

STUDIES IN CULTURAL ICONOLOGY 1

STUDIES ON WESTERN ESOTERICISM IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE



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Dr. Bogdan Edward Jastrzębski-Edwards (1860–1923), the last Praemonstrator of the Golden Dawn, and his brother Louis Stanley Jast (1868–1944), the Theosophist

While a comprehensive history of Polish esotericism is yet to be written, it is quite safe to assume that there were few major figures of European importance. The only Pole of unquestionably momentous influence was the alchemist Michał Sędziwój (Michael Sendivogius, 1566–1636), whose works enjoyed enormous success and were published in numerous editions and translations not only during the two centuries following his death, but also from the late 19th century until the present. Although it is still a matter of debate to what extent alchemy was “esoteric” and whether the particular Sendivogian brand should be counted as such, the Polish author’s texts were re-read and re-interpreted by both more scientific “chymists” and clearly esoteric “adepts” of the 17th and 18th centuries. His impact on modern esotericism can be inferred from the number of modern popular translations into many languages, from that in *The Hermetic Museum*, edited by Arthur Edward Waite in 1893, to a recent version in Greek. Frequent references to Sendivogius are found in such celebrated esoteric authors as Fulcanelli or Carl Gustav Jung. Certainly no other Polish esotericist — be it a writer or an adventurer — could match the fame and magnitude of “Sarmata Anonymus”, as he was called by Michael Maier. Perhaps the next in importance was Tadeusz Grabianka (1740– 1807), the “King of New Israel”, one of the leaders of Illuminés du Mont-Thabor or d’Avignon, who was active all over Europe, from his native Podolia, where he had an alchemical laboratory in his estate of Ostapkowce (now Ostapkiivtsi, Ukraine), through Germany, France and England, to St. Petersburg where he died in prison. The great Romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855) and his one-time “guru” Andrzej Towiański (1799–1878) exerted some limited influence on Western European esotericists with their respective versions of Polish messianism. In the 20th century Czesław Czyński (1858–1932) was for some time the leader of the Martinist Order in Russia (nominally also a member of the O.T.O.) and Mieczysław Dymitr Sudowski (1897–1971) gained worldwide fame as Mouni Sadhu.

It does not follow, however, that Polish esotericism should not be studied on its lower level of unoriginal compilers and hundreds of practitioners, both in Poland and abroad. The research area that may prove especially fruitful is indeed that of less conspicuous Poles involved in the major esoteric movements. In the late 1970's, while reading Ellic Howe's groundbreaking monograph on the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, I noticed a brief mention of one "Dr Bogdan Jastrzebski Edwards of Bradford" among the names of early members who were physicians.¹ The index entry showed that he was mentioned again, but without the Polish surname expanded, in a listing of early Portal grade initiations: "Sat. 25 Feb. Dr B. E. J. Edwards ('Deus Lux Solis', 0° = 0° Oct. 1888), a Horus [Temple] member who also joined the Order at a very early date".² Because "Jastrzębski" is obviously a Polish surname and "Bogdan" is quite

a popular first name in Poland, it looked like I had spotted a Polish member of that foundational organisation for the subsequent tradition of modern magical esotericism. The information was quite scanty, however, and I had to wait for nearly a decade until another publication that was fundamental for recreating the history of the Golden Dawn appeared in 1986, namely R. A. Gilbert's *The Golden Dawn companion*, which brought some more details. The address book and/or the roll of members, on which Gilbert's list of the Golden Dawn members was based, had the Polish part of the name misspelt as 'Jastrzebowski' but it also supplied the address where Dr. Edwards lived in Bradford, so it was easy to deduce that "Mrs Dr Edwards", living at the same address and initiated in 1892, was his wife. Quite unexpectedly, yet another member of the same Horus Temple No. 5, initiated in 1889, was listed as "Lewis Stanley de Jastrzebowski" of Halifax, later of Peterborough, so clearly was a relative.



Fig. 1. Portrait of Bogdan Edward Jastrzębski or Dr Edwards (1860–1923) from the frontispiece of his memorial publication *Masonic Secrets* (Courtesy of The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London)

¹ Ellic Howe, *The magicians of the Golden Dawn: a documentary history of a magical order, 1887–1923* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 51.

² *Ibid.*, 97.

Even more intriguing were two pieces of information in R. A. Gilbert's indispensable compendium: that in October 1900 (probably from 1897 or maybe even 1892) B. E. J. Edwards was the Praemonstrator of the Horus Temple (with T. H. Pattinson as its Imperator),³ and that as late as 1912 William Wynn Westcott, one of the three co-founders of the order, intended to leave some of his "occult properties", related to three orders of freemasonry and to theosophy, to "Pattinson and Edwards" as his heirs.⁴ Because on-site research in England was not possible for me at that time, the topic lay latent for a quarter of a century until I returned to it in 2010, when Internet resources and contacts made such research much easier. Partial results of my investigations were presented at the ESSWE Conference in Szeged in 2011. It would not be possible to unfold the fascinating story of the Jastrzębski brothers without immense help from many people, especially R. A. Gilbert, the renowned historian of the Golden Dawn, three Yorkshire local historians: Malcolm Bull, Roger Beasley, and Kai Roberts, as well as a number of others, indicated in footnotes. While updating the information for the present paper in 2014, I found the website of Sally Davies devoted to biographies of GD members.⁵ Her ongoing research project is based on a wide range of primary sources, including the original Membership Roll, in which she found one person missing from R. A. Gilbert's list.⁶ The biographies of the Jastrzębski family members, published online by Sally Davies in September and October 2013, are very detailed and partly overlapping with my own findings (when we used the same sources), but in many respects they are complementary.

The story begins in Zebrzydowice, a large village located some thirty kilometers south-west of Cracow, in the part of Poland which was under Austrian rule throughout the 19th century. On 6 December 1823, in the house number 132, a son was born to Teodor Jastrzębski and his wife Anna "de Kownice" (so probably Kownicka). He was christened twenty days later, on the second day of Christmas,

³ R. A. Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn companion : a guide to the history, structure, and workings of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn* (Wellingborough: Aquarian, 1986), 36–37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁵ Sally Davies, "Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn," September–October 2013; http://pws.prserv.net/Roger_Wright/GD/ and <http://www.wrighrp.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/GD/>.

⁶ The Roll, address book, and other Golden Dawn documents were owned by R. A. Gilbert and deposited by him in The Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London; the collection is in the online catalogue at: <http://www.freemasonry.london.museum/catalogue.php>. The person missing in the printed list is Alice Elizabeth Major (1849–1906); her biography has not been researched by Sally Davies yet (as of 13 February 2015) but she was certainly one of two daughters of Richard Henry Major (1818–1891), a notable historian and geographer.

with the names Stefan Ludwik.⁷ The family may have been members of nobility, as they later claimed, but it needs confirmation. Also the financial status of his parents is not clear and nothing is known about his early life or education, but the testimony of his friend indicates that at the age of twenty three he knew much about literature and liked to discuss books of contemporary novelists.⁸ Most probably he took part in the Kraków Uprising of early 1846, one of numerous and unsuccessful attempt of Poles to regain independence, and after it was suppressed, he escaped to Hungary like most of his comrades, to join the Polish Legion formed there by general Józef Wysocki (1809–1873) in 1848, to support Hungarians — led by Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894) — in their fight for independence from Habsburg hegemony. Eventually the Hungarian and Polish forces were defeated by the Austrian army in the battles of Szőreg and Temesvár in August 1849, soldiers were dismissed and the principality of Serbia allowed them to cross over it to Turkey, so about 5000 men

⁷ *Liber baptisatorum* IV, 68; the records are still kept at the parish archive in Zebrzydowice and the former parish priest Rev. Ryszard Gołuch (now retired) kindly found the entry at my request; at present there are persons of the same name living in the village but to establish if they are related and whether Teodor and Anna had other children, more detailed onsite research would be needed. Later in England Stefan Ludwik gave Zebrzydowice as the place of his birth and his age recorded on several occasions also fits this birth record.

⁸ Teodor Tomasz Jeż [Zygmunt Miłkowski], *Od kolebki przez życie: wspomnienia* [From the cradle through the life: memoirs], 3 vols. (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1936–1937), 1:380; it should be noted that until recently some facts from his life were ascribed to Jan Ludwik Jastrzębski (1804–1852), especially in the article on the latter in the monumental and prestigious Polish biographical dictionary: Franciszek German, “Jastrzębski Korwin Jan Ludwik,” in *Polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary] (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1964–1965), 78–79; even more confusing are short biographical notes nominally on Stefan Ludwik but with the birth year and many facts from the life of Jan Ludwik: Marian Tyrowicz, *Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie 1832–1863: przywódcy i kadry członkowskie. Przewodnik biobibliograficzny* [Polish Democratic Society 1832–1863: leaders and members. A bio-bibliographic guide] (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1964), 260–261; Rafał Geber, ed. *Julian Aleksander Bałaszewicz: Raporty szpiega* [Julian Aleksander Bałaszewicz: Reports of a spy, 2 vols. (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1973), 2:477. The confusion was noticed and cleared up by: Danuta Rederowa, “Jan Ludwik Jastrzębski: Z życia naukowego Wielkiej Emigracji [Jan Ludwik Jastrzębski: From the scientific life of the Great Emigration],” *Analecta: Studia i materiały z dziejów nauki* 8 (16) (1999): 127–178. Another Jastrzębski of unknown given name, who participated in the 1846 revolt in Bochnia, is likewise confused with Stefan Ludwik in: István Kovács, *A lengyel légión lexikona, 1848–1849* [Lexicon of the Polish legion 1848–1849] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, História Könyvtár, 2007), 222.; most importantly, the information that he returned from England to Poland and died in Marcyporeba in 1873 is wrong, as he most certainly was still alive in 1891, listed by the census in Halifax (the entry from Kovács’s book was kindly provided by György Szőnyi).

arrived at Vidin.⁹ The group included 833 Poles, who came on 25 August with Stefan Ludwik Jastrzębski among them, now in the rank of infantry lieutenant.¹⁰ About two hundred more arrived later, then 124 of them returned to Austria when amnesty was offered, while sixteen converted to Islam and joined the Turkish army. In November the remaining 790 officers and soldiers were transported to Szumen (then called Szumla) to be interred.¹¹

Already in Hungary, when the army was dispersed, Jastrzębski joined a group of young officers who became friends and kept together afterwards.¹² One of them was Zygmunt Miłkowski (1824–1915), later a notable novelist (writing under the pen name of Teodor Tomasz Jeż), politician, and author of voluminous memoirs, which contain further information about Stefan Ludwik. As they had nothing to do in Szumla, Jastrzębski proposed they might start publishing a handwritten newspaper entitled *Dziennik Emigracji* [Emigration Daily] and became its secretary, while Miłkowski was the first editor-in-chief. Six issues in all are known to have been published between late July and mid-August 1850. The articles were collected by Jastrzębski, corrected by Miłkowski, and dictated by him to a group of colleagues, so that about twenty to thirty copies were produced.¹³ When Miłkowski left Szumla,

⁹ Most recent general research on the Polish Legion in Hungary and its later fate may be found in: Andrzej Szmyt, "Legion Polski po upadku węgierskiej Wiosny Ludów [The Polish Legion after the downfall of the Hungarian Revolution]," in *W kraju i na wychodźstwie. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Sławomirowi Kalembsce w sześćdziesięciopięciolecie urodzin* [At home and on emigration. Memorial book presented to Professor Sławomir Kalembska for his sixty fifth birthday], ed. Jan Sobczyk, et al. (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2001), 595–612; Emil Noiński, *General Antoni Jeziorański (1821–1882)* [General Antoni Jeziorański (1821–1882)] (Siedlce: PhD dissertation, Akademia Podlaska, 2009), 37–52.

¹⁰ Józef Wysocki, *Pamiętnik generała Wysockiego, dowódcy Legionu Polskiego na Węgrzech z czasu kampanii węgierskiej w roku 1848 i 1849* [Memoirs of general Wysocki, commander of the Polish Legion in Hungary from the period of the Hungarian campaign in 1848 and 1849], 2 ed. (Kraków: J. K. Żupański & K. J. Heumann, 1888), 133, no. 20.

¹¹ Jerzy Skowronek, *Polityka bałkańska Hotelu Lambert (1833–1856)* [The Balkan policy of Hotel Lambert (1833–1856)] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1976), 175–177; Georgi Parvev, "Polscy emigranci a społeczeństwo bułgarskie w latach 1849–1850 [Polish emigrants and the Bulgarian people during the years 1849–1850]," in *Wielka Emigracja i sprawa polska a Europa (1832–1864)* [The Great Emigration and Poland vs. Europe (1832–1864)], ed. Sławomir Kalembska (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1980), 179–196.

¹² Jeż, *Od kolebki przez życie*, 1:362, 3:59.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1:380.; no copy of the newspaper was believed to have survived until Georgi Parvev discovered four (out of six) issues in Biblioteka Czartoryskich in Cracow, which were then re-edited in print: Sławomir Kalembska, "'Odzyskany' rękopiśmienny, szumeński 'Dziennik Emigracji' z 1850 roku: reedycja ['Rediscovered' handwritten 'Emigration Daily' of Szumen from 1850: re-edition]," *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici: Historia* 22 (1988): 107–133.

others replaced him as the editor, with Jastrzębski acting as the liable editor for the penultimate (the last known) issue dated 9 August 1850. The content was political and the newspaper was related to the underground activities of the Polish Democratic Society (PDS), one of two rivaling parties of Polish emigration in Western Europe, with which Jastrzębski and his friends sympathised.¹⁴

Turkish authorities encouraged the interred soldiers to leave the country and the first group sailed off from Varna to Malta in March 1850, and then to England or France. Another group with Miłkowski must have left in July and went to Southampton, from where the future novelist moved to London, in order to find a job and continue his political activities.¹⁵ In the spring of 1851 he learned that another group was on its way to England, so he joined the official delegate of the PDS, Stanisław Worcell (1799–1857), and went to Liverpool to meet his friends from Szumla and help them to start a new life in England. The ship with nearly 300 people, with Stefan Ludwik Jastrzębski among them, arrived on 4 March 1851.¹⁶ The PDS already had a network of contacts with Polish émigrés who had come after 1831 and were well established, as well as with English businessmen who could offer jobs. They organised meetings with the Polish heroes, as the soldiers were perceived, and many of them found new home in 23 different towns throughout England and Scotland, establishing new local sections of the PDS wherever they went.¹⁷ Together with many others, Ludwik Jastrzębski (now using his second name only) signed the formal membership application on 8 March 1851, upon his disembarkment in Liverpool, indicating “Zebrzydowice in Galicia” as his place of birth.¹⁸ He did not stay in England long, however, and soon went to France with another friend, where Miłkowski joined them some time later (all had false British passports). In Paris they entered the circles of Count Ksawery Branicki (1816–1879), whose brother Aleksander (1821–1877) was a patron of Eliphas Lévi (1810–1875) and greatly interested in esoteric matters himself. But before they had

¹⁴ Jeż, *Od kolebki przez życie*, 1:381; Kalemka, ““Odzyskany” rękopiśmienny,” 111–113.

¹⁵ Miłkowski writes he left Turkey with the first group and arrived in England in April 1850, but then he would not be able to edit the (not surviving) first issue of *Dziennik Emigracji*, as he claimed; Jeż, *Od kolebki przez życie*, 3:59.

¹⁶ Helena Rzadkowska, *Działalność Centralizacji Londyńskiej Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego 1850–1862* [The activities of the London Centralisation of the Polish Democratic Society 1850–1862], *Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych*, 29 (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk: Ossolineum / Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1971), 42.

¹⁷ Jeż, *Od kolebki przez życie*, 1:464–465; Rzadkowska, *Działalność Centralizacji*, 42–43.

¹⁸ Lucjan Krawiec, “Lista członków Towarzystwa Demokratycznego Polskiego z lat 1832–1851 [A list of members of the Polish Democratic Society from the years 1832–1851],” *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej* [Buenos Aires – Paris] 1 (1963): 128–132, here 129, no. 3488.

a chance to meet Branicki, all Poles who came illegally from England were identified by the police and ordered to return at the cost of the French government. They suspected that they were denounced by the rival group of Polish emigration known as Hotel Lambert.¹⁹ Once they were back in London, the PDS leaders decided to send them as emissaries to Poland, to find out about the political atmosphere and possibility to start organising people with the prospect of a new uprising. It was decided that Jastrzębski would go to Galicia and Miłkowski to the Ukraine — the respective areas they were from. The latter left for Poland at the turn of August and September 1851, but it is not clear whether the former also visited Poland, as he disappears from Miłkowski's memoirs.²⁰ He either stayed or returned to England by 1854, when he was already in Halifax and there he signed a declaration against the political activities of Prince Adam Czartoryski, the leader of the Hotel Lambert party.²¹

In the early 1850's there were ten sections of the PDS active in English towns other than London, among which were those in Bradford and Halifax. The latter represented the most radical faction of revolutionaries.²² Stefan Ludwik Jastrzębski must have been attracted to it and thus settled down in Halifax. In 1854 a series of meetings were held throughout England by Polish refugees, not only winning public approval for their cause of reviving Poland, but also receiving enormous help from industrialists and craftsmen. Those meetings attracted as many as 60,000 people (in Staffordshire Potteries) and Jastrzębski certainly was involved in their organisation.²³ He continued political activities and stood as a candidate for "Centralisation", as the ruling body of the PDS was called, in 1855 (with 6 votes) and 1858 (with 2 votes).²⁴ As late as 1862 he participated in a great meeting of all political factions within Polish emigration in the George and Blue Boar Hotel in London, at High Holborn 270, and supported the resolution proclaiming its unity (now as Ludwik Stefan).²⁵

¹⁹ Jeż, *Od kolebki przez życie*, 1:466–472.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:473–474; Rządowska, *Działalność Centralizacji*, 44; Alina Barszczewska-Krupa, *Reforma czy rewolucja* [Reform or revolution] (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1979), 275.

²¹ Tyrowicz, *Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie*, 260.

²² Sławomir Kalembka, *Wielka Emigracja. Polskie wychodźstwo polityczne w latach 1831–1862* [The Great Emigration. Polish political emigration during the years 1831–1862] (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1971), 378–379; Rządowska, *Działalność Centralizacji*, 46.

²³ —, *Działalność Centralizacji*, 79–80.

²⁴ Tyrowicz, *Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie*, 275.

²⁵ Lidia Ciołkosz and Adam Ciołkosz, *Zarys dziejów socjalizmu polskiego* [An outline of the history of Polish socialism] (Londyn: Gryf Publications, 1972), 37–38.; *The Times*, 1 December 1862, 25.

Some later accounts assume that Jastrzębski lived for some time in Kidderminster but the only reason for that claim is the fact that in the first quarter of 1859 he married Elizabeth (Lizzy) Morgan, the daughter of Benjamin, a market gardener in Franche near Kidderminster. Even though it is quite far from Halifax (over 200 kilometers), both towns had close links, being important centres of carpet industry. More detailed research on the Morgan family shows that her brother John Lewis Morgan married a girl from Halifax, who was of exactly the same age as his sister. He also named his farm "Halifax" after her birthplace, so it is highly probable that Stefan Ludwik Jastrzębski met his wife either when she accompanied her brother visiting his fiancé in Halifax or that he was a friend of John Morgan's future wife and went with her on a visit to Franche. Moreover, both couples got married in Kidderminster in the same quarter of 1859 (most probably on the same day).²⁶

The couple continued living in Halifax, where Stefan started his own business as a tobacconist and was naturalised on 6 November 1873 as a former Austrian subject.²⁷ The year of his death remains unknown but he was still alive in 1891, when he announced bankruptcy at the age of 68.²⁸ In the census of 1901 his wife Lizzie was already listed as a widow and she was still alive at the time of the next census in April 1911.²⁹ She died in the third quarter of 1918 at the age of 80. They had three sons born in Halifax soon after their marriage: Bogdan Edward (1860), Thaddeus Theodore (1862) and Louis Stanley (1868).³⁰ All three of them made exceptional careers in England, truly amazing for the sons of a poor immigrant and a gardener's daughter.³¹ When they died, their friends and co-workers wrote

²⁶ The vital details are provided in the pedigree chart, which I have compiled from information found in the online databases: freeCEN, freeREG, freeBMD, and from the excellent HKP Building Reports of the Kidderminster Civic Society at: <http://kidderminstercivicsociety.btck.co.uk/HKPBuildingReports>. The chairman of the Historic Kidderminster Project is a writer and local historian Nigel Gilbert, who kindly checked my research on the Morgans and confirmed my hypothesis.

²⁷ Mieczysław Paszkiewicz, "Polacy naturalizowani w Wielkiej Brytanii w XIX wieku [Poles naturalised in Great Britain in the 19th century]," *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej* [Buenos Aires – Paris] 3 (1966): 65–116, here 89, application no. 1161.

²⁸ "Receiving orders," *The London Gazette*, April 28 1891, 2342; "Notices of release of trustees," *The London Gazette*, December 29 1891; information found and kindly supplied by Roger Beasley.

²⁹ Census data kindly supplied by Roger Beasley.

³⁰ The genealogical details I have been able to find are summarised in the pedigree chart, compiled from the data in online databases: freeCEN, freeREG, freeBMD; from information found in the sources and publications cited in the text, and kindly provided by Yorkshire local historians Malcolm Bull, Roger Beasley, and Kai Roberts.

³¹ Maria Danielewiczowa, "Trzej bracia: Edwards, Jastrzębski i Jast, [Three brothers: Edwards, Jastrzębski and Jast]" *Wiadomości* [London], no. 1084 (1967): 2.

biographical memorials (two of them were published), and the youngest brother has his entries in encyclopedias and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* — a truly rare distinction.³²



Fig. 6. Thaddeus Theodore Ślepowron de Jastrzębski (1862–1930)
(Courtesy of Halifax Central Library,
Calderdale Council)

Bogdan, later known as B. E. J. Edwards or Dr. Edwards, studied medicine in Edinburgh at the time when Arthur Conan Doyle was also a student there. Later he became a successful general practitioner in Brighouse and was also appointed Medical Officer of Health. He was actively promoting St. John's Ambulance Brigade (for which he received the Order of St John of Jerusalem) and was an early leader of local Boy Scouts. During World War I Bogdan Jastrzębski Edwards was instrumental in establishing and managing Auxiliary War Hospitals in Boothroyde and Longroyde, for which he received Medal of the British Empire and Royal Red Cross. In 1887 he married Henrietta Palmer of Halifax, daughter of a master tailor, and they had four children, of whom two had died by 1911 and the son Harold in 1917 (at the age of 26 but it is not clear if he fought in the war). Their daughter Elsie remained

³² Those works contain much biographical and professional information which I only briefly summarise: Vaughan Bateson, *Masonic secrets and the ancient mysteries: A memorial lecture to the late Arch-President Brother Doctor Edwards, delivered to the Garuda Temple, The August Order of Light* (Bradford: Privately printed by the Clarence Press for The August Order of Light, 1923); I am indebted to Jennifer Rampling, the alchemical scholar of Cambridge and Princeton, for making for me a photographic copy of the Bodleian Library copy of this rare publication (200 copies were printed), and to Martin Cherry of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London for providing high quality scans of the selected pages reproduced here; W. T. Harverson, "Memoir of T. T. S. de Jastrzebski 'Thaddeus'," (The Ferns, Eastbourne: Central Library, Halifax / MS B JAS, HT 28130245, 1932); a copy of the typescript kindly provided by Anne Jackson and Katie Warriner of the Halifax Central Library; W. G. Fry and W. A. Munford, *Louis Stanley Jast: A biographical sketch* (London: The Library Association, 1966); James G. Ollé, "Jast, Louis Stanley (1868–1944)," in *World encyclopedia of library and information services*, ed. Robert Wedgeworth (Chicago: American Library Association, 1993), 411–412; K. A. Manley, "Jast, Louis Stanley (1868–1944)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

unmarried and died in 1964 in Halifax, being the last descendant of Stefan Ludwik.³³

Bogdan's younger brother Thaddeus retained the Polish surname throughout his life and also used the name of the heraldic clan in the form "Ślepowron de Jastrzębski", usually abbreviated to "T. T. S. de Jastrzebski", while his friends referred to him as "Shamski" due to the difficulty of pronouncing it properly. In 1881 he passed the Civil Service Examination and started his work in the General Register Office, where he eventually reached the position of Assistant Registrar General and head of the Statistical and Intelligence Branch. He not only organised censuses in England, but also ran many other statistical projects and wrote articles for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and scientific journals. During World War I he created the Belgian Refugee Register,³⁴ for which he was created Chevalier de l'Ordre de Leopold in 1919. A prominent fellow of the Royal Statistical Society and contributor to its journal,³⁵ as well as of the American Academy of Social and Political Science, Thaddeus de Jastrzębski also gave public lectures on a variety of topics, was involved in the Working Men's College, wrote for daily newspapers, authored a short novel *Lottery of Death* (as Stanley Stevens), the libretto for a comic opera *Guinevere, or Love laughs at law* (staged at Kilburn Town Hall in 1890), and a volume of poetry *Downland and other verses*.³⁶ In 1890 he married Frances Elizabeth, a daughter of Abraham Thackrah, ironmonger in Halifax. Of their two children, Hubert died of wounds as a volunteer in World War I, while Norah married Albert Wespi of Lausanne, where her father moved shortly before his death in 1930. Norah died in 1956 without issue.³⁷

The youngest brother, Louis Stanley (who shortened his surname in 1895 and was later known as L. Stanley Jast), was even more successful. He pursued the career of a public librarian, assuming the position of the chief librarian in Peterborough, then in Croydon, and eventually in Manchester. He introduced many innovative ideas into English libraries (such as free shelf access, cataloguing by Dewey classification, interlibrary loans, mobile library service, and even ordering books by telephone) and

³³ The biographers of Stanley Jast had access to her papers (now probably lost) and in the preface they thanked "the late Miss Elsie Edwards (Jast's niece) for books, cuttings and other information"; Fry and Munford, *Louis Stanley Jast*, ix.

³⁴ T. T. S. de Jastrzebski, "The Register of Belgian Refugees," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 79, no. 2 (1916): 133–158.

³⁵ "Obituary," *ibid.*, 93, (1930): 629.

³⁶ S. de J. [T. T. S. de Jastrzebski], *Downland and other verses* (London: Maclaren & Sons, 1929).

³⁷ Testament of Albert Wespi, Eidg. Winkelried-Stiftung, Archives fédérales suisses AFS, Bern, Ref. code: E7001C#1975/32#304*.

published many articles in professional journals (*Library World*, *Library Association Record* and *Library Review*). Some of Jast's lectures and essays presenting his ideas on such novelty topics as libraries for children or collecting photographs, were published in print.³⁸ The most important of those was the pamphlet of 1927, in which he presented his vision of an ideal library, which was realised a few years later in the design of the Manchester Central Library, on which he worked with the architect Vincent Harris.³⁹

In the Library Association, of which he was the honorary secretary from 1904 to 1915, Louis Stanley Jast met Ethel Winifred Austin, a pioneer of library services for blind people and developer of the National Library for the Blind.⁴⁰ They engaged to be married after the war but in 1918 Winifred died, upon which Jast wrote a play entitled *The lover and the dead woman*. In 1925 he married Millicent Beatrice Murby, an active feminist, suffragette, and prominent Fabian Society member (the treasurer of its Women's Group), who had earlier been an amateur actress and theatre producer. She ran the private New Stage Club which staged plays by George Bernard Shaw, Henrik Ibsen and others, then banned in England. Murby herself played the main role in Oscar Wilde's *Salomé* (1905), directed by Florence Farr, as well as produced and directed other plays⁴¹. She



Fig. 7. Louis Stanley Jast (1868–1944)
(Courtesy of Manchester Libraries,
Information and Archives,
Manchester City Council)

³⁸ H. D. Gower, Louis Stanley Jast, and William Whiteman Topley, *The camera as historian: A handbook to photographic record work for those who use a camera and for survey or record societies* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1916); Louis Stanley Jast, *The child as reader* (London: Libraco Ltd., 1927); —, *Libraries and living: Essays and addresses of a public librarian* (London: Grafton & Co., 1932); —, *The provision of books for children in elementary schools* (London: Libraco Ltd., 1928); —, *The library and the community* (London – New York: T. Nelson & Sons, 1939).

³⁹ —, *The planning of a great library: A lecture delivered in the School of Librarianship at University College, London, December 10th, 1926* (London: Libraco Ltd., 1927).

⁴⁰ K. A. Manley, "Austin, (Ethel) Winifred (1873–1918)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004a).

⁴¹ She published articles on feminism in *The New Age* weekly in 1908, a small book issued by its press: Millicent Murby, *The common sense of the woman question* (London: New Age Press, 1908); and gave lectures on such topics as "Sex and society: A few radical

also translated some philosophical works by Henri Bergson and corresponded with him. Her involvement in the avant-garde theatre earlier in the century may have been what attracted Stanley Jast to her, because he was also an amateur playwright and poet.⁴² His dramas were staged by The Unnamed Society, co-founded by him, which later developed into the Manchester Library Theatre.⁴³

According to the testimonies collected by their biographers, all three Jastrzębski brothers were not only excellent public speakers, but brilliant conversationalists as well, and had exceptional linguistic abilities. Their father ensured that they had at least some command of Polish and they also certainly learned French. Thaddeus was fascinated with German poetry, which he read in original, while Bogdan and Stanley studied ancient and exotic languages. Most importantly, they were avid readers and writers, with a love for books inherited from their father. It is surprising how a Polish exiled soldier, who arrived in England as a penniless refugee and certainly not speaking a word of English, soon built up a library of literary classics in the language of his new country. As Stanley Jast later remembered:

I was fortunate that I grew up in a house full of books, some of which were children's books, but many of them, most of them in fact, would not be considered as falling into this category. Hence I read, or tried to read, nearly everything at hand, for my father — wisely, as I think — imposed upon us no taboos. I could not have been more than twelve or thirteen when I devoured the Confessions of Jean Jacques Rousseau [...] but though I remember the thrill of the episode with Mme de Warrens, it was all so vaguely realised that I am not aware that it did me any particular harm — any more than reading about pirates and bloody encounters on the field of battle increased my natural ferocity. Hence my belief that a fairly normal boy or girl can read anything that is literature without ill-effects; at all events that to forbid books is likely to have effects that are worse.⁴⁴

considerations"; see her summary of several such lectures in: Sally Alexander, ed. *Women's Fabian tracts*, Women's Source Library, 7 (London: Routledge, 1988), 105–128.

⁴² Louis Stanley Jast, *Poems and epigrams: Yet speaketh* (Keighley: Wadsworth & Co., The Rydal Press, n.d.); —, *The lover and the dead woman, and five other plays in verse* (London / New York: George Routledge and Sons Ltd. / E. P. Dutton & Co., 1923); —, *Shah Jahan: A play in five acts* (London: Grafton & Co., 1934); —, *What happened to a library book* (London: Libraco Ltd., 1928).; the last one is written in verse for children.; for a brief discussion and samples of his poetry see: Sally Davies, "Stanley Jast as Poet," 17 October 2013; <http://www.wrighrp.wpp.blueyonder.co.uk/GD/STANLEYPOET.htm>.

⁴³ More information on the Society's activities, with pictures of costume designs, photographs and details of other Jast's plays staged there can be found in: Louis Stanley Jast, L. Sladen-Smith, and Eric Newton, *The unnamed book* (Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes, 1924).

⁴⁴ Jast, *Libraries and living*, 138.

Such liberal atmosphere and appreciation of the value of book knowledge at the Jastrzębskis' home in Halifax was certainly responsible for the fact that all the three brothers pursued literary activities in their spare time, and two of them — Bogdan and Stanley — developed a lifelong interest in esotericism. It is unclear when and why Bogdan became interested in it, while Stanley may have picked it up from his elder brother. The earliest certain information is of Bogdan joining the newly founded Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn and Stanley following in his footsteps less than a year later.

The Golden Dawn was formally established on 12 February 1888 by the three Chiefs — William Robert Woodman, William Wynn Westcott and Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers — and on 1 March the first nine candidates were initiated in the Isis-Urania Temple No. 3 in London. Two of them were from Weston-super-Mare, where the Osiris Temple No. 4 was to be located in October of the same year, and one was from Baildon near Bradford. His name was Thomas Henry Pattinson, a watch and clock maker and repairer by occupation, who had already been an enthusiastic esotericist for a number of years. The area of West Yorkshire seems to have been a centre of occult activity in the 1870's and 1880's, partly under the patronage of Rev. William Alexander Ayton (1816–1908), an Anglican clergyman and practising alchemist.⁴⁵ He met Pattinson in 1881 or 1882 and intended to organise a lodge for the study of occultism in Bradford.⁴⁶ Although he was a freemason, he never joined the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, the masonic body from which most of the early members of the Golden Dawn were recruited, as all the three Chiefs were active members and W. R. Woodman was its head (Supreme Magus) at the time.⁴⁷ Pattinson also became a freemason (initiated in the local lodge of Baildon No. 1545) and was admitted into Societas Rosicruciana, where he

⁴⁵ A concise biography researched by Ellic Howe is included in his edition of Ayton's correspondence: Ellic Howe, ed. *The alchemist of the Golden Dawn: The letters of the Revd W. A. Ayton to F. L. Gardner and others 1886–1905*, Roots of the Golden Dawn Series (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1985), 10–13.; for a more detailed discussion of his Golden Dawn involvement see: R. A. Gilbert, *Revelations of the Golden Dawn: the rise and fall of a magical order* (London: Quantum, 1997), 149–158.; a detailed biography, including family history and occult activities can be found in two online publications: Sally Davies, "William Alexander Ayton — family history," 6 June 2013; <http://www.wrighrp.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/GD/AYTONSFAMCH.htm>.; and —, "William Alexander Ayton — occult activities," 22 June 2013; <http://www.wrighrp.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/GD/AYTONSOCCULTLIFE.htm>.

⁴⁶ Gilbert, *Revelations of the Golden Dawn*, 153; —, *The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section* (London: Theosophical History Centre, 1987), 10–11. (here the approximate year they "became occultly acquainted" is quoted from Ayton's lecture of 1890).

⁴⁷ Howe, *The alchemist of the Golden Dawn*, 12–13.

immediately received an honorary 8th degree.⁴⁸ In March 1888 Pattinson was enlisted as a member of the Correspondence Circle of the prestigious Quatuor Coronati masonic research lodge, in which William Wynn Westcott was the Junior Warden (third highest officer).⁴⁹ He was thus recognised as “a zealous member of the Soc. Ros. and the Theosophical Society”⁵⁰, the latter of which he may have joined some time earlier together with Ayton,⁵¹ and was certainly on friendly terms with the Chiefs of the Golden Dawn still before his initiation. Soon after the initiation (still in March), Pattinson wrote to Westcott: “I find 7 interested friends all ready to fall in with the idea of forming a G. D. here in Bradford [...]. 5 out of the 7 are old occult students [...]. I dare say 3 of us could come to London and then be initiated there, afterwards make arrangements for a Lodge up here”.⁵² It was on Pattinson’s and his friend J. Leech Atherton’s initiative,⁵³ and with Ayton’s support, that the Horus Temple No. 5 was established in Bradford on 10 October 1888 (consecrated by Westcott or Mathers on 19 October).⁵⁴ Earlier, on 10 June 1888, he was appointed the Provincial Hierophant, responsible for recruiting new members in Yorkshire.⁵⁵

The first six of Pattinson’s recruits included five men from Bradford and one from Baildon, where he also lived himself. They were all initiated in London (four in May and two in September), while the very first member ritually admitted into the Horus Temple (and the 52nd member of the Golden Dawn) was “Dr Bogdan E.

⁴⁸ —, *The magicians of the Golden Dawn*, 54.

⁴⁹ *St. John’s card of the lodge Quatuor Coronati, No. 2076, London*, (Margate: insert of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, vol. 3, 1890), 22, no. 711.

⁵⁰ —, *The magicians of the Golden Dawn*, 45.

⁵¹ Gilbert, *Revelations of the Golden Dawn*, 153.

⁵² —, *The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section*, 10.

⁵³ He was a Congregationalist minister; for a detailed biography see: Sally Davies, “Jeremiah Leech Atherton,” 19 January 2013; <http://www.wrighrp.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/GD/ATHERTONJL.htm>.

⁵⁴ Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn companion*, 35 (consecrator not named); —, *The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section*, 10 (“consecrated by Westcott on 19 October”); Howe, *The magicians of the Golden Dawn*, 54 (“consecrated by Mathers at a ceremony held at the Alexandra Hotel on 9 October” — probably this information is outdated but as neither publication has a source reference, it is difficult to decide which of the two versions is correct).

⁵⁵ Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn companion*, 133–134; Marie Campbell, *Strange world of the Brontës* (Wilmslow, Cheshire: Sigma Leisure, 2001), 175; this local history book contains some factual information I could not find in other publications on the Golden Dawn; it appears to be well-researched but has no footnotes; in 2011 I contacted the author who had just moved to a new house and her old notes were not accessible.

Jastriebwski" of Brighthouse, who took the order motto "Deus Lux Solis".⁵⁶ The ceremony took place in the Alexandra Hotel at Great Horton Road (there is a car park on its site now), where the Horus Temple found its first home.⁵⁷ The hotel's owner, Carlo Faro, was initiated at the same ceremony (but remained only a nominal member), together with three other neophytes (two from Bradford, one from Baildon). During the following year only two new members were acquired, one of whom was "Lewis Stanley de Jastriebwski" of Halifax with the motto "Fiat Lux". Three years later, on 20 March 1892, "Mrs Dr Edwards" of Brighthouse (i.e. Henrietta, Bogdan's wife) joined the Order and chose the motto "Spes et Caritas". She eventually reached only the second degree but the brothers advanced to the Second Order, with Bogdan passing through the 5=6 degree on 25 February 1893 and his brother following him on 12 January 1897. It is clear that Stanley and Henrietta were recruited by Bogdan, while he must have been known to Pattinson earlier, most probably being one of the original "7 interested friends" or maybe even "5 old occult students", and that was why he had invited him to be the first initiate of the Horus Temple. Because Bogdan Jastrzębski was not a freemason until much later and did not live in Bradford, they must have met through other esoteric contacts.

The Theosophical Society, which Pattinson may have joined together with Ayton at an early date, did not spread its activities beyond London until 1889,⁵⁸ so it is doubtful that he would have met Jastrzębski in it. There was, however, enough occult activity going on in and around Bradford. As early as July 1884, the British and Foreign Society of Occultists started publishing a journal entitled *The Seer and Celestial Reformer* (from 1885 until 1889 it appeared as *The Occultist*). The moving spirit behind it was John Thomas (Charubel, 1826–1908) and the society had a secret inner order called the Celestial Brotherhood, quite similar to the Golden Dawn in its structure.⁵⁹ Thomas lived in Cheshire but the journal "was produced at Bradford in Yorkshire and it was here that a number of his scattered occultists lived, among them some of his regular contributors".⁶⁰ The authors all wrote under

⁵⁶ Unless indicated otherwise, all data on initiation dates and mottoes of the Golden Dawn members are quoted after the authoritative listing in: Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn companion*, 124–175.

⁵⁷ The name of the hotel was Alexandra, not Alexander, as misprinted in: *ibid.*, 134., but correct on p. 36, and in: Howe, *The magicians of the Golden Dawn*, 54.

⁵⁸ A. P. Sinnett, *The early days of theosophy in Europe* (London: Theosophical Publishing House, 1922), 96–97.

⁵⁹ Robert A. Gilbert, "The disappointed magus: John Thomas and his "Celestial Brotherhood", *Theosophical History* 8, no. 3 (2000): 98–111.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 101.; title pages are reproduced in: Joscelyn Godwin, Christian Chandel, and John Patrick Deveney, *The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor: Initiatic and historical documents of an order of practical occultism* (York Beach: Samuel Weiser Inc., 1995), 304, 313.

pseudonyms and some of them contributed also to *The Lamp of Thoth*, a handwritten journal produced by the Order of the Dew and the Light (otherwise called the Ros Crux Fratres), with its headquarters in Keighley near Bradford and neighbouring on Baildon, where Pattinson lived.⁶¹ Still another journal, *The Occult Magazine*, was published by The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor in Glasgow from early 1885 until the end of 1886, again with some of the same authors, most notably David Lund or “Zanoni”, the secretary of the Society of the Dew and the Light.⁶²

The Rosicrucian Brotherhood of Keighley was clearly seen as an important rival by both the expanding Theosophical Society and the newly founded Golden Dawn. The former printed in its most important journal *Lucifer* of 1889 an editorial note decrying the society and its head “Mr. Joseph Blackburn, of Keighley”, especially for his use of the pseudonym “Magus”, accusing him and his pseudonymous colleague “Dr. Dulcamara” of being “the bitterest enemies and persecutors of Theosophy”. This was followed by a fierce exposure signed by “One who has been duped”, i. e. a former member of the group. According to him that “bogus occult society [...] has members in almost every town in England” and is mostly preoccupied with practicing black magic. “One man [...] tries to project himself on the astral plane and beget astral children”, while other members “boast that they sacrifice kids and they already sacrificed two”, for which purpose one of them “keeps a goat that is heavy with kid at present, no doubt intended for this use”. Right after that followed a statement from S. L. MacGregor Mathers in the name of the Metropolitan College of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (of which he was then the secretary) disclaiming any connection with the Order of the Dew and the Light and explaining that they are false pretenders. He also added, taking the opportunity of advertising his own order, that the “Fratres and Sorores” of true “Rosicrucian G. D.” should “warn the unwary and uninitiated” that their rivals do not possess “our ancient and secret knowledge”. David Lund responded to it in the August issue of *Lucifer* with a lengthy text refuting all the accusations, to which the “One who has been duped” replied with more condemnations, supported by quotations from the minutes of the Keighley Rosicrucians’ meetings and fragments from the rituals of the Order. It was

⁶¹ Some of the content was reprinted in the occult magazine of the same title which was published in Leeds in the 1980’s by The Sorcerer’s Apprentice bookshop and edited by its owner Chris Bray, who is in possession of the only known copies of the original journal.

⁶² Some confusion was introduced by: Godwin, Chanel, and Deveney, *The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor*, 303–340, where the authors state *The Occultist* and *The Occult Magazine* were the same journal which changed its title, while both continued independently after the initial and unsuccessful attempt of the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor to take over the former; see: Gilbert, “The disappointed magus,” 100.

followed again by a short statement on behalf of the Societas Rosicruciana (this time with no reference to the Golden Dawn) by William Wynn Westcott.⁶³

The secretary of the Order of the Dew and the Light stated that he knew who the “One who has been duped” was and “in fact there is a trio of them, two of whom have been suspended from the Brotherhood of Ros Crux Fratres, and the other is a most unfortunate and disappointed man”. R. A. Gilbert identifies “the nameless Dupe” as probably T. H. Pattinson, so it is likewise possible that one of the others may have been Bogdan Jastrzębski.⁶⁴ But Pattinson was also a member of the Celestial Brotherhood of John Thomas, from which he and Ayton withdrew probably in 1885.⁶⁵ Because Jastrzębski only graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1884, it is rather doubtful he may have joined Thomas’ group at that early age. Studying in Scotland, however, he may have had contacts with the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor, operating from Glasgow. Ayton was seriously involved in it and even became the Provincial Grand Master of the South (i.e. England)⁶⁶ before he “discovered its true nature” and left it in 1885 or 1886.⁶⁷ Thomas Pattinson also intended to become a member of it but his application was rejected (as testified by Ayton’s letter of 1885) and two years later it was most probably he who wrote an article for *The Theosophist*, signing it as “A Victim” and denouncing both the Brotherhood of Luxor and the Keighley Rosicrucians as black magicians or swindlers.⁶⁸ Whether Bogdan Jastrzębski was a member of one of those organisations or not, he most certainly belonged together with Pattinson to the group of Ayton’s “Yorkshire *chelas*”, as he called them, and that is why he was the first person initiated into the Golden Dawn in the newly consecrated Horus Temple in

⁶³ “We copy...” [Editor]; “The Dew and the Light” by One who has been duped; “Rosicrucian Society of England” by S. L. MacGregor Mathers, *Lucifer* 4 (June) (1889): 348–351; “To the Editor of Lucifer” by David Lund; “To the Editor of Lucifer” by One who has been duped; “To the Editor of Lucifer” by W. W. Westcott, *Lucifer* 4 (August) (1889): 511–518; see also: Howe, *The magicians of the Golden Dawn*, 47–48; R. A. Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn: twilight of the magicians* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1983), 30–31; Gilbert, “The disappointed magus,” 101.

⁶⁴ Gilbert, *Twilight of the magicians*, 31.

⁶⁵ Gilbert, “The disappointed magus,” 104; in 1890, writing to John Yarker, who became a member of the Celestial Brotherhood, Thomas called Pattinson a renegade and his foe (together with two others), while he respected Ayton and only remarked that he had “grown cold” towards him (*ibid.*, 105).

⁶⁶ Godwin, Chanel, and Deveney, *The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor*, 87, 345–348.

⁶⁷ Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section*, 17.

⁶⁸ Howe, *The magicians of the Golden Dawn*, 55; Godwin, Chanel, and Deveney, *The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor*, 3; the whole article is reprinted on p. 365–369.; Ayton’s statement shows that the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor was active in Bradford and Leeds as early as 1882.

Bradford. Ayton himself (and his wife) joined the Golden Dawn in London in July 1888 but was immediately made an honorary member of the Bradford Temple by Pattinson, to keep the cordial relationship with their *guru*.⁶⁹

Both Frater Deus Lux Solis and Frater Fiat Lux were sincere about their Golden Dawn membership. As already noted above, they were received into the Second Order as two of only fourteen members (out of fifty four initiated before 1897) of the Horus Temple to reach the 5=6 degree. Manuscript copies of some rituals in the hand of Bogdan Jastrzębski survived in a private collection and in 2008 were purchased by the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London, catalogued as *Rituals U, J, Z of Rosea Rubeae et Aureae Crucis, the Inner or Second Order of the Golden Dawn* (dated 1896–1897, GBR 1991 GD 2/1/15). The same collection also preserved a manuscript by his brother Stanley, containing a transcription of an alchemical text entitled *A true revelation of the Manual Operation for the Universal Medicine called the Philosopher's Stone, by the Celebrated Philosopher of Leyden, as attested upon his death bed with his own blood 1662*. Interestingly, it was bound into one volume together with some rituals and other texts, mostly transcribed by Ayton, known for his special interest in alchemy (*Ritual of Tiphereth etc.*, dated c. 1894–1901, GBR 1991 GD 2/1/11).

The situation in the Horus Temple became tense in 1892 when Francis Drake Harrison, the Cancellarius (one of the three Chiefs of the Temple), and Oliver Firth⁷⁰ started to behave improperly, making fun of the rituals, showing disobedience to their superiors, and commenting the Order's teachings with disdain. The situation became so problematic that the other two Chiefs — Imperator (J. Leech Atherton) and Praemonstrator (Thomas Henry Pattinson) — resigned and asked the London headquarters for intervention. When it was confirmed, William Wynn Westcott took charge of the Horus Temple and ruled it until 1897, while the disobedient members were expelled (together with Florence Spink, now Firth's wife, John Midgley and Edward Mackey).⁷¹ In 1897 Pattinson became the Imperator, Atherton was elected as the new Cancellarius and the office of the Praemonstrator was taken over by B. E. J. Edwards or Bogdan Jastrzębski. They signed with these functions a summons for a meeting dated 11 March 1898⁷² and a printed circular letter dated 6 October

⁶⁹ Howe, *The magicians of the Golden Dawn*, 55.

⁷⁰ For detailed information on him and his wife see: Sally Davies, "Oliver Firth," 28 August 2014; <http://www.wrighrp.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/GD/FIRTHOANDF.htm>.

⁷¹ The turbulence in the Horus Temple is discussed and documented in: Howe, *The magicians of the Golden Dawn*, 110–112; Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section*, 10–14; —, *Revelations of the Golden Dawn*, 41–44.

⁷² Library and Museum of Freemasonry, GBR 1991 GD 2/3/3/7f, *Summonses of the Horus Temple, No. 5, Bradford, Yorkshire*.

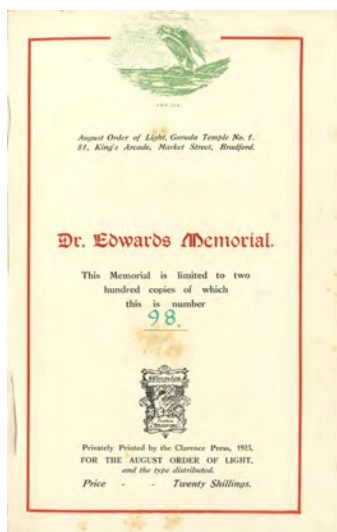


Fig. 2. First title page of *Dr Edwards Memorial* (Courtesy of The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London)

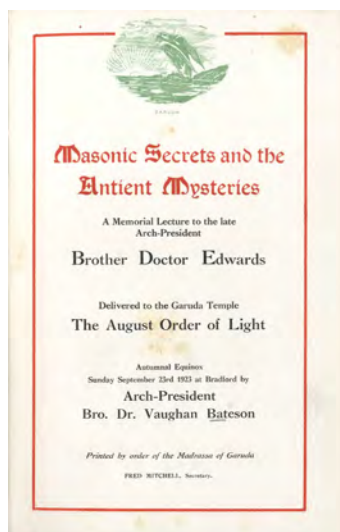


Fig. 3. Main title page of *Masonic Secrets*, a lecture by Vaughan Bateson, dedicated to the memory of Dr Edwards or Bogdan Jastrzębski (Courtesy of The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London)

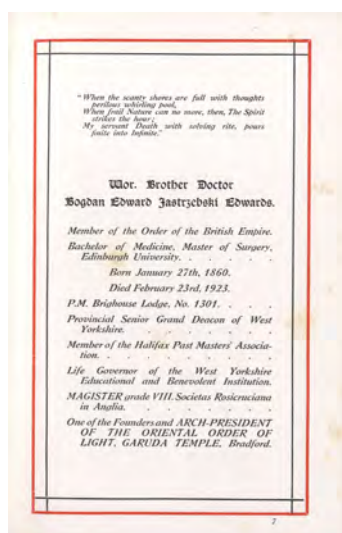


Fig. 4. A page from *Masonic Secrets*, listing the professional and masonic achievements of Bogdan Jastrzębski (Courtesy of The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London)

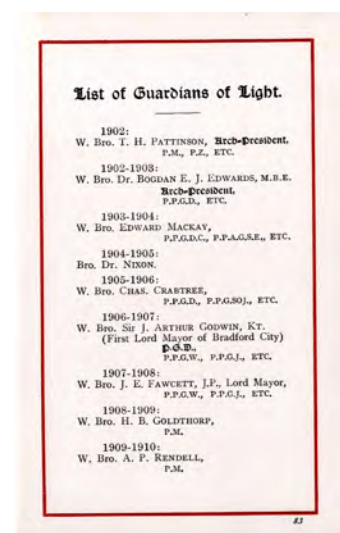


Fig. 5. Early chiefs of the Order of Light, from the appendix to *Masonic Secrets* (Courtesy of The Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London)

1900, from which it is known that there was a project to purchase a room in Bradford to be used for Temple meetings.⁷³ From July 1893, when the owner of the Alexandra Hotel became bankrupt, they met in the Masonic Rooms at Salem Street in Bradford. The purchase was most probably not realised but when in 1983 Egyptian style murals were discovered in the attic of Gobbles Restaurant in Godwin Street, with Horus as one of the main figures, it was suggested that they were the remains of the Golden Dawn Horus Temple but eventually it turned out that the mural (which no longer exists) was from the 1950's.⁷⁴

The three men held their offices until 1902 and it can be argued that technically Horus No. 5 was the last surviving temple of the original Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn and thus Jastrzębski was the Rosicrucian Brotherhood's last acting Praemonstrator. Of the original three Chiefs of the whole Order and co-founders of the Golden Dawn, William Robert Woodman had died in 1891, his position as the Imperator was taken over by Mathers, while William Wynn Westcott became the Praemonstrator and the office of Cancellarius remained vacant.⁷⁵ Westcott resigned from all offices in the Golden Dawn in March 1897, probably forced to do so by Mathers,⁷⁶ who designated Florence Farr to replace him as the "Chief Adept in charge in Anglia".⁷⁷ Although Mathers (residing in Paris) now considered himself to be the sole and autocratic head of the Order, formally Farr was his equal as the other Chief Adept. So after the turbulences of early 1900 and open rebellion of several senior members in London, Mathers dismissed Florence Farr from her office in a letter of 23 March.⁷⁸ The Committee formed by the rebels stroke back and deposed Mathers at a meeting on 29 March. On 19 April he was formally suspended as a member (so actually expelled), together with those remaining loyal to him.⁷⁹ Two days later a new Constitution of the Order was drawn up and the Executive to run it was elected,

⁷³ Edited in: Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn companion*, 36–37; the original is reproduced in: —, *Revelations of the Golden Dawn*, 41.

⁷⁴ A series of articles in *Bradford Star* of November 1983, referred to by: Kai Roberts, "The Victorian Occult Revival in West Yorkshire," (2010)

⁷⁵ The story of the Order's decomposition presented in: Francis King, *Ritual magic in England* (London: Neville Spearman, 1970), 69–72, should be used with care, as it was superseded by the magisterial monograph of Ellic Howe, which was in turn supplemented by numerous authoritative publications of R. A. Gilbert.

⁷⁶ Howe, *The magicians of the Golden Dawn*, 165–166.; a letter to Frederick Leigh Gardner of March 17; Gilbert, *Twilight of the magicians*, 40.

⁷⁷ Howe, *The magicians of the Golden Dawn*, 169; an undated (end of March) letter from Westcott to Gardner.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 226.

consisting of three *adepti*, with Florence Farr as the Moderator.⁸⁰ On 23 April Aleister Crowley, acting as Mathers' emissary, in turn expelled five leaders of the rebellion (including Florence Farr) from both Orders of the Golden Dawn.⁸¹ Thus Westcott became the only Chief Adept who remained in the Order.

While the rebels took over the original Isis-Urania Temple No. 3 in London, Mathers continued to run the Ahathoor Temple No. 7 in Paris. The Amen-Ra Temple No. 6 in Edinburgh remained loyal to him, and a rival Isis Temple in London was set up by Edward Berrige, assisted by Westcott as his advisor (even though he was in fierce conflict with Mathers).⁸² Because the Osiris Temple No. 4 in Weston-super-Mare had ceased operating in 1895, it follows that the Horus Temple No. 5 in Bradford was the only one that stayed neutral and thus was the last of the original Golden Dawn temples. It not only did not join the dissenters, but rejected Mathers' authority, accepting that of the retired (but not expelled) Chief Adept. A declaration to that effect (in Westcott's handwriting) was signed by T. H. Pattinson, the Imperator of the Horus Temple, on 11 June 1900.⁸³ The position of William Wynn Westcott was described by R. A. Gilbert as "firmly on the fence, but with sympathetic gestures to one side or the other as it suited him", so he was likewise trying to maintain neutrality.⁸⁴ Formally Westcott was now "Adeptus Emeritus", but Mathers recognised his authority and suspected that the conspirators in London had asked him to become the Chief of the Order, once they got rid of himself.⁸⁵ They were, however, equally afraid that he would side with Mathers and return as the Head of the Order in England, claiming his authority over what remained of the Golden Dawn.⁸⁶ If such were the opinions of the fighting parties, it may be argued that William Wynn Westcott was indeed the last Head of the original Golden Dawn and the Horus Temple with Bogdan Jastrzębski-Edwards as its Praemonstrator was the final chapter in the history of the magical order, as it was originally conceived and founded in 1888. That chapter was closed in 1902 with a meeting which took place on 9 January at 81 King's Arcade in Bradford. The participants were "eighteen men (sixteen from the Horus Temple, whose total membership was then twenty-one)" and the object was the foundation of a new temple of a completely different

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 228.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 229.

⁸² Gilbert, *Twilight of the magicians*, 42.

⁸³ —, *Revelations of the Golden Dawn*, 81.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁸⁵ Howe, *The magicians of the Golden Dawn*, 230.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 245–246.

occult order called the August and Oriental Order of Light.⁸⁷ The original membership register starts with “T. H. Pattinson” and “Dr. Edwards”, with “Dr. W. Wynn Westcott” on the third position.⁸⁸ The involvement of Westcott was quite permanent, because ten years later he intended to “let Pattinson and Edwards have my Theosoph[ical] papers and the Order of Light and Sat Bhai and Order of Perfection papers”.⁸⁹ He also called The Order of Light “a semi-Rosicrucian institution”, fitting it into his favourite tradition without any obvious reason other than that he himself was its “Chief of the Council of Instruction (Agni)”.⁹⁰

Before discussing that next phase of Bogdan Jastrzębski’s esoteric career after the Horus Temple No. 5 of the Golden Dawn was transmuted into the Garuda Temple No. 1 of the Order of Light, it is necessary to go back and examine his and Stanley’s involvement in the Theosophical Society during the 1890’s, because it was at that point that the occult interests of the two Jastrzębski brothers parted and they went their own paths. When the Golden Dawn Temple was established in Bradford in 1888, its patron, Rev. William Alexander Ayton, “encouraged the members to support Theosophy”, of which society he and Pattinson had already been “zealous members”.⁹¹ Bogdan Jastrzębski joined it together with “a Bradford batch of people, almost all of whom were in the GD as well” early in 1889,⁹² his wife Henrietta in late 1893 (when she had already been a Golden Dawn *soror* for over a year),⁹³ while his brother Stanley also “received the diploma of Fellowship of the

⁸⁷ Campbell, *Strange world of the Brontës*, 178.

⁸⁸ The scan is available on the Order’s website: <https://sites.google.com/site/augustorder/oflight/temples/temple1>; comparing the names of the founders with those in: Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn companion*, only ten appear to be the same. But the membership roll and address book used by Gilbert contains Horus members up to 1896 only, so others may have joined it later and there may have been sixteen, as Campbell states without a source reference.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 23; the presence of Westcott is also confirmed by Will Read’s printed comment to: Ellic Howe, “Fringe masonry in England, 1870–85,” *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 85 (1972): 242–295.

⁹⁰ William Wynn Westcott, “Data of the history of the Rosicrucians (2nd ed., 1916),” in *The magical mason: Forgotten Hermetic writings of William Wynn Westcott, physician and magus*, ed. R. A. Gilbert, Roots of the Golden Dawn Series (Wellingsborough, Northamptonshire: The Aquarian Press, 1983), 28–39, here 37.

⁹¹ Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section*, 11.

⁹² Sally Davies, “Bogdan Edward Jastrzebski Edwards,” 16 September 2013; <http://www.wrighrp.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/GD/BOGDANH.htm>; the information comes from “Theosophical Society Membership Register”, vol. Jan 1889–Sep 1891, p. 106 but exact date is not given.

⁹³ Recorded in the volume of “Theosophical Society Membership Register” for Jun1893–Mar1895 on p. 65: *ibid.*

Theosophical Society in 1889”, so probably right after he entered the Golden Dawn.⁹⁴ At the time he was still living with his parents in Halifax and started his professional career at the Public Library there. Early in 1890 “a class for the study of Theosophy has been formed by L. S. De Jastrzebski, F.T.S., and others, and is now [November 1890] under the direction of F. Strickland, F.T.S.”.⁹⁵ This was Francis Strickland, who was to be initiated into the Golden Dawn Horus Temple — certainly upon Stanley’s encouragement — in July 1891, but resigned in 1893. Also in December 1890 Stanley Jastrzębski had a long article published in the *Lucifer* journal,⁹⁶ while in August he contributed a paper entitled “Dogmatism and Theosophic Brotherhood” to *The Agnostic Journal and Eclectic Review*, which was followed by a series of articles “Theosophy on the defence”, printed weekly from 8 November until 17 January 1891. At about the same time he “set up a Theosophical Lending Library (in Halifax) with the help of a donation of a box of books from the Countess Wachtmeister”.⁹⁷

According to the history of theosophy in Bradford compiled in 1941 by Robert Clayton, before 1891 the first informal group of theosophical students met regularly (every week) for some years at Baildon (certainly in Pattinson’s house) and at the nearby Frizinghall (perhaps at the home of Luther Hill, who later joined the Golden Dawn in November 1891 but soon resigned). On 4 February 1891 a charter was granted to Bradford theosophists for founding a lodge in that town.⁹⁸ The first meeting took place on the very next day and “of the eighteen founding members all save two were members of Horus Temple, while the only officer of the Lodge who was not a member — John Midgley, the Secretary — was initiated in the following June”.⁹⁹ Only three Horus members were not present but both Bogdan (“Dr. B. E. J. Edwards”) and Stanley (“L. S. Jastrzebski”) arrived and their names were recorded in the minute book.¹⁰⁰ The latter did not come to meetings regularly and remained a member for a year only, which is understandable, because he then moved from

⁹⁴ Fry and Munford, *Louis Stanley Jast*; he is listed on p. 114 in the same volume of “Theosophical Society Membership Register”: Sally Davies, “Lewis or Louis Stanley Jastrzebski,” 8 October 2013; <http://www.wrighrp.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/GD/STANLEY LIFE.htm>.

⁹⁵ “Halifax,” *The Vahan* 1 (December 1, 1890) (1890): 78.

⁹⁶ Jastrzebski, “A dream & its interpretation: A dialogue,” *Lucifer* 7 (15 December 1890) (1890): 309–315.

⁹⁷ Personal communication from Cynthia Trasi, President of Bradford Theosophical Society (February 2011).

⁹⁸ Robert Clayton, *History of the Theosophical movement in Bradford* (London 1941).

⁹⁹ Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section*, 11.

¹⁰⁰ Clayton, *History of the Theosophical movement in Bradford*.

Halifax to Peterborough. His brother Bogdan stopped attending the Lodge meetings after the first few ones and it was probably him, who was interviewed after a year of absence. His explanations must have been accepted because at the Annual General Meeting on 1 February 1893 he was elected a Vice-President but then disappeared from the minutes again and eventually resigned, together with six other members (Thomas Henry Pattinson and his wife among them).¹⁰¹

On 30 August 1893 the new Athene Lodge was established in Bradford by those who resigned from the original lodge (plus five others) and Dr. Bogdan E. J. Edwards was elected its first president. Those seven ex-members (of whom six were founding members) of the original Bradford Lodge were active in the Horus Temple, while its president Oliver Firth, his wife and his close associates Francis Drake Harrison (whose later theosophical career made him Grand Secretary of Annie Besant's Universal Co-Masonry), and John Midgley (who preserved the Lodge's library after its dissolution in 1898), were the very Golden Dawn *adepti*, who were expelled by Mathers for misconduct and making fun of the rituals. Interestingly, the reason for the split of the Bradford Lodge remained unknown until R. A. Gilbert discovered it in the Golden Dawn documents, describing the nature of the clash as having been one "effectively between Eastern and Western paths".¹⁰² As Robert Clayton wrote: "It is difficult to understand why another lodge should have been considered necessary in Bradford seeing that the already existing lodge was having difficulty in keeping its doors open. One can only surmise that there was a lack of cohesion among the members".¹⁰³ Clayton's main informant and the one who encouraged him to write a history of theosophy in Bradford was none other than Francis Drake Harrison, for many years the president of the "new" Bradford Lodge, which was revived in 1902 and amalgamated with the remnants of the Athene Lodge. Thus even though he was only briefly a member of the Golden Dawn and did not have a high opinion of it, he never divulged the secrets of the Hermetic Order.

As the new president, Dr. Edwards became active again and gave public lectures on theosophical themes. On 1 November 1893 he "delivered a paper on 'Egyptian Religious Symbolism' from which students could trace the close correspondence between the Egyptian and Hindoo systems of belief as to the mysteries of Creation. The speaker showed some beautifully painted copies of hieroglyphs in illustration of his remarks." Then on 13 February 1894 "Dr Edwards lectured on 'Ancient Egypt'

¹⁰¹ Information from the original minutes of the Bradford Lodge kindly provided by Cynthia Trasi (January 2011); the election of Dr. Edwards was also reported in *Lucifer* 12 (March–August 1893): 78–79.

¹⁰² Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section*, 14.

¹⁰³ Clayton, *History of the Theosophical movement in Bradford*.

to 29 people in the Bradford Mechanics' Institute".¹⁰⁴ Bogdan Jastrzębski's wife Henrietta ("Mrs. Edwards") joined the Athene Lodge in November 1893 but at the Annual General Meeting in August 1894 a new president was elected (Edith Ward) and Dr. and Mrs. Edwards resigned from their membership, together with five other members (presumably the Pattinsons and other Horus Temple magicians).¹⁰⁵ It is not clear if they remained members of the Theosophical Society or not, but certainly — as will be seen — their interest in Eastern forms of occultism did not wane.

In the meantime, Stanley Jastrzębski (from 1895 known as Jast), spent the years 1892–1898 as the Chief Librarian at Peterborough and then in July 1898 was appointed Chief Librarian of the Croydon Public Libraries. In October of the same year he joined the Croydon Lodge of the Theosophical Society and in February 1900 was elected its Vice-President. He gave lectures on various theosophical topics and became so popular in the area that also other lodges invited him.¹⁰⁶ When he took over his most prestigious post in Manchester in 1915, he immediately also became a member of the Manchester City Lodge and continued lecturing in the district, especially during 1919 and 1920.¹⁰⁷ After he retired in 1932 and went to live near Bath, Stanley Jast prepared some of those talks for publication and they appeared in a volume entitled *What it all means* in 1941.¹⁰⁸ The book was quite successful, as three years later it was also published in the USA under a different title and then reprinted at least twice.¹⁰⁹

The influence of theosophy can also be seen in Stanley Jast's professional work. In the first volume of *The Library World* a section "Select lists of books on special subjects" was started in 1899 and the second such list published (after one on photography) was that on "Occultism and Theosophy", compiled by Jast and containing a wide and representative selection of works grouped under the subject headings

¹⁰⁴ From announcements in the *Bradford Observer*, (Bradford) *Daily Telegraph* and (Bradford) *Daily Argus*, kindly provided by Cynthia Trasi (January 2011); Athene Lodge rented a room for meetings at the Mechanics' Institute and Dr Edwards' lecture inaugurated it; see: *Lucifer*, 14 (March–August 1894): 82.

¹⁰⁵ Information from Cynthia Trasi (January 2011).

¹⁰⁶ Fry and Munford, *Louis Stanley Jast*, 23.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁰⁸ L. Stanley Jast, *What it all means: A brief and non-technical exposition of reincarnation and magic as applied to the world to-day* (London: T. Werner Laurie Ltd., 1941).; a brief account of the views expressed there is provided by: Sally Davies, "Stanley Jast: Ritual, Magic, Drama and Love," 17 October 2013a; <http://www.wrighrp.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/GD/STANLEYBLFLOVE.htm>.

¹⁰⁹ L. Stanley Jast, *Reincarnation and karma: A spiritual philosophy applied to the world today* (New York: Bernard Ackerman Inc., 1944); reprinted by Castle Books 1956 and Kessinger Publishing 2004.

of Theosophy, Esoteric Christianity, Gnostics, Magic, Egyptian Magic, Kaballah, Rosicrucians, Alchemy, Astrology, Tarot Cards, and Palmistry.¹¹⁰ Of much greater interest and importance is, however, theosophical inspiration of many of Jast's ideas and innovations introduced by him into public libraries, which made him famous. Much ahead of his time, he viewed the library as a "networking machine" and already in Croydon, in the early 1900's, organised exchange between branch libraries and mobile service, using telephone links, so that "books could be requisitioned by any library from any other and delivered within thirty minutes of the phone call, something unheard of at the time".¹¹¹ Visitors were coming from Germany, Holland and even India to see how the provincial Croydon became the leader in practical librarianship solutions but few of them were aware that "Jast's view of the library machine owed much to his profound interest in oriental mysticism, specifically theosophy".¹¹² His metaphysical belief about shared consciousness of humanity and its link to the Absolute, as well as about knowledge transfer through reincarnation, were not just abstract ideas but found their reflection in actual designs for the Manchester Central Library, first presented as a lecture in the School of Librarianship at University College, London on 10 December 1926. It was afterwards published with many drawings of his own, illustrating the practical application of his ideas, eventually materialised in the magnificent library building raised in Manchester.¹¹³ His later designs also showed the ideal library as a grid and a pyramid, "symbolic of the existence, in his mind, of a network rather than a hierarchy — in a similar way to the functioning of today's World Wide Web".¹¹⁴ He even used the terms "web" and "nerve ganglion", visualising the networking of knowledge through libraries. This strange mixture of theosophical mysticism and professional utilitarianism in Jast's thought was studied by Alistair Black in the only paper devoted to it (as opposed to brief observations in other articles on Jast), using archival material from Jast Papers in Manchester Central Library (Archives Collection, M514/1/1) with his

¹¹⁰ —, "Select lists of books on special subjects: Occultism and Theosophy," *The Library World* 1 (April 1899) (1899): 200–202.

¹¹¹ Alistair Black, Simon Pepper, and Kaye Bagshaw, *Books, buildings and social engineering: Early public libraries in Britain from Past to Present* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), 296.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Jast, *The planning of a great library*; some of the drawings are reproduced in: Black, Pepper, and Bagshaw, *Books, buildings and social engineering*.

¹¹⁴ Alistair Black, "Networking knowledge before the Information Society: The Manchester Central Library (1934) and the metaphysical-professional philosophy of L. S. Jast," in *European modernism and the Information Society: Informing the present, understanding the past*, ed. W. Boyd Rayward (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008): 172.

unpublished drawings and notes.¹¹⁵ This fascinating aspect of Stanley Jastrzębski's contribution to the world of librarianship certainly calls for more attention and additional research from the perspective of esoteric studies. When Jast died in 1944, many obituaries were printed in library journals, but also in theosophical periodicals, commemorating him in both communities.¹¹⁶

Returning to Jast's brother Bogdan Jastrzębski or Dr. Edwards, when he and his Bradford *fratres* withdrew from theosophical activity in Athene Lodge in 1894 and effectively closed the Golden Dawn Horus Temple No. 5 in 1902, they started — as already mentioned above — a new esoteric venture called the August Order of Light, opening its Garuda Temple No. 1 in Bradford on 9 January 1902. It was (and still is) a freemasonic system of higher degrees, however Edwards, unlike his lifelong friend Pattinson, had not been a mason. He was thus quickly initiated in his local Brighthouse Lodge No. 1301 in 1902, as the second person that year.¹¹⁷

The Order of Light was originally created by Maurice Vidal Portman (1860–1935), a minor aristocrat who served in the Royal Indian Marine from the age of sixteen and was made the officer in charge of the Adaman Islands in 1879. He is remembered as an early ethnographer who used photography to document the isolated paleolithic tribes discovered there.¹¹⁸ While on health leave in England between December 1880 and December 1883, he started spreading information that he had been initiated in India in a bath of mercury and hired a house in Kilburn for ritual workings.¹¹⁹ The surviving rules, regulations and rituals are dated 11 November 1881 and signed: "Portman M. V., Grand Hierophant Presiding in the West of the August Order of Light and Prince of Kether".¹²⁰ The degree names, symbolism and teachings used Hinduist imagery, just like the Order of Sat B'hai, invented in Anglo-Indian army and brought to England by Captain James Henry Lawrence Archer about

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*; some of the drawings are reproduced in that paper.

¹¹⁶ J. L. Davidge, "Called home — Stanley Jast," *The Theosophist* 66 (1945): 117

¹¹⁷ Information kindly supplied by John D. McRiner, Past Master and former Secretary of Brighthouse Lodge No. 1301 (January 2011).

¹¹⁸ Satudru Sen, "Savage bodies, civilized pleasures: M. V. Portman and the Andamanese," *American Ethnologist* 36 (2009): 364–379; when he died, his obituary appeared in various learned journals including *Nature* 135 (1935): 573.

¹¹⁹ Arthur Edward Waite, *A new encyclopedia of Freemasonry* (London: Rider, 1921), 2:214.

¹²⁰ Yasha Beresiner, "August Order and a Cabalistic Jew," in *Masonic curiosities and more...* ed. Tony Pope (Melbourne: Australian and New Zealand Masonic Research Council, 2000), 189–195.; the author, a former Master of Quatuor Coronati Lodge and member of the August Order of Light, kindly provided additional information and sent me his original typescript of that chapter of his hard to find book, so I do not refer to page numbers in the citations below.

1872, and some other similar creations, the relationships between which are difficult to untangle with any certainty.¹²¹ Ellic Howe described it as having “the same echoes of Hinduism as the Sat B’hai, but with a Cabbalistic top-dressing”, while Yasha Beresiner tried to trace the supposed Jewish author of the rituals, hinted at in the correspondence of John Yarker. In 1882 Portman initiated William Alexander Ayton, in spite of the fact that the latter could not make himself believe the story Portman (then barely twenty one years old!) told him on how he had himself been initiated in India by Count St. Germain, who was about 180 years old, yet looking forty. But he also remarked: “However, I learned a good deal of Oriental Occultism from him [...] He gave Initiations in regular form according to what he had seen in India. I was initiated”.¹²² Another initiated was Robert Palmer-Thomas, a member of the Societas Rosicruciana and a prominent (though late) adept of the Golden Dawn (initiated 7 November 1896). At its inception, the Order of Light seems to have accepted women, one of them being the actress and poet Lilith Ellis.¹²³ A very intriguing fragment from the original Portman’s regulations of 1881 is quoted by Beresiner: “Female members of the side degree of ‘Parvati’ [...] meet by themselves under the Presidency of the Abbess of Patti and can be inspected by the Members of the ‘Order of Light’ in their offices [...] Also the President of any Hall has the power to send for them to assist in the magical experiments”.¹²⁴

It seems that at some point Portman intended to give his rite over to John Yarker and merge it with the Order of Sat B’hai on purely masonic basis. But apparently Yarker was not interested and Portman, disappointed with freemasonry, returned to the Andaman Islands in 1882 and stayed there until 1901. As Ayton recollected in an address to the Horus Temple in early 1890, “he [Portman] left it in my hands to reform the Lodge”, so looking for “real occultists” he first met Pattinson and some others, which was “really the commencement, in an indirect way, of this Horus Temple”.¹²⁵ Ayton himself “set no great value on it [Portman’s Order]”¹²⁶ but made the rituals of the August Order of Light available to Pattinson and Dr. Edwards-Jastrzębski, who reworked them thoroughly before they inaugurated the Garuda Temple No. 1 in Bradford in 1902. The publication of the Order of Light printed upon Bogdan Jastrzębski’s death states that “the rituals now in use, are revisions by Arch-

¹²¹ The most authoritative account of them is included in: Howe, “Fringe masonry in England.”, but some of Howe’s information is corrected by later researchers.

¹²² Gilbert, *Revelations of the Golden Dawn*, 152–153.

¹²³ Waite, *A new encyclopedia of Freemasonry*, 2:214.

¹²⁴ Beresiner, “August Order and a Cabalistic Jew.”

¹²⁵ Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn and the Esoteric Section*, 11.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

Presidents T. H. Pattinson and Dr. B. E. Edwards, of the original Ritual supplied by Dr. Maurice Vidal Portman, a learned student of Eastern lore, an Occultist and Politician, who went to India in the train of the late Lord [Edward Robert, later 1st Earl] Lytton, when Viceroy of India, in 1876. During his residence there, Brother Portman made himself familiar with the literature and ritual observances of the Eastern Indian Races, whether Brahmans, Buddhist, Jains or Mohammedans, and gained much curious lore from the Fakirs and religious devotees of all creeds; for some years he was Governor of the Andaman Islands, where he collected many quaint traditions and magical arts from the natives, and from strangers of many Asiatic lands".¹²⁷ The two Arch-Presidents obtained a warrant from the founder, which has been preserved in the Order's archives in Halifax, and which states: "I, Maurice Vidal Portman, Founder of the Order of Light, Authorise T. H. Pattinson and J. B. Edwards to admit members to the Order and to hold meetings thereof and I confirm their past actions in so doing".¹²⁸ It is undated but was certainly issued upon Portman's return from India in 1901, when they informed him about their plans and changes already done to the rituals. The author of the commemorative publication of 1923 (probably antedated, as the list of the Guardians of Light or heads of the Order appended at the end includes one for 1924–1925) was Dr. Vaughan Bateson (1873–1938), the third Arch-President (an honorary title granted to those of greatest merit to the Order), known for his idea of identifying people by their fingerprints which — interestingly — he conceived from his observations of some Indian customs and Rudyard Kipling's (who was his friend and one of the subscribers to the memorial book) writings.¹²⁹ Bateson presented Jastrzębski's role in the preparation of the new rituals, praising his language abilities and knowledge: "A great philologist and an extraordinary linguist, he was specially well acquainted with Hebrew and Kabalistic learning, and his knowledge of the ancient Egyptian, Aztec and Hindoo records made him an authority on antiquarian subjects. He was [also] and enthusiast in Esperanto. Grasping, in a manner few occidental students are able, the problems of Eastern Philosophy, he could expound subjects rarely attempted in a wonderfully lucid and interesting manner. His lectures at the Equinoctial Ceremonies of the Order of Light were always looked forward to as intellectual treat which cannot be surpassed. The beautiful and learned rituals of the Order owe much to his erudition and fortunate phrasing".¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Bateson, *Masonic secrets and the ancient mysteries*, 81–82.

¹²⁸ Beresiner, "August Order and a Cabalistic Jew."

¹²⁹ Vaughan Bateson, "Personal identification by means of finger-print impressions," *The British Medical Journal* 1 (1906): 1029–1032.

¹³⁰ —, *Masonic secrets and the ancient mysteries*, 9–10; the rituals of the 1970's (which may or may not be the same as designed by Pattinson and Edwards) are available online: http://www.stichtingargus.nl/vrijmetselarij/aol_r.html, [aol_r2.html](http://www.stichtingargus.nl/vrijmetselarij/aol_r2.html), and [aol_r3.html](http://www.stichtingargus.nl/vrijmetselarij/aol_r3.html).

The Garuda Temple No. 1 of the Order of Light continued to meet at 81 King's Arcade, in the Market Street area in Bradford, until it was demolished in 1939 or 1940 and they moved to Godwin Street, where the above mentioned murals discovered in 1983 were executed in the early 1950's. In 1971 the Temple was moved to York and then to Halifax, and a new one (Garuda Temple No. 2) was established in Bleackheath, London, in the house of Andrew Stephenson, later the Supreme Magus of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, who also revised the rituals. When he moved to New Zealand in 2006, the Temple found a new home in the Radlett Masonic Hall. In recent years the Order of Light has spread to Australia, the USA and India.¹³¹

Bogdan Jastrzębski pursued his regular masonic career rather slowly and only on 18 December 1907 was installed Master of his Brighouse Lodge for the following year.¹³² After that date he also served as Provincial Senior Grand Deacon of West Yorkshire and became a member of the Halifax Past Masters' Association.¹³³ Bogdan's main motivation for advancing to the Master's degree was quite obviously the foundation of the Bradford college of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, the membership of which was restricted to Masters of freemasonry. The first meeting of Woodman College took place on 23 March 1908 at the Masonic Hall (Rawson Street, Bradford), it was consecrated by Westcott,¹³⁴ and twelve new aspirants were admitted, with Dr. Edwards among them. In the same year he was made an Honorary Magister of the 8th degree, presumably granted to him on account of his close association with William Wynn Westcott and Thomas Henry Pattinson. Establishing the college in Bradford was probably the latter's idea, as he had been removed from the roll of members of the York College in 1896 (as suspected by R. A. Gilbert, he probably simply did not pay his dues) and did not join any other College, but he remained an Honorary Magister of the Society.¹³⁵ The Bradford occultists thus continued their "Rosicrucian adventure" along strictly masonic lines and in close cooperation with the former Chief Adept of the Golden Dawn and now (from 1892) the Supreme Magus of the Societas Rosicruciana. In his well-known pamphlet

¹³¹ Personal recollection of the later history of the Order was available online in January 2011 but now disappeared: Andrew B. Stephenson, "The History and Work of the Order and the founding of Temple No. 2: Some personal recollections," 1992 (revised 2001); http://www.the-order-of-light.org.uk/History_and_Work.html.; a popular article on the August Order of Light, including some pictures of the Garuda Temple No. 2 and its members, was published by: Leo Zanelli, "The light moves on," *The Square* 32 (June) (2006): 12–17.

¹³² Information received from John D. McRiner (January 2011).

¹³³ Bateson, *Masonic secrets and the ancient mysteries*, 7.

¹³⁴ Westcott, "Data of the history of the Rosicrucians (2nd ed., 1916)," 37.

¹³⁵ Information kindly provided by R. A. Gilbert from the *Transactions of the Metropolitan College* of the SRIA for 1908 (January 2011).

of 1913, Westcott listed among “the learned juniors of our Society” the names of “Dr Vaughan Bateson, Thomas Henry Pattinson, [...] Dr B. J. Edwards”.¹³⁶

While he often gave lectures to the local August Order of Light and presumably to Woodman College (which consisted of more or less the same people), the involvement of Bogdan Jastrzębski in the work of Societas Rosicruciana at the central level of the Metropolitan College seems to have been limited. Just like he did not go to London to be initiated into the Golden Dawn in 1888, he also remained home when twenty three years later he submitted a paper to the London college, so it was read by T. W. Lemon on 13 July 1911 and reprinted in the *Transactions* for that year under the title “The Vision of Mer-Amen Ramzes, 12th king of the 19th dynasty”.¹³⁷ Sally Davis discovered, following a clue in the text, that it was not an original piece written by Dr. Edwards. As she wrote: “you would only have been able to guess what was up if you had known him well. Westcott knew him well, but was ill and couldn’t attend the meeting. The Vision of Ramzes XII had been translated by Bogdan from ‘Faraone’ by ‘B. Prus’”.¹³⁸ This shows not only the kind of humour with which Jastrzębski approached the serious matters of Rosicrucian freemasonry, but also that besides all other languages he was still fluent in Polish, which he had learned at home from his father Stefan Ludwik Jastrzębski, and could read and translate a key fragment from one of the greatest Polish novels of the 19th century, *Pharaoh* by Bolesław Prus (real name Aleksander Głowacki, 1847–1912), described by Joseph Conrad in 1914 as “better than Dickens” (otherwise Conrad’s favourite novelist).

The already mentioned “In Memoriam” book, published after Dr. Edwards’ death, was written by the third Arch-President (and fellow “junior Rosicrucian”) Vaughan Bateson, who had “intimate relationships with him beyond the ordinary” but, as he states, it was really compiled “from scanty notes taken at his lectures and what memory recalls” and only contains “in a more stable form some of his teachings by which we have all benefited in the past”.¹³⁹ In the closing section Bateson addressed the gathered members of the Garuda Temple No. 1 (the text was originally read as a lecture on 23 September 1923, the Autumnal Equinox) with the words: “and each of you can be builders of this Temple of Light for the good of the race as was our

¹³⁶ William Wynn Westcott, “The Rosicrucians, past and present, at home and abroad (1913),” in *The magical mason: Forgotten Hermetic writings of William Wynn Westcott, physician and magus*, ed. R. A. Gilbert, Roots of the Golden Dawn Series (Wellingsborough, Northamptonshire: The Aquarian Press, 1983a), 40–47.

¹³⁷ B. E. J. Edwards, “The Vision of Mer-Amen Ramzes,” *Transactions of the Metropolitan College* (1911): 29–36.

¹³⁸ Davies, “Bogdan Edward Jastrzebski Edwards”.

¹³⁹ Bateson, *Masonic secrets and the ancient mysteries*, 11.

beloved brother, Dr. Edwards, whose influence still lives in our lives and in this Order of Light he loved so well".¹⁴⁰

The brief biography at the beginning of *Dr. Edwards Memorial* (as the alternative title reads) lists his various achievements and honorary titles — professional, state and freemasonic — but there is no mention of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn in the whole text of the book. Because Bateson had not been a member, he may have not known about it. However, Bogdan Jastrzębski's lifelong occult friend Thomas Henry Pattinson was still alive (his name appears among the subscribers), as was their patron friend William Wynn Westcott (also a subscriber), and it may have been at their suggestion that on the frontispiece, under the only known photograph of Dr. Edwards, his Golden Dawn motto "DEUS LUX SOLIS" was boldly displayed without further explanation. The magical order these words belonged to had disintegrated two decades earlier, but its last Praemonstrator, Dr. Bogdan Edward Jastrzębski, the eldest son of a Polish exile, was still known by that motto to his old friends.



Fig. 8. The grave of Bogdan Jastrzębski, his wife Henrietta, son Harold, as well as Adela and Herbert, who died in infancy (Brighouse Cemetery) (Photograph by Kai Roberts)

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 80.

Genealogy of the Jastrzębski family

researched and compiled by Rafał T. Prinke 2011-2015
 * – born; † – died; [] – buried; q – quarter of the year

Stefan Ludwik (Stephen Louis) Jastrzębski, *6.12.1823 (Zabrzdowice, Galicia, Austrian Poland), †1891/1901; joined Polish Legion in 1848 and fought in seven battles in Hungary, including Szeged and Timisoara, as a lieutenant in the infantry under Gen. Józef Wysocki; in August 1849 the Legion crossed the Turkish border and were interned in Szumla; by ship to England; 4.03.1851 arrived at Liverpool; member of the Polish Democratic Society in England; tobaccoist in Halifax, at a shop in George Street, then known as Barcum Top [1891]; lived at George Street, Halifax [1869]; 4 Barcum Top, Halifax [1871]; 38 Park View, Halifax [1881]; 3 Carlton Street, Halifax [1891]; naturalized 6.11.1873; bankrupt 1891; x 10.1869 (Kildminster, Yorks, UK), Elizabeth (Lizzy) Morgan, *4q1837 (Kildminster), †3q1919 (Chorlton), dau of Benjamin, market gardener in France, Kildminster)

Bogdan Edward Jastrzębski [Edwards], *27.01.1860 (Halifax), †23.02.1923 (Brighouse); studied medicine at Edinburgh University [graduated 1884]; surgeon at the old Halifax Infirmary, general practitioner in Brighouse; Local Government Medical Service [1895]; Medical Officer of Health for Southwram [1895]; Medical Officer for Brighouse, Clifton, Hartshead and Southwram Parishes [1905]; lived at 139 Eland Road, Brookfoot near Brighouse [1891]; 46 Bradford Road, Brighouse [1901, 1911]; Claremont-Villa, Brighouse [1923]; x 3q1887, Henrietta Palmer, *1862 (Halifax), †13.01.1946 (Brighouse), dau of John Castledine Palmer, master tailor at 8 Waterhouse Street, Halifax

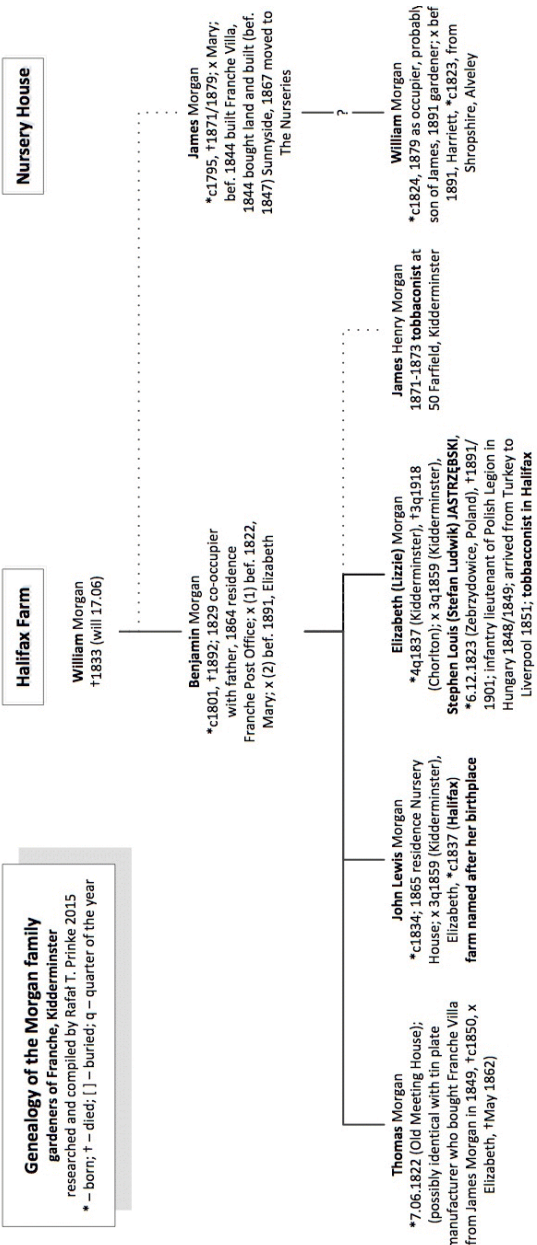
Thaddeus Theodore [Ślepownon de] Jastrzębski, *3q1862 (Halifax), †6.07.1930 (Lausanne), statistician; clerk at Registrar-General's Office appointed 1881; Assistant Registrar General, G.R.O. (Somerset House); lived at 62 Regina Road, Islington, London [1891]; „Kirklees”, 102 Avondale Rd., South Croydon, Surrey [1901, 1911]; x 2q1890 (Halifax), Frances Elizabeth Thackrah, *1q1864 (Halifax), dau of Abraham, ironmonger at 4 Crown St.

Louis Stanley Jastrzębski [1895 Jast], *20.08.1866 (Halifax), †25.12.1944 (Twickenham, reg. Brentford); public librarian, 1887 at Auroyd Library, 1892 at Peterborough Library, at Croydon, in Manchester; lived with his widowed mother at 203 Brighton Road, Croydon, Surrey [1901]; 16 Edridge Road, Croydon [1911]; later lived in Beckington (near Bath), Twickenham, Perzenze, and Twickenham again (Penrhyn House, 3 Riverdale Road); engaged c1916 (Ethel) Winifred Austin, *7.10.1873 (Blackheath Hill, London), †17.06.1918 (Filzroy Square, Middlesex), dau of George, wealthy shipbroker and insurance agent; pioneer of library services for blind people, Secretary of the National Library for the Blind 1906-1918; x 1q1925 (Kensington), Millicent Beatrice Murby, *4q1873 (Lambeth), †14.01.1951 (Twickenham, Middlesex), dau of Thomas, publisher, actress, theatre producer, feminist, suffragette and writer [died without issue]

Adela Jastrzębska Edwards, *3q1888 (Halifax), †young (Halifax), †young
Harold Edwards, *1891 (Brighouse), †18.12.1917 (Halifax), student of civil engineering [1911]
Herbert Edwards, †young

Elie Jastrzębski Edwards, *13.06.1897 (Halifax reg., Brighouse chr.), †3q1864 (Halifax) [unmarried]
Hubert Stephen Ślepownon de Jastrzębski, *c1895 (Horsey, Middlesex), †5.04.1917 (No. 5 Casualty Clearing Station, France); [] Bray Military Cemetery; lived at 102 Avondale Rd., South Croydon, Surrey; student [1911]; second lieutenant 24th Battalion, London Regiment

Norah Ślepownon de Jastrzębska, *c1892, †13.05.1956 x 4q1920 (Croydon), Albert Wesol, *3.07.1880 (Bern), †22.03.1960 (Lausanne); journalist; lived at Hasselbeck 9, Lausanne [died without issue]



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