montanus with a preface concerning himself.² Three points remain to be stated, namely, that Orvius is responsible for the story of the wide distribution of the Order, which in the opinion of Christopher von Murr is utter fabrication; that he pretends to have been misled by its chiefs for a period of thirty years;³ and lastly that he represents members as wearing in their secret assemblies a broad blue ribbon, from which was suspended a gold cross

faithfully kept, and for the same reason that women keep secrets, viz. because I have none; for their knavery is no secret." It is pointed and brilliant, but unhappily rather far from the original.

¹ It was now called GRÜNDLICHE ANWEISUNG zu der wahren Hermetischen Wissenschaft. There are no particulars forthcoming of J. L. ab Indagine. He is to be distinguished from Johann ab Indagine, a writer on chemistry, astrology, physiognomy and chiromancy in the seventeenth century commonly identified as Jæger of Nuremberg, and from Innocentius Liberius ab Indagine.

² Compare Thory's ACTA LATAMORUM, II, 255: "These details and many others are said to be in the preface of L. C. Orvius to the works of Montanus entitled PRINCIPLES OF HERMETIC SCIENCE." For the rest, Thory's account of the Hague Rosicrucians is taken almost bodily from ESSAI SUR LES ACCUSATIONS INTENTÉES AUX TEMPLIERS, . . . avec une dissertation sur l'origine de la Francmaçonnerie, Amsterdam, 1783, translated from the German of Nicolai. I suggest that the translation has been followed as something readily available. The original appeared in 1783, i.e. VERSUCH über die Beschuldigungen welche dem Tempelherrenorden gemacht worden und über dessen Geheimniss, etc.

³ M. Sédar points out that if Orvius was expelled in 1622 he must have started working with the Rosicrucians in 1592, and this would be very important from my point of view, were it possible to establish. But even if we accept Orvius as giving a more or less true account of his experiences, it is difficult to accept the date on which he was driven out of the Society.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

surmounted by a rose. They were distinguished in public by a small black ribbon, having apparently no jewel attached to it.¹

There is no need to join issue with Nicolai on the convincing note of the recital here summarised. I am in complete agreement with von Murr about Rosicrucian places of assembly in palaces scattered far and wide between the Hague and Mantua: there is not only no truth in such testimony but no ring as of truth. It is possible that Orvius was a personality of the early seventeenth century and not an invention of more than one hundred years later;² but—to define the position clearly—we do not know, and to say that there is anything evidential in his story would be to talk against sense and reason. At the value of such an opinion under such circumstances, but remembering the many rumours of errant impostors under the mask of the

¹ On the evidence of one of his alleged MSS., Kieswetter provides the following variations: (1) that Rosicrucian neophytes at the Hague received a black silk cord to be worn on the "top buttonhole," commemorating the penal clause of their pledge, by which they agreed to be strangled with such a cord rather than break the silence imposed upon them; (2) that the blue ribbon and golden cross "with a rose on it" were also conferred at reception; (3) that on the top of the head they wore "a shaven spot about the size of a louis d'or"; (4) that most of them had recourse to a wig for the concealment of this tonsure; (5) that at sunrise on high festivals they left their residence by a door facing East and waved a small green flag, awaiting a similar signal from any Brother in the neighbourhood. These are the kinds of meetings that take place in penny dreadfuls and not in real life, even with occult dedications. We shall find, however, that they are a variant of procedure belonging to the Laws of the Order in the early eighteenth, not in the seventeenth century.

² Findel calls him "the faithful Urf," to confuse the issues further and says that he "frankly exposed the cunning doings of these Rosicrucians," without mentioning where or when. Moreover he knows so little of the subject and its criticism that he suggests L. C. von Bergen as perhaps the founder of the Hague Society in place of Christian Rose. Kenneth Mackenzie, substituting the *suppressio veri* for his more usual *suggestio falsi* in Rosicrucian matters, summarises and accepts the Orvius story, but takes care that the Order does not appear in the matter. He says merely that Orvius "fell into bad hands."

Later Continental History

Rosy Cross, it is more than credible that a gang of them may have gathered at a specified point of the Netherlands and pursued the avocation for which they were banded together: it may be that one of their victims may have left a record of his experiences under the name of Orvius, and that it is less or more accurate. I claim only to put an end here—as I hope, once and for all—to the gospel aspects presented previously and repeated from mouth to mouth by those who have made no attempt to investigate the story. It is certain that when the Court of Justice applied for information to the Theological Faculty there must have been more than a rumour abroad of the Rosy Cross in Holland, and the Hague was a likely place for activities of a central kind. This is how the research stands in respect of net result, and this is how it must be left.

The consideration of a tract on *The Golden Age Restored*¹ belongs to a later chapter for reasons which will appear therein, but as it was published originally in 1621 or 1622 the fact of its existence should be noted at this point, since it claims to be written by a Brother of the Golden Cross and speaks with high authority on the Hermetic Mystery. The preface is dated March 23, 1622, but according to Kloss it was published in the previous year under the name of Hieronymus or Henricus Madathanus, a pseudonym adopted by Adrian Mynsicht according to Lenglet du Fresnoy, who fails to cite his authority. Four other alchemical treatises² are ascribed to this author, but

¹ *AUREUM SECVLVM REDIVIVVM*, issued *sine loco* in 1621. It is described in the sub-title as a rare and precious treatise, otherwise a seed, imparted to Sons of True Wisdom and Sons of the Doctrine. In 1625 it was reprinted as the first tract in *MUSEVM HERMETICVM*, published at Frankfurt, and as the second in *MUSEVM HERMETICVM REFORMATVM ET AMPLIFICATVM*, of which I edited a translation in 2 vols., 1893. Finally, it reappeared—as we shall see—in *THE SECRET SYMBOLS OF THE ROSICRUCIANS* at Altona in 1783, the pseudonym being given as Henricus Madathanus Theosophus.

² *THESAURVS MEDICO-CHIMICVM, cum Tractatu de Lapide Aureo Philosophorum*, Lubeck, 1638, reissued at Leyden in 1645 and again at Lubeck in

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

they do not mention the Rosy Cross and are therefore not of our concern. It has been pointed out that the name Hadrianus a Mynsicht can be written in an anagram as Hinricus Madanathys (Madathanys). The fact did not transpire in England till 1895,¹ but was no doubt derived from some old published source to which Lenglet had access previously. The title of Count is conferred sometimes on Mynsicht, but there are no particulars of his life. He calls for remembrance because he is prized by Hermetists who are not of the occult order and because there are certain intimations in *THE GOLDEN AGE* which are above the level of common alchemical literature and the common quests that some pursued with egg-shells and some in a chariot of antimony. When Madathanus certifies that he belongs to that or this—be it Rosy or Golden Cross—it is obviously not evidence, but we have had good reason to see that he does not stand alone, that there is in reality a succession of witnesses, each at his value, and I feel for one that it is following a line of less resistance to tolerate the supposition that they belonged to something, whatever it was, rather than to conclude that they were all lying. Some of the deponents lied almost certainly, some of them who may be taken to have borne tolerably faithful witness seem, on the assumption that they were members, in a state of such serious confusion that they had no means of knowing

1646. *ARMAMENTARIUM MEDICO-CHIMICUM*, Rothomagi, 1651 and *TESTAMENTUM DE LAPIDE PHILOSOPHICO*, 1664. According to Sédir, Madathanus worked with his *alter ego* Herman Datich, who is mentioned in *THE GOLDEN AGE*, at a marriage between the theosophy of Böhme and that of the Hermetists, but Sédir is confusing Madathanus and *THE SECRET SYMBOLS*.

¹ See a letter contributed to a magazine then edited by myself under the title of *THE UNKNOWN WORLD*, Vol. I, p. 281. The communication in question was signed Resurgam, Fra.:R.:R.: et A.:C.:. In connection with *THE GOLDEN AGE*, it may be noted that I have also left over for later consideration the anonymous *AUREUS TRACTATUS*, which appeared originally in German, *anno 1625, sine loco*, namely, *EIN GÜLDENER TRACTAT VOM PHILOSOPHISCHEN STEINE, etc.*, addressed to the Brotherhood of the Golden Cross, another early illustration of the use of this variant.

Later Continental History

whether a contemporary pamphleteer was himself initiated or not. It is possible—as we have seen—that there was already more than one group of putative adeptship, and a hostile criticism put forward by a *soi-disant* Brother may not mean that its author was fooling or had intervened in the debate to make money with a saleable article but that he had outlived any belief in his particular obedience. In the last resource, however, we have to recognise that there were the “rogues and runagates” who plied their trade in a topic of the time which was also a burning question, while through all and in all there were the booksellers with their vested interest, ready to sell anything on any side of everything to all comers, asking no questions either of those who bought or of those who brought them copy.

We have seen how the case is left when the year 1620 was drawn behind the gates of an irrepealable past, and this is how it stands now when the sinews of assault had wearied and the weapons of defence were blunt. Does it signify if PALMA TRIUMPHALIS derides the Fraternity because it arrogates to itself such glorious titles, because it poses as a Congregation of the Elect and the flower of the human race, because it claims to be inspired divinely for the reformation of the world, because it can restore all sciences, prolong human life and transmute lead into gold?¹ And what if Père Garasse the Jesuit pillories those whom he calls *Fratres Rosarum Crucis* as sorry rascals and a gang of

¹ See Fredericus Fornerus, Episcopus Hebronensis: PALMA TRIUMPHALIS *Miraculorum Ecclesie Catholice*, Ingolstadii, 1621, pp. 437-39. It is an exceedingly rare work and—as might be expected—there is no copy in the British Museum. There is no year on the title-page, but the *Epistola Dedicatoria* to Emperor Ferdinand II is dated Sept., 1620, while the *Approbatio Facultatis Theologicæ* is dated April 23, 1621, and the *Concessio Auctori* was granted in December of that year. The views which I have cited occur in *Lib. I*, cap. 45, which is entitled *Quid de Roseæ Crucis Fraternitate, cornicula, tot prodigiorum plumis picturata, sentiendum?* The forty-eighth chapter contains a diatribe against the transmutation of metals, which has never been practised apart from fraud and the deception of man.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

drunken impostors,¹ or that Kircher, who knew all things and much that had no existence, regards them as an impious race?² Is it worth while to travel far through the works of Campanella, or even through his *SPANISH MONARCHY*, to choose between rival rumours, according to one of which he lampooned the "Illuminated Brothers of Rosy Cross," but according to another was a noted member of the Order, as was also his amanuensis, Tobias Adami.³ I have wasted some days to no purpose over Jan Amos Komensky—better known as Comenius—to find that Mrs. Cooper-Oakley and some of her precursors were dreaming—as expected—when they called him "a great and moulding force on Freemasonry" and one who was "actively interested in the Rosicrucian movement."⁴ It is not

¹ The reference is to R. P. Garasse : *LA DOCTRINE CURIEUSE DES BEAUX ESPRITS DE CE TEMPS*, Paris, 1623. He calls them a faction of idlers, whose proper title is Brothers of the Cross of Roses—*Fratres Rosarum Crucis*—the reason being that they were good drinkers who carried their wine well and published their secrets only in taverns, the parlours of which had always a crown of roses hung from the ceiling above the table, imposing silence on all things spoken in the heat of wine.

² Athanasius Kircher : *MUNDUS SUBTERRANEUS*, p. 298.

³ It is Gabriel Naudé who says that Adamus belonged to the Brotherhood, as shewn by his preface to Campanella's *REALIS PHILOSOPHIÆ EPILOGUSTICÆ PARTES QUATUOR*, Frankfurt, 1623, but it shews nothing of the kind, for it contains no Rosicrucian allusions. Wigston affirms that Campanella was "a noted member." See *BACONIANA*, Vol. I, new series, August, 1893, probably following the author of *NIMROD*, who terms him "one of the reputed founders of the association or gang called the Illuminated Brothers of Rosy Cross." On the other hand, Sédin, *loc. cit.*, p. 90, says that Campanella pilloried the Rosicrucians in *PRODROMUS PHILOSOPHIÆ*, 1617, as well as in *THE SPANISH MONARCHY*. In the last there is an Appendix to the second edition of 1623 which contains Christopher Besold's statements (1) as to the transparent character of the *FAMA*, (2) as to the fact that the R.:C.: Brotherhood was the fiction of a playful mind, and (3) that men of learning were fooled thereby. These are expressions of individual contemporary opinion, of the same and no further value than might be that of a non-Mason delivering his judgment on those activities of 1717 which created the Grand Lodge of England. There is nothing in *PRODROMUS PHILOSOPHIÆ*.

⁴ See her *TRACES OF A HIDDEN TRADITION IN MASONRY AND MEDIÆVAL MYSTICISM*, 1900. One of her authorities is Ludwig Abafi : *GESCHICHTE DER FREIMAUEREREI IN OESTERREICH UND UNGARN*, 1890-91.

Later Continental History

true, for example, that he joined J. V. Andreae, for the latter was in Württemberg and he in Austria, while about 1618, at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, he was exiled, ruined and took refuge in Poland. You can follow quests like these through the long succession of years and come to nothing; I have followed them from time immemorial in respect of the Rosy Cross and have gained only a touchstone of experience by which I seem to know occult impositions and exaggerations at sight: of a truth their name is legion.¹

The tracts which I have mentioned briefly on both sides of the debate do not pretend to exhaust the list, but between 1630 and 1690 there was practically nothing save the occasional reprint of a pamphlet already known to us.² In the year last mentioned Adam A. Lebnesevaldt, as one looking back upon the past and taking stock thereof, delivered his opinion on the craft and imposture of the devil in false alchemy, with special reference to the "surprising Fraternity" of the R.:C.:, whose medley

¹ For example, Mackenzie, ROYAL CYCLOPÆDIA OF FREEMASONRY, includes among members of the Rosy Cross a certain Benjamin Joehla, said to have been of Jewish birth but Christian faith. In proof of this there is reproduced from AURIFONTINA CHYMICA, London, 1680, a letter addressed to Frederick, Duke of Holstein and Schleswig, which document proves only that the personage in question was an alchemist of his period. There is not one word of reference to any Secret Order.

² There are sporadic reports which I have either found it impossible to follow up or they prove to lead nowhere, as usual. In 1882 Dr. von Harless published at Leipsic a second edition of his work on JACOB BÖHME AND THE ALCHEMISTS, in which he mentions a Rosicrucian Society at work in 1641. The authority is a manuscript seen by the writer and entitled TESTAMENTUM: it contained statutes, alchemical operations and so forth. But Dr. Harless does not state where it is deposited, and he is dead long since. Here is one indication which must be left to stand at its value. Another is in the theosophical magazine LUCIFER, Vol. II, 188, containing an article by Karl X X X, entitled *Finger-Posts in the Middle Ages*. It pretends to explain how the Brothers of the Rosy Cross taught "the finding of the Way," citing certain instructions alleged to date from 1675 and beginning with "a letter of warning against the effort to obtain wealth and power by easy ways." This letter states that the Brothers R.:C.:, "impelled by the Spirit of

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

of claim and doctrines is described as a devil's brew for poisoning souls.

The subject was now dead and done with, to all intents and purposes, so far as Germany is concerned. Those who defended and those who attacked the Order, without claiming to be acquainted with it at first hand, had exhausted the general considerations which arose from official texts and the occasional aids of rumour. They could contribute nothing to knowledge, and their numberless productions belong solely to the arena of debate. On the other hand, those who claimed to speak from within the initiated circle, if they are to be accepted on their own terms, present us with new claims respecting the Order, the traditional history of which, according to *FAMA FRATERNITATIS*, has passed out of sight. They have gone back upon the centuries to seek and find their origin. It is as if a new generation had arisen with new views, or as if the influence of Michael Maier had satisfied them that they were much older than they had dreamed. We have seen also that some of the official documents are exceedingly suspicious in character. In so far as there are traces of a claim in respect of dedication and purpose akin to those of Robert Fludd, I am disposed to think that it was put forward seriously and represented a secret theosophical group interlinked for the study of the relations between God, man and the universe, and that in such pursuits they had made a certain progress, as—on the assumption of their zeal and sincerity—they could not fail to do. Benedict God" have already in various languages "pointed out the Way" but have been misunderstood by "the Masses" (*sic*), who imagined that they "desired to teach the art of making gold by alchemical means." The secret must be attained, however, in quite another manner. There is no need to say that the locality of the alleged instructions does not transpire, but some of the excerpts are referable to the old communication concerning the Mountian great and small *in medio terræ*, with which I have dealt elsewhere in the present work.

Later Continental History

Hilarion's ECHO COLLOQUII may have issued from a group of this kind. On the other hand, it is a colourable proposition that certain later documents analysed in my ninth chapter and swarming with exaggerated claims were the work of pretenders who were also grouped together. The kind of theosophy which I attribute to the first class would most probably have evolved from a blending of the IMITATION OF CHRIST, the POOR LIFE of pseudo-Tauler and THEOLOGIA GERMANICA with the REVELATIONS OF DIVINE MAJESTY and the deep searchings of Jacob Böhme. It would have been subject to many errors of enthusiasm, but it might have learned certain lessons of caution from those of Simon Studion and his fatal prophecies. It had lost interest in the Man of Sin and may have been disposed to substitute a spiritual return of Christ in the hearts of dedicated Brethren for the apocalyptic Second Coming in the clouds of a visible heaven.

The later Continental history of the Rosy Cross is not confined entirely to the German Fatherland, and though French translations of FAMA FRATERNITATIS and NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ belong to bibliographical dreams, its rumour passed over the Rhine in the year 1623, for there seems to be no question that on one occasion at least the walls of Paris were placarded with a manifesto which has been quoted in different terms by different contemporary writers. According to Gabriel Naudé, it was worded as follows :¹ " We, the deputies of our Head College of the Rosy Cross, now sojourning, visible and invisible, in this town, by grace of the Most High, towards Whom the hearts of sages turn, do teach, without the help of books or signs, how to speak the language of every country wherein we elect to stay, in order that we

¹ INSTRUCTION À LA FRANCE SUR LA VÉRITÉ DE L'HISTOIRE DES FRÈRES DE LA ROZE-CROIX.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

may rescue our fellow-men from the error of death.” It will be seen that the purport of this proclamation remains obscure, it being difficult to understand how the acquisition of this or that language is going to save a learner from the common fate of mortality. An alternative version was as follows: “We, who are deputies of the College of the Rosy Cross, do counsel all who seek entrance into our congregation that they should become initiated into the service of the Most High, in Whose cause we are at this day assembled. Our part shall be then to transform them from visible into invisible beings and again from invisible into visible. They shall be transported, moreover, into all countries whither their desire may lead them. But let him who reads be warned that we are able to divine his thoughts and that if in seeking to arrive at a knowledge of such wonders, and in his desire to see us, he is prompted by curiosity alone, let him rest assured that he shall never establish communication. If actuated on the other hand by a true desire to be inscribed on the register of our Confraternity, we will make evident to such an one the validity of our promises, but will not unveil the place of our abode, seeing that simple thought, joined to a resolute will, shall be sufficient to make us known by him and him reveal to us.”¹

¹ EFFROYABLE PACTIONS FAITES ENTRE LE DIABLE ET LES PRÉTENDUS INVISIBLES, avec leurs Damnables Instructions, perte déplorable de leurs Escoliers et leur Misérable Fin. Paris, 1623—a pamphlet of the period, belonging to the *colportage* class. Éliphas Lévi quotes this version of the proclamation, adding the following remarks: “Public opinion took hold of this mysterious manifesto, and if any one asked openly who were these Brothers of the Rosy Cross, an unknown personage would perchance take the inquirer apart, and say to him gravely: ‘Predestined to the reformation which must take place speedily in the whole universe, the Rosicrucians are depositories of supreme wisdom, and as undisturbed possessors of all gifts of Nature, they can dispense them at pleasure. In whatsoever place they may be, they know all things which are going on in the rest of the world better than if they were present in the midst of them. They are superior to hunger and thirst and

Later Continental History

Whatever its original form, the proclamation was in manuscript and was evidently put up as a jest to set Paris by the ears. Naudé calls it a comedy and accounts for it by supposing that French booksellers had returned from the fair at Frankfurt with some of the German pamphlets concerning the Order. He adds that the King was at Fontainebleau, the realm at peace and that there was a scarcity of topics on 'Change, whence some one undertook to supply a subject of gossip, reckoning that there were fools enough in Paris to prevent the folly from stagnating. We might leave it at this, with an encomium on the good sense of the INSTRUCTION and its author; but unfortunately Naudé goes further to fare worse and forfeit our conditional esteem, for he affirms elsewhere not only that there were Colleges of the Rosy Cross in Canada and India, but also an establishment of the kind in "underground Paris," and that its members were precursors of Antichrist. It seems peculiarly hard after bearing such unqualified testimony that Gabriel Naudé should be classed by the egregious Kenneth Mackenzie as a Brother of the Rosy Cross.¹

have neither age nor disease to fear. They can command the most powerful spirits and genii. God has covered them with a cloud to protect them from their enemies, and they cannot be seen except by their own consent—had any one eyes more piercing than those of the eagle. Their general assemblies are held in the pyramids of Egypt; but even as that rock whence issued the spring of Moses, these pyramids proceed with them into the desert and will follow them until they enter the Promised Land.' " See my translation of Lévi's HISTORY OF MAGIC, second edition, pp. 358-9. I have very little doubt that the French occultist manufactured this encounter with a putative adept, turning up at convenient moments to answer a supposed question of the hour. The pamphleteers of the period and that general reservoir of current gossip, the MERCURE DE FRANCE, know nothing about it.

¹ In reality he is reflecting, without reference, from Clavel. See ROYAL CYCLOPÆDIA OF FREEMASONRY, 1877, p. 631, s.v. EMINENT ROSICRUCIANS. Notwithstanding his classification, Mackenzie admits that Naudé was opposed to Rosicrucian theories, as appears in his "several works" on the subject. Naudé, however, wrote only one tract on the claims of the Brotherhood.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

The anonymous author of another pamphlet¹ is much more fully informed and does not falter for a moment over the grave subject. A fell intention lay behind the placard, for Satan himself was chief of the execrable College, the Rules of which were (1) denial of God, (2) blasphemy against the Holy Trinity, (3) trampling on the Mysteries of Salvation, (4) spitting in the face of the Holy Mother of God and at all the Saints, (5) renunciation of Baptism and the intercession of the Church, (6) sacrifice to Satan, (7) Black Magic and frequenting the Witches' Sabbath. The placard, for the rest, was a summary of "flagrant blasphemies." On the other hand the FRIGHTFUL COMPACTS, already cited, was the work of a venal pamphleteer who saw money in the madness and fed it with incredible stories of drowning and suicide which followed the experiences of initiation. For example, an Anglo-Frenchman who had taken the fatal step, being anxious to revisit England, was at once translated to Boulogne, but the demon who bore him flung him headlong into the sea between Calais and Dover, "with a frightful noise." No less than two hundred Dutch ships, on their course from Amsterdam to India, were present at this catastrophe. As regards the College of Rosicrucians and its history, there were certain Articles of Agreement with a Necromancer named Respuch, and these had been signed by members with their own

¹ EXAMEN SUR LA NOUVELLE ET INCONNUE CABALE DES FRÈRES DE LA CROIX-ROZÉE, *habituez depuis peu de Temps en la ville de Paris. Ensemble l'Histoire des mœurs, coutumes, prodiges et particularitez d'iceux*, Paris, 1623. There was a second edition in 1624, and this was reprinted by Édouard Fournier in the first volume of his *VARIÉTÉS HISTORIQUES ET LITTÉRAIRES*, 1855. Fournier states that the Rosicrucians began to make themselves known in 1604, "after the opening of the tomb of their Master had delivered to them great secrets written in letters of gold." He was further of opinion that *NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ* includes a criticism of Rosicrucian doctrine. The points are worth noting as illustrating the extent and limits of French knowledge on the subject in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Later Continental History

blood. They correspond substantially to the Rules already mentioned and were executed in the presence of Astaroth, manifesting as a beautiful youth and ratifying them on behalf of his Master Satan. In consideration of this concordat the Rosicrucians had power to go invisible, to pass through locked doors, to read the most secret thoughts, to be carried from place to place at will, to speak with talismanic eloquence in every language and to wear each of them a gold ring enriched by a sapphire, to which was bound a demon as guide and mentor. It is understood otherwise that all of them renounced Christ and the grace of Christian sacraments. They were thirty-six adepti in all, of whom some were commissioned to France, others to Germany, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Flanders, Lorraine and Burgundy, or—as it is alleged—into Catholic countries only, the lands of heretics and infidels, without the pale of the Church, being “already in the claws of hell.” Those envoys who carried the French powers reached Paris on horseback, July 14, 1623, and ultimately took up their quarters in the Marais du Temple,¹ soon after issuing the placards which introduced France to a knowledge of the debatable Order.² It is said to have raised curiosity, alike among learned and simple, on account of the great gifts claimed by the Brethren, but especially those of going invisible, speaking all tongues and discovering inward thoughts. As it was agreed generally that such powers could not come from God, the intervention of the Devil was assumed.

So far the *FRIGHTFUL COMPACTS*, and its revelations of a lying spirit for the delectation of fools. But there is also the *MERCURE DE FRANCE*, which has claims on sober

¹ They met, however, where the resolution of the moment took them, to-day in the quarries of Montmartre, to-morrow on the height of Parnassus.

² A much fuller account of all the inventions will be found in my *REAL HISTORY OF THE ROSICRUCIANS*, c. XIV.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

history, however often its plain tales suggest the hand of fiction. It says (1) that a popular panic was created by fear of the mysterious sect ; (2) that ridiculous stories were circulated day by day and found a ready ear—presumably like those of the COMPACTS ; (3) that hostelries reported strange guests who vanished in a cloud when the time of reckoning came, or paid in gold coin which proved slate on the next morning ; (4) that peaceable citizens awoke in the middle night to find mysterious visitants at their bedside and that when an alarm was raised they became invisible suddenly ; (5) that people began to sleep with loaded muskets at hand ; and (6) that strangers in the public streets were liable to be stoned if they could not account for themselves in a way which gave satisfaction. It is pretended that suspicion and excitement lasted for two years, but this is on other testimony than that of the periodical print. Hereof is the Rosy Cross in France of the seventeenth century ; and when at last the agitation died Paris forgot the Order till High Grade Masonry gave to it the Rose-Croix degree, or till Lenglet du Fresnoy wrote his HISTOIRE DE LA PHILOSOPHIE HERMÉTIQUE a few years earlier. The FAMA FRATERNITATIS and NUPTIÆ CHYMICÆ remain untranslated to this day. We know only that the French philosopher Descartes sought tidings of the Rosy Cross—as it is said, throughout Germany—and heard from impostors but nothing on the genuine side of the subject.¹ Presumably, like Leibnitz after him, he concluded that the Order and its story belonged to the realm of romance.

¹ It calls to be said that this inquiry was made *circa* 1619—when Descartes was in Suabia—and therefore prior to the time when Rosicrucian placards appeared on the walls of Paris. The story respecting Leibnitz is that he heard of a secret society of chemists at Nuremberg, under the name of the Rosy Cross ; that he applied for admission ; that he was received with honour and was offered the position of secretary at a salary. I think that the story in this form is told by Fontenelle in ÉLOGES DES ACADÉMICIENS.

CHAPTER XIII

THE AWAKENING IN ENGLAND

IT is very difficult—in the absence of all records—to hold any opinion, however speculative, on the influence of Robert Fludd in England during his life-time and on what he may have left behind him. There is evidence, though it is confined to his own writings, that he was a *persona grata* to the restless and suspicious mind of King James I, but he who cultivated “the divine art of poesie,” feared witchcraft and disliked tobacco, was succeeded by Charles I in 1625, and there is nothing to shew that the White King and martyr, who perished for the royal prerogative, ever saw the Kentish philosopher, though we have found that the latter survived his royal patron for twelve years. Whether Fludd’s translation from earthly to heavenly life on September 8, 1637, left vacant the place of a Master in some Hermetic Circle offers a tempting field of debate, but if it should be travelled on our own part it would be found that there is unfortunately no expectation that it will become a field of knowledge. We are never likely to know what kind of procession—if any—what mourners but near kinsmen, accompanied the remains of Fludd from his London house in Coleman Street to the parish church of Bearsted. Except in the minds of villagers along that countryside, the act of death may have put his very name to sleep. So far furthermore as all evidence is concerned, it would be difficult to say that anything but the vaguest rumour of the Rosy Cross had reached England, except in the studies of a few Latin-reading scholars—with Fludd

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

as their possible centre. There was nothing available in the vernacular, not even the memorial addressed by Fludd to King James being hidden in the court archives. If I express my personal opinion, it is probable enough, it seems indeed especially likely, that—however restricted—there was a living circle of which the centre was Robert Fludd. I have said that he was a man of considerable personality, of fervid zeal in conviction, and by no means of that kind whose light would be under a bushel; but there is not one scrap of paper to testify in this direction. We know that at Mason's Hall, a few yards from his house, a Lodge of non-operative Masons was meeting in the year 1620 and thence onward. We know that among its records was a BOOK OF CONSTITUTIONS, "which Mr. Fludd gave." It is idle to assume that this donor was Robertus de Fluctibus or to affirm that he was therefore a member; but again the facts offer an attractive field of speculation. The list of Accepted Masons belonging to this Lodge was destroyed in the Fire of London. What if the Rosicrucian apologist, as a later Hermetist turned to Operative Masonry—the great antiquary Elias Ashmole—had looked for something to his purpose in this mysterious Acception, about which we can ascertain so little and would give so much to learn? What if his circle were there? It can be said only that in such case an old feeling of Masonic *literati* that early Speculative Masonry grew up under a Rosicrucian ægis would become a much more colourable hypothesis than it has proved so far. Had most of the writers who have preceded me been acquainted with these facts they would have seen no field of speculation but a wide world of certitude, and as if in possession of inexpugnable documentary evidence would have affirmed that Robert Fludd was the father of Speculative Masonry, that it was he and no other who founded the Lodge of Acception. Had they carried investigation a few paces further, they would have

The Awakening in England

found that the meagre traces of this fellowship begin in the year which I have mentioned—namely, 1620—and it would have been like a light descending from heaven to support the view. I hope at least that I have forestalled any “rake’s progress” of the future and closed this house of call against them.

So far as our knowledge goes—whatsoever of occult or spiritual mystery was connoted at that period by the Rosy Cross fell asleep in England and was buried for the time being with its great protagonist in the Church of the Holy Cross at Bearsted. It may have been asleep previously, for *CLAVIS PHILOSOPHIÆ ET ALCHYMIÆ*, though not the last work from the pen of Robert Fludd, is the last in which he refers to the German Brotherhood, and it was issued in 1633. The question of the Order rose up once more in the year 1650 with the first publication of the famous alchemist and mystic Thomas Vaughan. It is necessary, however, in the first place to consider what I must term the legend of Elias Ashmole, prominent as he otherwise is in the literature and history of his period.¹

¹ It is an inchoate and contradictory story in all its variations, as there is no need to say, and began presumably with Nicolai, according to whom—writing in 1783—the persons present when Ashmole was made a Mason at Warrington in 1646 were members of the Rosicrucian Fraternity. In 1784 Nicolas de Bonneville recounts that London Rosicrucians and Masons were united by General Monk to promote the return of Charles II—after what manner does not emerge in the fable, except that according to Yarker they added five symbols to their collection drawn from the work of Typotius, to which I have referred elsewhere. There is no truth in this story, and it would signify nothing if there were. Anthony à Wood describes Ashmole as “a certain Rosy-crusian” in his account of Edward Kelley, otherwise Talbot (*ATH. Ox.*, I, 639 *et seq.*, ed. of Bliss). Heckethorn improves previous accounts by alleging that Ashmole, Lilly, Wharton, J. Hewitt and J. Pearso formed a Rosicrucian Society in London, *anno* 1646, on the plan of Bacon’s *NEW ATLANTIS*. The Meetings were at Mason’s Hall. He is evidently following Reghellini, according to whom (1) Ashmole and others modelled their foundation on the Hague Rosy-Cross and undertook to write somewhat more clearly than the German Brethren, yet were unwilling to communicate their discoveries outside the pale of their Society—“through fear of

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

In my NEW ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF FREEMASONRY it has been analysed at a certain length, but more especially in its Masonic bearings, which are not of our concern here. I have shewn, however, (1) the fact of a recurring legend that Ashmole belonged to a Rosicrucian Brotherhood established in England, whether by himself or others, about or before the year 1646; (2) that there is no evidence to support it, except indeed (3) that his introduction to a notable collection of ancient Britannic tracts on the subject of alchemy impresses me as "a faithful reflection of Rosicrucian doctrine"; and on this account (4) that it is perhaps possible to presume his membership tentatively, as also, in such case (5) that he did not stand alone. How guarded these statements soever, it seems to me that they err on the side of toleration, for the legend itself is founded on no considerations of internal evidence offered by an extant text but on matters of pure invention. Having dealt with them adequately for my purpose in the work already cited, it must be sufficient to state here as typical examples (1) that according to Eckert, Elias Ashmole founded an English Order of the Rosy Cross in 1646 on the plan of the Brotherhood in Germany; (2) that, assisted by his fellow-Rosicrucians—according to Ragon—he transformed Operative into Speculative Masonry for ulterior reasons cherished by the Hermetic Order; (3) that in other words, and now according to the reveries of Dr. Papus, Freemasonry was established in England by the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross and still carries, for those who can read, the outward and inward marks,

persecution." (2) He says also that Ashmole rectified the formulæ of reception, basing them almost entirely on those of the old Egyptian and Greek Mysteries. The Hague formulæ, however—if any—are unknown, and the last statement is literally taken from Thory—ACTA LATOMORUM—who follows De Bonneville, and he appeals in turn to BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, 1778, s.v. Ashmole, but it contains nothing to the present purpose.

The Awakening in England

characteristic signs and seals of its occult origin.¹ These are peremptory statements, at once unqualified and apart from all foundation, nor—except by a bare possibility in the case of the German Eckert—can they be explained by the invincible ignorance which has used Rosicrucian and Alchemist as synonymous or interchangeable terms for considerably over a century.

Were it possible in the light of his dedications and the peculiar Hermetic complexion of his religious and philosophical sentiments to regard Ashmole as integrated in the Rosy Cross, I have said that he would not stand alone, meaning that I should regard the fact as connoting something perpetuated through the few years which intervened between the death of Fludd and the publication of *THEATRUM CHEMICUM BRITANNICUM*, the connecting links being furnished by people like William Backhouse, who was Ashmole's teacher in alchemy and confided to him its root-secret concerning *materia prima*. There is nothing that is difficult or arbitrary in such an assumption, but on the other hand there is nothing to support it. Elias Ashmole was born on May 23rd, 1617, and died at the age of nearly 75 on May 18th, 1692. His living memorial is the

¹ As I have mentioned Wood's reference to Ashmole, I may add as a curious point under all the circumstances that he himself has escaped unaccountably the honour of being classed among Brethren of the Order in England, having regard to the fact that in his own autobiography he records, under date of April 23, 1663, 14 Car. II, how he "began a course of chimistry under the noted chimist and Rosicrucian, Peter Sthael of Strasburgh in Royal Prussia." It concluded in the May following. The "club," as it is called, consisted of at least ten members, including Francis Turner of New College, afterwards Bishop of Ely, Benjamin Woodruff, who became Canon of Christ Church, and John Locke, "afterwards a noted writer." Peter Sthael was a Lutheran and "a great hater of women," which is one of Wood's favourite formulæ in describing a supposed Rosicrucian. He was brought to Oxford by Robert Boyle in 1659, where he erected a laboratory and took pupils. He went to London in 1664 "and became operator to the Royal Society." His death occurred about 1675 and he was buried in the church of St. Clement's Dane. Wood says that personally he gained some knowledge and experience, but his mind "still hung after antiquities."

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, while his notable work on the ORDER OF THE GARTER is his chief title to consideration as an authority on British antiquities. It lies outside our subject, but he was also—as I have intimated—a collector of alchemical literature and an editor of priceless English texts. Furthermore, he was an amateur of the Art itself. He considered that its “Elected Sons” were “given to know the Mysteries of the Kingdom of God,” as “our Saviour said to his disciples,” thus suggesting that he concurred with FAMA FRATERNITATIS in maintaining that there is a higher side of Alchemy, comparable to a detection of all Nature.¹ As a fact, in distinguishing the four Stones of Philosophy, which are like corner-stones at the four angles of the House of Hermetic Wisdom, he

¹ THEATRUM CHEMICUM BRITANNICUM, *containing several Pieces of our famous English Philosophers, who have written the Hermetic Mysteries in their own Ancient Language. Faithfully collected into one volume, with annotations, by ELIAS ASHMOLE, ESQ. Qui est Mercurius Anglicus.* London: Printed by John Grismond for Nathaniel Brook, at the Angel in Cornhill. 1652. It is termed the First Part. Ashmole always intended to make a further ingarnering, presumably in several sections or volumes, and the Bodleian Library shews that he had ample materials. Six years later he published a single tract, explaining his hindrances and saying that it was designed “to be included in one of the later parts of THEATRUM CHEMICUM BRITANNICUM.” See THE WAY TO BLISS. *In Three Books. Made public by ELIAS ASHMOLE, ESQ.* London, 1658. The editor is now described as *Mercuriophilus Anglicus*, the printer and publisher being as in the previous case. The motto on the title-page is: *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.* The tract is of unknown authorship and is referred by Ashmole to the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century; but—as printed at least—the text bears few marks of such a considerable antiquity. It is not of our concern otherwise, except in the very subsidiary sense of the editor’s prefatory remarks. In these he tells us (1) that “the author was without doubt an Englishman”; (2) that the text is printed from a perfect copy; (3) that he has included the annotations of Dr. Everard, translator of the DIVINE PYMANDER; (4) that the copy is a transcript of an original, discovered by a “laborious searcher,” who found also “three grains of the powder closed up between two leaves thereof, with which he made projection”; (5) that a “pretended” text, imperfect and interpolated, had appeared previously in THE WISE MAN’S CROWN, under the editorship of Eugenius Theodidactus, about whom we shall hear at length in the present chapter.

The Awakening in England

quotes from the FAMA verbatim: "And certainly he to whom the whole course of Nature lies open rejoiceth not so much that he can make gold and silver or the devils be made subject to him as that he sees the heavens open, the angels of God ascending and descending, and that his own name is fairly written in the Book of Life."¹ This citation is made without reference to source in the prolegomena to THEATRUM CHEMICUM BRITANNICUM. The preface alludes also to Frater I.:O.:., "one of the first four Fellows of the *Fratres R.:C.:.*, who cured the young Earl of Norfolk of the leprosy." Finally, it mentions Michael Maier and his translation of Thomas Norton's ORDINAL into Latin, from an independent codex.²

It follows that Ashmole had the mind of the Rosy Cross, and that he believed himself to have proceeded a certain distance on the path of attainment in the physics of the Hermetic subject emerges from certain autobiographical fragments which appeared many years after his death. Some one has remarked previously that the so-called LIFE, by way of Diary, is filled with his minor ailments, and this is true enough. It might be said also that it registers religiously his presence at the annual Astrologer's Feast,³

¹ It may be noted that there is an English version of the FAMA among the Ashmolean MSS., No. 1459, fols. 284-99. It is entitled FAMA FRATERNITATIS, or a Discovery of the Fraternity of the Laudable Order of the Rose Crosse, from us the Brethren of the Fraternity R. C. to all that with a Christian-like censure shall reade this our fame, be our salutation, love and prayers. It is followed by the CONFESSIO, which seems to end on p. 311. Mr. F. N. Pryce informs me that it proves on examination to be in the hand of Elias Ashmole. There is also Ashmole, 1478, fol. 125-30, containing both texts. It is not possible in either case to identify the translation with that edited by Vaughan.

² A collation of Ashmole's text with the Latin of Maier produces innumerable variations of a verbal kind but little essential difference. On the contrary both versions are the same substantially and reflect creditably upon the German alchemist's familiarity with the English language.

³ He was chosen Steward on August 8th, 1650. There was also a Mathematical Feast, which he attended on at least one occasion.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

his infrequent journeys in England, his occasional preferments, his differences with Lady Mainwaring, who became his second wife but applied for a separation and failed therein. It is poor and lean enough, the entries, as printed, being in the proportion of two or three in each month of the period covered; but it is quite certain that it was never intended for publication, and we must therefore be content with what we have, as it fills a gap which would otherwise have remained vacant.¹ Moreover, it specifies certain salient points or red-letter days of his relations with William Backhouse, the alchemist already referred to. For Ashmole, in view of his interests, they were no doubt the most important events of his intellectual life. Backhouse is mentioned first on April 3, 1651, and is described as of Swallowfield in Berkshire. It is said that on this date he caused his pupil to call him Father thenceforward. On June 10 of the same year it is noted that his teacher had communicated many secrets to him. The entry of October 10, 1651, states that "this morning my Father Backhouse opened himself very freely, touching the Great Secret." Again, on April 12, 1652: "This morning I received more satisfaction from my Father Backhouse, in answer to the questions I proposed." But finally and most important, there is the entry of May 13, 1653: "My Father Backhouse, lying sick in Fleet Street, over against St. Dunstan's Church, and not knowing whether he should live or die, about eleven of the clock, told me in syllables the True Matter of the Philosopher's Stone."² Among the age-long

¹ See MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE of that Learned Antiquary, ELIAS ASHMOLE, drawn up by Himself, by way of Diary. London, 1717. The text is said to be printed from a copy in the handwriting of Dr. Robert Plot.

² The Catalogue of Ashmolean MSS., No. 58, shews that William Backhouse was of Swallowfield in Berkshire, esquire—as stated in the text above. In 1644 he translated THE PLEASANT FOUNTAIN OF KNOWLEDGE, written in French by John de la Fontaine, anno 1413, and it appears in this MS. The translator's name is an addition by Ashmole. See also No. 1395, col. 1089,

The Awakening in England

memorials of alchemy on the historical side, this last record may be said to stand alone : I know of no other in which an adopted pupil and chosen Son of the Art confesses how and from whom he received the secret. Ashmole lived for forty years after this great event and pursued his researches as an antiquary. There is not the least reason to suppose that he proceeded to any practice ; presumably the secret was physical and a knowledge of the matter may have left him dependent on texts for the *modus operandi*. Whether Backhouse himself had succeeded is a problem which lies behind the darkness of our ignorance concerning him, while over and above this doubt there is the far more fatal question whether that which he passed on represented certitude based on experimental knowledge or on hypothesis only. On the other hand, supposing—perhaps against all likelihood—that Backhouse revealed the First Matter of the work in alchemy as a work on the soul, not on the body of things, it may be that the pursuit of such an experiment lay outside the calling of Ashmole and that the revelation was a dead secret. However this may be, the preface of THE WAY TO BLISS, published some years after the key had been put into his hands, is a poor and negligible performance in comparison with the *prolegomena* to THEATRUM CHEMICUM BRITANNICUM, which was prior to the great event. Thereafter he published no further Hermetic texts.

containing THE GOLDEN FLEECE, or the Flower of Treasures, described as translated out of French by William Backhouse, the original author calling himself Solomon Trismosin. The work is of considerable length and the translation is an extract only. It should be mentioned that Heydon ascribed to Backhouse his version of THE WAY TO BLISS and bibliographers unacquainted with Ashmole's text have been misled accordingly. So also was the Rev. A. F. R. Woodford in his ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF FREEMASONRY. Ashmole's account of the work has obviously mythical elements, but there is no reason to suppose that he would suppress wilfully the fact of its authorship had he been acquainted therewith. Backhouse provided the copy for printing. See Gould : HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY, II, 132. It may be added that Backhouse did not die till May 30, 1662.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

This is the case as it stands for Elias Ashmole as a Brother of the Rosy Cross: he had been instructed in alchemy; on one occasion he borrowed without acknowledgment from one of the manifestoes; and he reproduces notions from a so-called BOOK OF ST. DUNSTAN, couching them in language which has a distinct flavour of the Rosicrucian manner of writing. I continue to think that if there were living members of the Order in England between the death of Fludd and the date of his own passing, it is probable that he was one of them; but it is all high speculation, and there is little ground for supposing that things may be discovered hereafter which will open a door to certitude hereupon. As we know that he was a theoretical alchemist, we know also that he was a Mason, that he was initiated in 1646 and long years after attended a Meeting of Lodge or Acception at Mason's Hall in London.¹ Out of his Hermetic interests has arisen his Rosicrucian legend and out of the fact that he who was a non-operative became—for reasons unknown but probably of an antiquarian kind—the member of a guild of craftsmen, there has arisen that other legend, according to which he was the father of Speculative Masonry. They are of the same value and essentially speaking this value is *nil*. I conclude that, Rosicrucian or not, there is no evidence for the awakening of the Rosy Cross in England under the auspices of Elias Ashmole.

I pass now to the case of his contemporary, Thomas Vaughan, and as I do not propose to retrace a ground which I have travelled previously through its whole length, I must either presuppose acquaintance with my study of the Vaughan question or refer thereto.² On this

¹ Sir Robert Moray, who was initiated in the North prior to Ashmole, and was first President of the Royal Society, is called by Wood "a great patron of the Rosicrucians."

² THE WORKS OF THOMAS VAUGHAN: Eugenius Philalethes. Edited, annotated and introduced by Arthur Edward Waite. Issued by the

The Awakening in England

understanding, let us make a beginning at the year 1650, when the twin-brother of Henry Vaughan, called the Silurist poet, issued two tracts in a minute volume, under the pseudonym of Eugenius Philalethes. It follows that he preceded Ashmole, and so far as I am directly aware he makes the first reference to the Rosy Cross in the English language in England.¹ It had been made previously in Scotland, so far back—speaking comparatively—as the year 1638.² In the case of Vaughan his reference takes the form of a dedication prefixed to his first tract, a “salutation from the Centre of Peace” to the “regenerated Brethren R.:C.:,” who are described otherwise as “elders of election,” upright, noble and “peaceable apostles of the Church,” those, namely, “who behold in open day the threefold record of the Spirit, the Water and the Blood.” This is the judgment concerning them, more than thirty years after they had ceased practically to testify on their own part; and the dedication itself is prefixed, as I have said, to a minute publication in England, far from the German centre of the Rosy Cross, as if Vaughan took it for granted that they could see with the eyes and hear with ears of the spirit all the wide world over. But it may

Theosophical Publishing House for the Library Committee of the Theosophical Society in the year 1919.

¹ There is, however, an *ESSAY ON SPIRIT*, referred to 1647 and described as a scarce black letter tract, dedicated to John Locke. It is said by King in *THE GNOSTICS*, second edition, p. 398, to contain a Rosicrucian Creed, of which he gives three clauses. They are identical with the first three Magical Aphorisms printed by Vaughan at the end of *LUMEN DE LUMINE*, 1651. I have failed to trace the *ESSAY*, but King derived from Edward Clarkson's *ESSAY ON THE SYMBOLIC EVIDENCES OF THE TEMPLE CHURCH*, prefixed to R. W. Billing's *ARCHITECTURAL ILLUSTRATIONS AND ACCOUNT OF THE TEMPLE CHURCH*, 1838. It is an open question whether Vaughan reproduced his Aphorisms from the black letter tract or both from a common source.

² See Henry Adamson's *MUSE'S THRENODIA*, in which are the well-known lines:

For we are Brethren of the Rosie Cross.
We have the Masons' word and second sight.

The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross

be suggested alternatively that there were members or emissaries in Britain and that he was acquainted with the fact. We have seen that there is nothing to support this view. In any case Thomas Vaughan lays the offering of his tract, concerned with the nature of man and the state after death, on the threshold of the House of the Holy Spirit, not indeed as that which he would bring but as all that he has. It is not to be regarded as a gift but as the homage of a suppliant. It follows from the last words that it was also a bid for initiation, and that there might be no needless hindrance, in view of German adeptship, the dedication is written in Latin.

So opened the life of Thomas Vaughan in the Hermetic paths of literature, and nothing followed thereon, as if a door swung back in hidden House or Temple to admit a candidate. The author of *ANTHROPOSOPHIA THEOMAGICA* and the little books that followed did not become a Brother of the Rosy Cross. In a later publication he tells us that he has "no acquaintance with this Fraternity as to their persons" and that no one should suppose in their distraction that he belongs to the Order. He does not much "desire their acquaintance" and owns "no relation to them," though he is not a stranger to their doctrine, on the basis of which he holds that they are "masters of great mysteries," while recognising the amplitude of Nature, in which respect they may receive as well as give, meaning that other schools and other personalities might offer instruction to them on lines distinct from theirs. "It will be expected perhaps that I should speak something as to their persons and habitations, but in this my cold acquaintance will excuse me." It is so cold, however, that for the fact of their existence, which he affirms, there is no better evidence offered than that they write and publish books. It is obvious therefore that Thomas Vaughan contributes nothing to the history of the Order, but he marks a date