

MORE CUNNING THAN FOLK:
AN ANALYSIS OF FRANCIS BARRETT'S *THE MAGUS* AS INDICATIVE OF A TRANSITIONAL
PERIOD OF ENGLISH MAGIC.

by
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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Hypothesis	3
Conceptual Framework and Method.....	6
Intellectual and Social Contexts of Esotericism in England.....	8
Magic in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century	8
Magic in the Nineteenth and Twentieth century	10
Cosmology for Users of Magic in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century.....	13
Legislation about Witchcraft in England.	19
Scientific Revolution	22
The Author of <i>The Magus</i> , Francis Barrett.	31
Barrett's Biography.....	31
Publishing History and Reception of <i>The Magus</i>	39
<i>The Magus</i>	45
A Bibliographic Description of <i>The Magus</i>	45
Content Analysis.....	52
Book I	54
Preliminary.....	54
Natural Magic (Cosmology)	56
Alchemy (Deontology)	58
Talismanic Magic (Theory of Correspondences).....	61
Book II	63
Magnetism (Doctrine of Subtle Medium).....	64
Cabalaistical Magic (Theory of Spiritual Intervention)	67
The Key to Cabala	70
The Composition of the Magical Circle.....	73
The Art of Drawing Sprits into Crystals	75

Book III.....	76
Biographia Antiqua (‘Bibliography’).....	76
Summary.....	78
Conclusion	81
Barrett’s Role in the Transformation of Magic.....	81
The Paradigm Shift	82
Bibliography	87
List of Archives and Libraries Consulted	87
Primary Sources.....	87
Bibliographic exemplars	87
Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Material	87
Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Material	88
Manuscripts.....	91
Newspapers/Magazines.....	91
Legislation.....	92
Secondary Sources	92
Appendix I: Signatures	104
Appendix II: Plate Comparisons.....	106
Appendix III: Nativity Charts	106
Appendix IV: A Residency Map of Marylebone c. 1800	109

Abstract

This thesis seeks to define how Francis Barrett's *The Magus, Or Celestial Intelligencer* is indicative of a transitional period (1800–1830) of English Magic. The intention and transmission of Barrett's *The Magus* is linked to the revival of occultism and its use as a textbook for occult philosophy. This thesis provides a historical background preceding this revival. The aim of the thesis is to establish Barrett's text as a hybrid interpretation of Renaissance magic for a modern audience. It is primarily by this hybridization that a series of feedback loops would begin to create the foundation for modern occultism. This study utilizes a careful study of primary sources, including a systematic examination of *The Magus* within its intellectual and social contexts.

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“Magicians and scientists are, on the face of it, poles apart. Certainly, a group of people who often dress strangely, live in a world of their own, speak a specialized language and frequently make statements that appear to be in flagrant breach of common sense have nothing in common with a group of people who often dress strangely, speak a specialized language, live in ... er ...”

Terry Pratchett, *The Science of Discworld*, 1999.

“It does not stop being magic just because you know how it is done.”

Terry Pratchett, *The Wee Free Men*, 2003.

“Humans need fantasy to be human. To be the place where the falling angel meets the rising ape. [...] as practice you have to start out learning to believe the *little* lies. [...] take the universe and grind it down to the finest powder and sieve it through the finest sieve and then *show* me one atom of justice, one molecule of mercy. And yet humans act as if there is some ideal order in the world, as if there is some *rightness* in the universe by which it may be judged. [...] it is a very special kind of stupidity. You think the whole universe is inside your head.”

Terry Pratchett, *Hogfather*, 1996.

Introduction

As an English farmer in the latter part of the seventeenth century, if you were afflicted with a run of bad luck, or the crops were not doing particularly well, you could only rely on traditional knowledge and common sense for a remedy. When the limits of your knowledge had been reached and you suspected that the cause of your affliction was outside your ken, it would be common practice to consult a local person with a greater amount of knowledge, one of the Cunning-Folk. Having only the capacity to write your name, you could not consult them by correspondence. So you packed your cart and journeyed as far as ten miles to visit a woman in the next town who had a reputation for providing successful remedies. When you arrived, you made inquiries as to the whereabouts of her house. The villagers would tell you to head towards the edge of the village where you would see a house that for the most part appeared much like any other house, with a few added features. The garden, in addition to turnips and cabbages, is filled with an array of plants you have never seen before. In the windows hang some of these plants as well as some glass bottles and balls in various shades. You tell her why you have come and what you have done so far. She pauses for a moment, gets up, walks over to the window and picks up one of the glass bottles on the sill. She pulls out a scrap of paper and copies strange characters onto it. She rolls up the scrap and inserts it into the bottle as well as some poppy seeds and mandrake root. She instructs you to take this bottle, to fill it with urine and bury it in the north east corner of your field while reciting the Lord's Prayer. After that is done, you are to walk three times around the field while sprinkling a mixture of sulfur, water, and soap on your crops. You thank her for her help and offer some payment. She refuses and asks only that you

pay for the bottle and tell your neighbors how she helped.¹ Over a century later in the early part of the nineteenth century rural life was still difficult, crops could fail unexpectedly, money was tight, and life could be lonely. If you were a farmer in this period and your family had fallen ill or your cows had ceased to produce milk, there was some recourse to medical knowledge, but substantive scientific medical understanding would not be seen until later in the century. Your local newspaper mentions that a doctor who specializes in the properties of stones and herbs, the influences of the stars, and the attainment of happiness has come to the area. Tempted by the prospect of better conditions, you plan a visit, telling no one about your plans. Upon visiting the doctor's residence you notice that there are plants, papers, and a variety of objects nailed to the rafters of the ceiling. Appearing out of nowhere, a man stands before you in the most peculiar outfit; iron goggles, a whalebone umbrella, with a black cat on his shoulder. After listening to you, this strangely dressed man gets up and selects a large leather bound text from a modest library, whose title reads *The Magus*. He opens the text to a page with complicated diagrams and writings. He tells you to sit in a chair he has placed before the fireplace, handing you an iron cylinder into which you are told to urinate. He then clips off some of his hair and some of yours and stuffs it into the bottle with bits of glass and a rusty nail. The cylinder is sealed then tossed into the fire. He then takes some chalk and draws the strange diagram you saw in the text on the ground around your chair. Sitting off to one side, he tells you to watch the cylinder. It does not take long before it begins to hop and steam. You lean in and the cylinder explodes, knocking you backwards in your chair. The doctor leaps in the air and proclaims that your bad luck has been

¹ See Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbors: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (London: Penguin, 1996); Stephen Pollington, *Leechcraft: Early English Charms, Plant lore and Healing* (Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2000); Willem De Blécourt, "Witch Doctors, Soothsayers and Priests. On Cunning Folk in European Historiography and Tradition," *Social History* 19.3 (1994) 285–303; Thomas Heywood, *The Wise-Woman of Hogsdon: A Comedie* (London: 1638); Moses Pitt, *An Account of One Ann Jefferies* (London: 1696); Edward Ravenscroft, *Dame Dobson: of The Cunning Woman. A Comedy* (London: 1684).

broken but that you need to be protected. He copies another diagram from the book he had referred to and tells you to keep it on your person until he can make something stronger for you. He tells you to come back later, and not to speak of this to anyone.²

Hypothesis

The previous narrative is a composite of historical persons and practices. At first glance it would appear that nothing changed between the late seventeenth century and the early nineteenth century; people needed someone that could provide an explanation and solution for many misfortunes that occurred in daily life, as well as provide the prospect of a better future through the attainment of love and money. More simply put, people sought out magical services to meet their prescriptive needs. Although prescriptive needs changed very little during this time, there was, in fact, a fundamental change in the conception of magical power and agency. There was an important paradigm shift³ in English magical practices and beliefs sometime during the eighteenth century. Modern scholarship on the history of magic suggests that the change in practices and beliefs can be paired with industrial changes in society. In 1987, Antoine Faivre described the emergence of occultism after the Enlightenment this way:

The industrial revolution naturally gave rise to an increasingly marked interest in the “miracles of science.” ... Along with the smoking factory chimneys came both the literature of the fantastic and the new phenomenon of spiritualism. These two possess a common characteristic: each takes the real world in its most concrete form as its

² See Owen Davies, *Popular Magic: Cunning Folk in English History* (London: Continuum, 2007); Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Arthur Morrison, “The Wizard of Yesterday,” *The Strand Magazine* 20 (1900): 433–442; William Bentinck Forfar, *The Wizard of West Penwith* (Penzance: 1871); F. Bayford Harrison, *A Wise Woman* (London: 1883); Charles Burney, *The Cunning-Man: A Musical Entertainment in Two Acts ... Originally Written and Composed by J.J. Rousseau* (London: 1766); Miriam Kershaw, *The Wise Woman of the Mill* (London: 1902); *The Life and Mysterious Transactions of Richard Morris, Esq. Better known by the Name of Dick Spot, the Conjuror, Particularly in Derbyshire and Shropshire* (London: 1799).

³ See Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

point of departure, and then postulates the existence of another, supernatural world, separated from the first by a more or less impermeable partition.⁴

Faivre's remarks provide important clues about the emergence of occultism in the nineteenth century, namely that the basic understanding of the mechanisms of the world had changed in what many scholars have referred to as the disenchantment process.⁵ More recently the development of occultism in a disenchanted world has been described as an adaptation of traditional beliefs and systems to the new conditions of a secular society. In his dissertation entitled *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought* (1996), Wouter Hanegraaff demonstrates that the foundations of modern esotericism were created during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century in a process which he refers to as "the secularization of esotericism."⁶ He identifies two factors that contributed to this process. The first factor was the emergence of Romanticism, understood as a combination of traditional Renaissance modalities and "Counter-Enlightenment" recursion which ensures the internal consistency of the components of Renaissance esotericism for future movements.⁷ More simply put, Romanticism is the reinterpretation of classical philosophy under the impact of Enlightenment evolutionism, thus maintaining the kernel of Renaissance esotericism. Although this factor is important to this thesis, I will focus on the second factor, the revival of "occultism,"

⁴ Antoine Faivre, "What is Occultism?" *Hidden Truths: Magic, Alchemy and the Occult* (New York: MacMillian & Collier, 1987) 39.

⁵ Max Weber coined the term *Entzauberung* between 1917 and 1919 to describe the decrease of mysterious and incalculable powers and the increase of intellectualization and rationalization of the natural world. See Max Weber, *Wissenschaft als Beruf: 1917/1919. Politik als Beruf: 1919* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1994) 9: "Die Entzauberung der Welt. Nicht mehr, wie der Wilde, für den es solche Mächte gab, muß man zu magischen Mitteln greifen, um die Geister zu beherrschen oder zu erbitten. Sondern technische Mittel und Berechnung leisten das. Dies vor allem bedeutet die Intellektualisierung als solche."

⁶ Wouter Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2102) 517.

⁷ Wouter Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) 406. For more on the 'The Counter Enlightenment' see Isaiah Berlin, "The Counter Enlightenment," *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas* (London: Penguin, 1982) 1–24.

which is defined as “the interaction of an esoteric worldview of correspondences [from the Renaissance] with a new worldview of causality [that of scientific rationalism].”⁸ According to Hanegraaff, this revival owed much to such works as Francis Barrett’s *The Magus* (1801) and Edward Bulwer-Lytton’s *Zanoni* (1842): “books such as *The Magus* and *Zanoni* provided interested readers with easily accessible manuals of traditional esotericism and the occult sciences.”⁹ In his more recent book *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture* (2012), Hanegraaff has refined the list of titles that were influential in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. He places Barrett’s *The Magus* between Ebenezer Sibly’s *New and Complete Illustration of the Celestial Science of Astrology* (1784–1788) and Robert Cross Smith’s *Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century* (1825). Hanegraaff has identified Barrett’s text as a lynchpin between Sibley, “the late heir of Renaissance polymaths,” and the secularization of esotericism represented by Smith’s comparable “occult compendia of its time.”¹⁰ Indeed, leading historians of esotericism have described *The Magus* as “a bright star in more than a century [which emerged in England from] a period of abeyance,”¹¹ “a compilation destined to be a great success and heralds occult literature to come.”¹² What remains unclear, however, is how *The Magus* was produced and how it contributed to changes in magical practices in England. It is my hypothesis that it contributed to major changes to the typology of magic users in the late eighteenth century by providing access to classical texts of magic in relatively inexpensive print and in the English vernacular, thus making these texts accessible to a larger, less exclusive population.

⁸ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, 407.

⁹ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, 446.

¹⁰ Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy*, 238–239.

¹¹ Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon*, 25.

¹² Antoine Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994) 75.

Conceptual Framework and Method

To determine *The Magus*' importance as an example of the magical paradigm shift in English esotericism, I will examine one hundred and fifty years of the history of magic in England within its intellectual and political conditions and explore how *The Magus* reflected and influenced magical practices and beliefs. I will describe the social and intellectual contexts of magic in England during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries and compare them with those that appear at the end of the eighteenth century. By examining the intellectual and social conditions surrounding the production of *The Magus*, one can better understand how the transmission of magical beliefs and practices occurred in England at the turn of the nineteenth century and what concurrent changes occurred in magical beliefs and practices. My thesis is located in the field of the history of ideas, and my methodology for accessing this field includes analysis of primary source material, bibliographic examination,¹³ and textual criticism to demonstrate how *The Magus* acts as a lynchpin in the history of English magical thought. Before doing so, I must describe the concepts, users, and uses of magic in the one hundred years preceding *The Magus* and the fifty years following it. I achieve this by describing what the world looked like to English users of magic in the Renaissance and compare that with the main features of magic after the late nineteenth century, thereby developing a typology of magic and magic users as understood by an English audience from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. I develop this typology in two ways. First, I examine the changes in legislation concerning magic and witchcraft, and identify those changes which concern the political, ideological, and propositional claims about witchcraft from cultural and prescriptive claims. Second, I examine

¹³ The foundations of the principles of Analytical Bibliography are from Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographic Description* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962).

the changes in attitudes towards magic within centres of learning as the new paradigm of scientific rationalism took form.

Once my typology is developed and a transitional period identified, I describe what role Barrett and his book had during this transitional period, determining who had access to the book and how it was used. I will describe the physical aspects of the book, its content, and its importance. In other words, I examine the book as an artifact of culture, as a witness to beliefs and practices in England. This will be done by contextualizing the publishing conditions of the work, describing its contents, identifying its textual sources, and discussing what the content of *The Magus* is trying to achieve. Finally, I consider the influence of *The Magus*, the books it inspired and the practices it encouraged. These constitute the necessary evidence for a paradigm shift in the conception of magic that can be summed up as the replacement, as the source of occult philosophy, of Agrippa's compendium by Barrett's *The Magus*.¹⁴

¹⁴ See Henry C Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy, written by Henry Cornelius Agrippa, of Nettesheim ... Translated out of the Latin into the English tongue, by J. F.*, London (Printed by R.W. for G. Moule, 1651); Robert Turner, trans. *Henry Cornelius Agrippa's Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, and Geomancy : Magical Elements of Peter de Abano : Astronomical Geomancy : The Nature of Spirits : and Arbatel of Magic / first translated into English by Robert Turner, Philomathées, 1655 ; and reprinted with great improvements* ([London?: s.n.], 1783) .

Intellectual and Social Contexts of Esotericism in England

Magic in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century

Magic in the English Renaissance consisted largely of highly complex rituals which were meant to gain control over the natural world. Its origins lay in the resurgence of Hermeticism and Neoplatonic varieties of ceremonial magic in the fifteenth and the sixteenth century.¹⁵

Hermeticism can be understood as set of philosophical and religious beliefs based primarily upon the pseudepigraphical writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus.¹⁶ Hermeticism posits that the classical elements (earth, air, fire, water) make up the physical world, while the spiritual world (God, the One, the All) created the physical world by an act of will.¹⁷ More importantly, hermetic cosmology posits a reciprocal relationship between the physical world and the spiritual world (the physical microcosm and the spiritual macrocosm). The world is imagined as a beautiful and harmonious whole, and creation is conceived of on the model of earthly realities imperfectly mirroring supernatural realities,¹⁸ more simply stated by the axiom “as above, so below.”¹⁹

¹⁵ See Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, 384–410.

¹⁶ See Willis Barnstone, ed., *The Other Bible: Jewish Pseudepigrapha, Christian Apocrypha, Gnostic Scriptures, Kabbalah, Dead Sea Scrolls* (San Francisco: Harper, 2005) 567.

¹⁷ See Barnstone, “Hermes Trismegistus: Poimandres,” 569–574.

¹⁸ See James D. Heiser, *Prisci Theologi and the Hermetic Reformation in the Fifteenth Century* (Malone, TX: Repristination Press, 2011); Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and John Herman Randall, Jr., *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948); Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1968).

¹⁹ See B.J. Dobbs, “Newton’s Commentary on the Emerald Tablet of Hermes Trismegistus,” in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance* (Washington: Folger, 1988) 182–91: “T’is true without lying, certain most true. That which is below is like that which is above that which is above is like that which is below to do the miracles of one only thing. And as all things have been arose from one by the mediation of one: so all things have their birth from this one thing by adaptation. The Sun is its father, the moon its mother, the wind hath carried it in its belly, the earth its nurse. The father of all perfection in the whole world is here. Its force or power is entire if it be converted into earth. Separate thou the earth from the fire, the subtle from the gross sweetly with great industry. It ascends from the earth to the heaven again it descends to the earth and receives the force of things superior and inferior. By this means ye shall have the glory of the whole world thereby all obscurity shall fly from you. Its force is above all force. For it vanquishes every subtle thing and penetrates every solid thing. So was the world created. From this are

Those who studied and used magic were highly learned men who practiced alone or in tight communities of heterodox learning.²⁰ Moreover, they learned their magical techniques from one another or from texts. This restricted them to centres of learning, monasteries, and universities. Their efforts to understand nature relied on the writings of ancient authorities, such as Plato, Pythagoras and Hermes Trismegistus, who were thought to possess superior insight into the mysteries of nature. Magicians believed human reason was insufficient when it came to scrutinizing divine mysteries: many occult qualities could only be discovered by the trial-and-error of practical experiment.²¹ Through their experimentation these individuals not only sought to gain control over the natural world, they also sought a method of accessing spiritual realms through magical operations.²² During the English Renaissance, three dominant theories can be described to explain how magical effects operated: the theory of correspondences, the doctrine of subtle medium, and the theory of spiritual intervention.²³ The theory of correspondences states that nature itself speaks to humankind in a language of more or less mysterious signs, which are there to be deciphered. In this regard the power is in the operation; the magician merely demonstrates the power which exists in nature. The theory of spiritual intervention posits that non-material agents inhabit creation and can be used by the magician to bring about change through will. Although the world is enchanted and the operator could effect change on the world through will, the will is not his own but God's. Finally, the connection between the theory of correspondences and theory of spiritual intervention is mediated by the doctrine of the subtle

and do come admirable adaptations whereof the means (Or process) is here in this. Hence I am called Hermes Trismegist, having the three parts of the philosophy of the whole world. That which I have said of the operation of the Sun is accomplished and ended" (183).

²⁰ See Margery Purver, *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation* (Cambridge: M.I.T Press, 1967).

²¹ See Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923).

²² See Perrone Compagni, "Introduction," *De occulta philosophia libri tres* (Leiden: Brill, 1992) 47–50.

²³ See Hanegraaff, "How Magic Survived the Disenchantment of the World," *Religion* 33.4 (2011): 361.

medium; the body is connected to the soul by means of spiritual links that bring life to the body,²⁴ which is composed of the classical elements. An example of these theories can be seen in an excerpt from Agrippa's *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* that outlines how one must prepare a place to perform magical effects:

Now concerning those things which do appertain to this Rite of Invocation, the first is, That a place be chosen, clean, pure, close, quiet, free from all maner [sic] of noise, and not subject to any strangers sight. This place must first be exorcised and consecrated: and let there be a table or altar placed therein, covered with clean white linen, and set towards the east: and on each side thereof, let there be set two consecrated wax-lights burning, the flame whereof ought not to go out all these days. In the middle of the altar, let there be placed Lamens, or the holy paper which we have before described, covered with pure fine linen; which is not to be opened until the end of these days of the Consecration. You shall also have in readiness a precious perfume, and pure anointing oyl; and let them be both kept consecrated. There must also a Censer be set on the head of the altar, wherein you shall kindle the holy fire, and make a perfume every day that you shall pray. You shall also have a long garment of white linen, close before and behind [sic], which may cover the whole body and the feet, and girt about you with a girdle. You shall also have a veil of pure clean linen, and in the fore-part thereof let there be fixed golden or gilded Lamens, with the inscription of the name Tetragrammaton; all which things are to be sanctified and consecrated in order. But you must not enter into the holy place, unless it be first washed, and arayed with a holy garment; and then you shall enter into it with your feet naked. And when you enter therein, you shall sprinkle it with holy water: then you shall make a perfume upon the altar, and afterwards with bended knees pray before the altar as we have directed.²⁵

In this example the theory of correspondences is represented by the accoutrements of the ritual, the candles, the perfume, etc. The connection to a spiritual realm is mediated by the sacred space; in other words the subtle medium is external to the body. Finally, this ritual illustrates that the power to be able to perform magical effects relies more on the operation than the operator. Through supplication and ritual observance one's goals could be obtained by the grace of an external supernatural agent.

Magic in the Nineteenth and Twentieth century

Ceremonial magic in the nineteenth century was rooted in the hermetic currents which flourished in the Renaissance, while also making use of even earlier medieval materials.

²⁴ See Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, 221–223.

²⁵ From Turner, *Henry Cornelius Agrippa's Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 60.

However, there developed a shift between the Renaissance and the Occult Revival of the mid-nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, magic still consisted of highly complex rituals, but the dominant focus was on the spiritual realms more than on nature's secrets. On the theoretical level, theories of correspondences and subtle mediums remained fundamental to magic, but the content was no longer the same. God the Creator was replaced by an autonomous Nature. Furthermore, symbolic correspondences were now seen as conventional and became individualized tools for training the magician's creative imagination, rather than real and objectively present signs decipherable for their magical uses. Because of this focus on personal spirituality, occultists now tended to avoid references to external spiritual agents and understood correspondences as a matter of convention. Magic was developing into something that would ultimately be based on the powers of the psyche: it is the mind that works magic.²⁶ The doctrine of subtle mediums was transformed by modern magicians into an indeterminate 'otherworld' linking the inner reality to a spiritual reality. A conscious divine universe was replaced by an autonomous Nature, thus changing the basic approach to magic. In today's occultism, this approach rests essentially on training the imagination by means of visualization techniques, and spiritual entities, if they are used, are seen as expressions of oneself.²⁷

Though magical knowledge had always found an audience outside centres of learning before the modern period, it was not until the late nineteenth century that it took on an institutional format.²⁸ Before the Occult Revival those that practiced magic still practiced alone; after the Occult Revival those that practiced magic did so in magical and Masonic lodges and did so by

²⁶ See Patrick Gay Volney, *Understanding the Occult: Fragmentation and Repair of the Self* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989).

²⁷ See Vivianne Crowley, *Wicca: The Old Religion in the New Age* (London: Element Books Ltd, 1989); C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy* (London: Routledge, 1968); Aleister Crowley, *Collected Works of Aleister Crowley 1905–1907* (New York: Gordon Press, 1974).

²⁸ See Alison Butler, "Making Magic Modern: Nineteenth-Century Adaptations," *Pomegranate: The International Journal of Pagan Studies* 6.2 (2004): 212–230.

participating in group rituals. Women took on a larger role within the institutionalization of magic, evidenced in such groups as the Ordo Templis Orientis; Theosophy; and The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.²⁹ Access expanded to men and women of the upper middle class. Human reason was now considered to be the primary means of understanding nature, and through the mind anyone could understand the truth behind reality. Instead of learning how to use the hidden forces of the natural world (as had been the practice of the seventeenth century), one now focused on how to use the hidden forces of the psyche. Tapping into hidden forces was now done by either communicating with the force evoked without or invoking it within oneself, by either drawing down that power from the macrocosm (the universe) or bringing it forth from the microcosm (oneself). A magician's goals now focused on personal enlightenment and transmutation, cultivating his or her inner spirit. Given this dominance of the imagination in magical processes, magical techniques now developed into psychological techniques intended to develop mystical consciousness. Take for example a sample of the "Lesser Banishing Ritual of the Pentagram" developed in the 1880s by the British magical group The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn:

Stand facing east. Allow the body to relax. Feel your awareness expand outward to the Universe, while at the same time feel your feet firmly grounded beneath you maintaining a firm foothold in your Earthly existence. Breathe deeply and fully, and prepare to make your entire body vibrate with the sound of your voice.

See, in your mind's eye, a sphere of blazing white brilliance just above your head. Raise the right hand up high and draw down a beam of brilliance from the sphere into the top of your head, filling the entire cranium with light. Touch the forehead and intone "A-toh" (Thine)

²⁹ See Mary K. Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn: Rebels and Priestesses* (Rochester: Park Street Press, 1995); Catherine Wessinger, ed. *Women's Leadership in Marginal Religions: Explorations Outside the Mainstream* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology* (Wheaton: Theosophical Publishing House, 1972).

Bring the hand down before the body and touch the solar plexus (just below the sternum). Simultaneously, see the Divine white brilliance descend in a beam through the center of the body, down between the feet, into the Earth. Intone “Mal-kuth” (Kingdom)

Touch the right shoulder, and see the Light extend in a ray to that point. Intone “Va Gaburah” (the power)

Touch the left shoulder, and see the Light extend likewise to that point. Intone “Va Gadulah” (the glory)

Clasp the hands at the breast and intone “Leh-olahm. Amen” (Forever. Amen).³⁰

Cosmology for Users of Magic in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century

The ability to perform magic in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century was predicated on how a magician and his clientele imagined their relationship to nature and power. In Renaissance thought, the concept of nature was broad, including many types of immaterial agents (gods, heroes, angels, demons, etc). Moreover, nature was not seen to include a concept of chance; “everything bore the rigid and implacable stamp of destiny.”³¹ A man in the Renaissance, if he wished to be rich, fall in love, or destroy his enemies, would resort to magic. The performer of magic, considered an expert in natural determinism, also knew that there were gaps in the natural order in which change could be produced. This suggests that the ability to do magic relied on the idea of an ‘enchanted world.’

The concept of an ‘enchanted world’ arose out of an apparent disenchantment, or *Entzauberung*, that occurred at the end of the seventeenth century.³² The disenchantment thesis posits that the instruments of causality (correspondences, subtle mediums, and spiritual

³⁰See R. G. Torrens, *The Secret Rituals of the Golden Dawn* (Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1973).

³¹ See Ioan P. Culianu, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987) 110.

³² See Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy*, 252–254.

intervention) which were prominent in Renaissance thought were no longer valid as the new paradigm of scientific rationalism developed. According to Wouter Hanegraaff, disenchantment is based upon the internalization of instrumental causality, which then develops into an ideology. He offers this definition of disenchantment as it appears in modern culture:

Disenchantment = the social pressure exerted upon human beings to deny the spontaneous tendency of participation, by accepting the claims of a culturally established ideology according to which instrumental causality amounts to a worldview capable in principle of rationally explaining all aspects of reality.³³

The inverse of disenchantment, then, for the Renaissance would be a spontaneous participation in a culturally established worldview that allows for supernatural or external instruments of causation. Therefore for the magician and his clientele an act of magic is, more or less, a legitimate means of interacting with the real world. What remains to be discussed is not if magic survived the disenchantment of the world—there is abundant evidence that it did—but how its survival occurred and became the belief in magic of the eighteenth century, as evidenced by Francis Barrett's *The Magus*.

Magic in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth century obviously did not exist in a social vacuum. Both upper and lower classes showed great fascination with magic. However, there was also great uncertainty as to how to distinguish between superstition and blasphemy on the one hand and sound scholarly knowledge and pious ritual on the other.³⁴ Renaissance magicians were forced to legitimate their beliefs and practices by convincing the Church that magic was a purely natural affair for gaining control over the natural world. Although magic was a method for gaining control over the natural world, they had to defend magic because it was also a means of accessing spiritual realms, thus inviting ecclesiastical criticism and possible

³³ See Hanegraaff, "How Magic Survived the Disenchantment of the World," 370.

³⁴ See Henry C. Agrippa, *Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences Englished by Ia. San.* (London: Imprinted by Henrie Bynneman, 1575).

persecution. Most magicians were Christians, and like other Christians in the Renaissance they believed in the metaphysical existence of evil. Therefore, defenders of Renaissance magic were forced to legitimize magic against charges of demon worship and pagan idolatry. Walking a line between natural magic and spiritual magic was not always easy or obvious.³⁵ The intellectual and spiritual tensions that arose from this uncertainty erupted in witch hunts, further reinforced by the turmoil of the Protestant Reformation. However, these tensions were expressed in different ways and depended on how magicians in their proximity to centres of power legitimated their practices.³⁶ The evidence of this tension can be seen in the development of two divergent forms of magic and their differing treatment by authorities.

The first form was ceremonial magic (see the Table of Comparisons on page 18), engaged in by those who adhered to philosophies like Hermeticism. A ceremonial magician's intent was to present magic as something purely natural: *magia naturalis*. While a great number of authorities disapproved of magic in this form,³⁷ it managed to gain patronage in centres of wealth and power.³⁸ Magicians in urban centres had to legitimate their positions by focusing on the way correspondences acted upon the subtle medium that mediated the physical and spiritual world.³⁹ This meant they had to minimize the importance of spiritual intervention in their magic since they risked persecution from the authorities if accused of being a witch. The clientele for ceremonial magic sought the same services as the clientele of Cunning-Folk with one significant

³⁵ See D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic: From Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1969).

³⁶ In England during the late sixteenth century these tensions erupted in a rather ironic fashion. For example, literature to dismiss the idea of magical effects was in circulation but the content was used by magical practitioners to increase the availability. See Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London: 1584).

³⁷ Hanegraaff 2012, *Esotericism and the Academy*, 77–148.

³⁸ See Francis Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Routledge 1979).

³⁹ Hanegraaff, "How Magic Survived the Disenchantment of the World," 365.

difference, they tried to access to spiritual realms so as to become closer to God.⁴⁰ Critics refuted their aims by referring to an older theory of magic, which held that magical effects were caused by the supernatural intervention of demonic beings, and therefore they considered the practice of magic essentially blasphemy. For instance, Agrippa and other authors of ceremonial magic texts routinely referred to the planetary intelligences (powers and virtues of celestial bodies) and described procedures for accessing their powers. This led to a conflation of planetary intelligences with classical mythology and to Church accusations of invoking pagan deities. The Church had recast pagan deities as evil demons in league with Satan; they might masquerade as mere natural forces, but were actually supernatural intelligences attempting to ensnare souls.⁴¹

The second form of magic was folk magic. It was a popular practice widely found amongst common people and it consisted largely of simple charms and spells. Various occupations (apothecary, blacksmith, glassblower, and tanner) performed folk magic in a professional capacity.⁴² Those that used folk magic were believed to possess a broader and deeper knowledge than the average person. This fueled the popular belief that these professionals could work with supernatural power thus greatly increasing the effectiveness of the operations concerned. Those that employed folk magic included white-witches, diviners, water-casters, and most importantly, Cunning-Folk. Cunning-Folk, both men and women, were professional or semi-professional practitioners of magic. As Cunning-Folk, they practiced a form of magic which often included elements of ceremonial magic. This they learned mainly through oral tradition until the late

⁴⁰ See Nicholas Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1988).

⁴¹ See D. P. Walker *Spiritual and Demonic Magic: From Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1969).

⁴² See Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon*, 86–90; Davies, *Popular Magic*, 68–69.

sixteenth century, when texts of magic started to become more accessible.⁴³ In addition to their primary occupation, Cunning-Folk also used spells and charms as a part of their magical profession. Cunning-Folk were most commonly employed to combat malevolent forces; to locate criminals, missing persons or stolen property; for fortune telling, healing, and treasure hunting; and to influence people to fall in love.⁴⁴ Cunning-Folk belonged “to the world of popular belief and custom”;⁴⁵ thus the Cunning-Folk’s magic was concerned not with the secrets of nature but with practical remedies for specific problems. Authorities in this period believed that these practices were demonic in nature and that any effect (good or ill) was the work of a malefic agent, Satan, Lucifer, etc. This would lead to a systematic persecution of witches and folk practices across Europe, and to a lesser degree in England.⁴⁶

⁴³ See Owen Davies, *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 61–67. According to Davies, the democratization of magic was fueled by Catholic and Protestant reformers returning to centres of learning after it became abundantly clear that on the eve of the reformation clergy on both sides were woefully undereducated: “the image of dissolute and ignorant clergymen was a favorite of late-fifteenth and early sixteenth-century cartoonists and satirists. The widespread criticism of the parish clergy was certainly a contributory factor in the discontent that fomented the Protestant Reformation.” The return of clergy to universities granted access to an ever expanding catalogue of monastic libraries, meaning that during their training they had more opportunity to consult and transcribe work on the occult sciences. Davies points out that the democratization of magic in England during the sixteenth and the seventeenth century was small, uneven, entering late into the vernacular in the 1650s and 60s. After that time the output of occult works sharply declined.

⁴⁴ See Davies, *Popular Magic*, 93–119.

⁴⁵ See Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon*, 84.

⁴⁶ See Brian Levack, “The Decline and End of Witchcraft Prosecutions,” *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1999) 1-95.

Folk Magic	Ceremonial Magic
<p>Who: Men and women. Named: Cunning-Folk, white witches, wizards, piss-prophets, star-prophets.</p> <p>Where: Rural areas where they maintained independent practice</p>	<p>Who: Mostly men. Named: Theologians, doctors, philosophers, magicians, Faustian, diabolizers.</p> <p>Where: Urban areas where they relied on patrons.</p>
<p>What: Healing of people/animals</p> <p>Why: Though generalized folk knowledge used by recognized specialist of magic to meet the prescriptive needs of their clients, the local community.</p>	<p>What: Examination of nature and its secrets.</p> <p>Why: Sought to gain power over the natural world for self or client and included things such as wealth, knowledge control. Their clients were mostly the wealthy or nobility.</p>
<p>Knowledge: Cunning comes from the Old English, 'cunnan' which means "know, have power to, be able." Spoke English. Read some English, Latin, and Gaelic.</p> <p>They knew the oral traditions of the community, in addition to their trade (Vet, Apothecary, Cobbler, Blacksmith).</p>	<p>Knowledge: It was learned by individual pursuit from libraries and centres of learning. Fluent in English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.</p> <p>They knew the written traditions of ancient authorities as well as the leading scientific theories.</p>
<p>How: Spells and charms, which were either words or objects passed down through an oral culture. The source of power for these techniques came from their oral culture and the tradition of the community that believed in supernatural agents and the inherent properties of natural objects.</p>	<p>How: They used ceremony and ritual in conjunction with sophisticated astrological charts. The source of power for their techniques came from recognizing the patterns of nature and exploiting them.</p>
<p>Tools: Based on need and personal knowledge.</p>	<p>Tools: Based on a set of sanctified tools which were prescribed by texts.</p>

Legislation about Witchcraft in England.

In England, the words “witch” and “witchcraft” have been understood in two different ways. The first understanding was used to describe folk practices.⁴⁷ The second understanding was used to describe witches as a legal category. Both ceremonial magicians and Cunning-Folk could be described as witches in the legal sense. However, the term “witch” in the legal sense changed over the course of time. During England’s Tudor and Jacobean periods, several Acts were passed that dealt specifically with witchcraft. In 1541, Henry VIII passed into law *An Act against Conjurations, Witchcrafts, Sorcery and Inchantments*. This Act forced those accused to forfeit their property and made provisions for the trying of witchcraft as a felony rather than heresy. This was Henry’s way of removing the power of the ecclesiastic court in England. Not to underestimate this period’s belief in the power of witches—they were certainly thought of as a very real threat—nevertheless, the 1541 Act is symptomatic of a power struggle between Henry VIII and papal Rome.⁴⁸ At the end of the Tudor period, Elizabeth I’s *An Act Against Conjurations, Enchantments and Witchcrafts* (1562) preserved the idea of the witches’ power, but a sentence of death was only carried out in cases of serious harm. In 1604, James I passed *An Act Against Conjuraton, Witchcraft and Dealing with Evil and Wicked Spirits*. This Act was

⁴⁷ See Jeffrey Burton Russell, *A History of Witchcraft, Sorcerers, Heretics, and Pagans* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980).

⁴⁸ See Gregory Durston, *Witchcraft and Witch Trials: A History of English Witchcraft and its Legal Perspectives, 1542 to 1736* (Chichester: Barry Rose Law Publishers, 2000) 177. Henry VIII’s witch law and various other statutes passed during his reign were repealed in 1547 by his son and successor, Edward VI. The third section of the bill entitled “An act for the repeal of certain statutes concerning Treasons, felonies, etc.” (1 Edw. VI, c. 12) struck many laws. It stated that “...any act...or statute made since...the first year of the reign of the said late King Henry VIII, making any offence to be felony not being felony before, and all pains and forfeitures concerning...them, shall from henceforth be repealed and utterly void of none effect.” Edward’s ascension to the throne marked a period of reform in many sectors of life in England in response to great changes that took place under the previous regime. Some of the major targets of reform were the now independent Church of England and the legal code. Edward’s act in 1547 was not specifically aimed at repealing Henry’s witchcraft law nor did it mention it at all. The repeal was a by-product of Edward’s agenda of reform.

much harsher towards witches than the Act of 1541 and reaffirmed in English law the belief in the power of witches to do harm.⁴⁹ However, it was difficult to prosecute witchcraft due to the nature of England's court system. "A grand jury was needed to approve a draft indictment; therefore, the government was unable to initiate prosecutions on its own authority without the approval of fairly prominent residents of the county where the accused resided."⁵⁰ Effectively this meant that practitioners of magic were insulated from prosecution as long as they practiced beneficent magic. This is not to say that people did not accuse ceremonial magicians and Cunning-Folk of malefic magic, or that witch hunts never occurred.⁵¹ However it is reasonable to infer that in the Tudor period witchcraft accusations were symptomatic of political or disordered social conditions in England rather than part of the witch craze that marked continental Europe. An intellectual shift occurred in the belief in witches and magic by the mid-seventeenth century. Indicative of this are fleeting references made by Thomas Hobbes to the subject of witchcraft in the second chapter of *Leviathan* (1651). In it, Hobbes suggests that fancy can lead "even they that be perfectly awake if they be timorous, and superstitious, possessed with fearful tales, and alone in the dark [to believe in the supernatural." Moreover, he opined that "the edifice of the]

⁴⁹ James I felt himself to be an expert on the subject due to the active role James I played in the North Berwick trials in the 1590s, after which he wrote *Dæmonologie* (1597). In the preface of *Dæmonologie* he warns his people of the actions of witches that were afoot: "The fearefull aboundinge at this time in this countrie, of these detestable slaves of the Devill, the Witches or enchanter, hath moved me (beloved reader) to dispatch in post, this following treatise of mine, not in any way (as I protest) to serve for a shew of my learning and ingine, but onely (mooved of conscience) to preasse thereby, so farre as I can, to resolve the doubting harts of many; both that such assaultes of Sathan are most certainly practized, and that the instrumentes thereof, merits most severely to be punished: against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age, whereof the one called SCOT an Englishman, is not ashamed in publike print to deny, that ther can be such a thing as Witch-craft: and so mainteines the old error of the Sadducees, in denying of spirits."

⁵⁰ See Brian Levack, "The Decline and End of Witchcraft Prosecutions," in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1999) 54.

⁵¹ A notable exception to the practices of witch hunting in England was those employed by Matthew Hopkins and John Stearn from 1645 through to 1647, and even then executions were only carried out after the accused confessed to diabolism under torture.

Religion of the Gentiles [which is characterized by the belief in satyrs, fawns, and nymphs] is similar to the beliefs of witches in] rude people.”⁵² However, when pushed on the subject Hobbes said “that though he could not rationally believe there were witches, yet he could not be fully satisfied to believe there were none, by reason he would confess it if strictly examined.”⁵³ Historian Charles Williams has suggested that the history of witchcraft “is the history of a fashion, and it has yet to be shown that either democracy or aristocracies are proof against fashion.”⁵⁴ The last execution of a witch in England was in 1682, but the last person to be condemned as a witch in England was Jane Wenham of Walkerne, Hertfordshire, in March 1712. Her trial was the subject of much debate when she was condemned and sentenced to execution (not carried out).⁵⁵ However, the argument over the power of witches was not officially sealed until the repeal in parliament of the statute against witchcraft in 1736, 170 years after the law of 1562. In 1735 the Parliament of George II passed *An Act to Repeal the Statute Made in the First Year of the Reign of King James the First*. The 1735 Act retained the power of the government to prosecute those who professed to practice magical arts, but denied that there were actual powers. This was done in part to protect against fraud and clear the courts of civil disagreements where one party accused another of a sundry of magical afflictions. The modification in the legal belief in witchcraft was due in part to the judicial rejection of spectral evidence (visions, dreams, and even emotions) that were accepted for the last time in the case of Jane Wenham in favour of more reliable legal evidence, and in part to the increased acceptance of medical explanations for

⁵² See Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002): 9.

⁵³ Margaret Cavendish quoted in Ian Bostridge, *Witchcraft and its Transformations, c.1650–c.1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 41.

⁵⁴ Charles Williams, *Witchcraft* (London, 1941), 309.

⁵⁵ See Walter Notestein, *History of Witchcraft in England, 1558 to 1718* (Baltimore: The Lord Baltimore Press, 1911) 328. However, her sentence was commuted by Justice Powell who initially thought the jurors would come to a rational conclusion. Indeed, when Jane was accused of flying, Powell replied, “You may. There is no law against flying.” The argument was climaxed by Bishop Francis Hutchinson’s epochal *Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft* (1718), which publicly dismissed witchcraft theory.

the phenomena of witchcraft.⁵⁶ The Act of 1735 characterizes a significant intellectual shift in attitudes about witches, but the belief in the power of witches persisted outside intellectual circles.⁵⁷

Scientific Revolution

A shift in the belief in magic also occurred within eighteenth-century intellectual circles. The standard understanding of this shift links it to the development of the scientific method and the replacement of contemplative processes with a practical and inventive process, conventionally known as the scientific revolution.⁵⁸ The origins of the scientific revolution date to the end of the European Renaissance when thinkers such as Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), and Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) laid the foundation for a new understanding of Nature. Some of the main features of this new understanding of Nature were the replacement of the Earth as the centre of the universe (Geocentrism) by the sun

⁵⁶ See Roy Porter, “Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment, Romantic and Liberal Thought,” in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1999) 191–283.

⁵⁷ See W. B. Carnochan, “Witch-Hunting and Belief in 1751: The Case of Thomas Colley and Ruth Osborne,” *Journal of Social History* 4.4 (1971): 389–403. The rural community of Tiring preserved the belief in witches as is evidenced by their persecution of Ruth Osborn and her husband. In April of 1751 John Butterfield’s cows ceased to produce milk and he suspected witchcraft as the source. A local, man by the name of Thomas Colley lead the charge, blaming a local couple for the crime. See A. F. Student of the Inner Temple, *The Criminal Recorder: or, Biographical Sketches of Notorious Public Characters*, (London: J. Cundee, 1804) 1: 162. Colley was described as “a man of low birth, without any education, and thus ignorant, because the dupe of prejudice and superstition.” He managed to mobilize the countryside to witness the elderly couple being thrown into the water. Ruth and her husband died and Colley was hanged for his part in their death in August of that year. Although Colley was the ringleader, he was merely the figurehead representative of the deep-seated structures of rural life. See *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 20 (1751): 378. Urban commentators reported that this *cause célèbre* was an indication of the infatuation of rural people with traditional forms of belief. In fact, these traditional forms of belief appear to be so deep seated that there are reports of a witch being swum as late as 1876 in Essex. See Morrison, *The Wizard of Yesterday*, 434.

⁵⁸ See Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

(Heliocentrism),⁵⁹ and the depreciation of the Aristotelian theory of matter (matter is made up of a mixture of Earth, Water, Air, and Fire) in favour of Atomism (the natural world consists of two fundamental parts, indivisible atoms and empty void).⁶⁰ The term ‘scientific revolution’ is misleading, however, because there is no single definition of ‘science’ that captures what it is. Moreover, it did not come into existence in a single place and time. The development of science was a process in which non-science slowly became science. The two ends of the process are easily distinguishable, but the process itself is messy and ambiguous.

The general understanding of the development of science has suggested that it can be charted alongside the decline of magic (*Entzauberung*) and directly related to the replacement of magical practices with reliable mechanical technologies and civil society.⁶¹ More recently this understanding has been refined. In *Rhetoric, Science, & Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (2009), Ryan Stark describes the dominance of science in the English Renaissance:

Those advocating rhetorical plainness won the philosophical battle, more or less, not in an absolutist Hegelian sense, where the innovative *Zeitgeist* replaces the old *Zeitgeist* (and the new period style eliminates the contingencies of the old period style), but in a Thomas Kuhnian sense of paradigm shift, where the old paradigms remain thoroughly intact but lose considerable esteem in mainstream intellectual society, for better or worse.⁶²

In England, the triumph of scientific paradigms and the concealment of magical beliefs within intellectual circles are evidenced by the lives of two of England’s most important scientists and magi, John Dee and Isaac Newton.

⁵⁹ See Thomas Kuhn, *The Copernican Revolution: Planetary Astronomy in the Development of Western Thought* (New York: Random House, 1959).

⁶⁰ See Allen G. Debus, *Man and Nature in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1978): 23–25.

⁶¹ See Alan Macfarlane, “Civility and the Decline of Magic,” in *Civil Histories: Essays in Honour of Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford University Press, 2000) 1–15.

⁶² Ryan Stark, *Rhetoric, Science, & Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009) 84.

John Dee (1527–1609) was a mathematician, astrologer, cartographer, statesman, and magician who lived in England during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Dee’s life and magical practices mark the beginning of the shift in England’s attitude towards magic in intellectual discourses. Dee’s recognition by the elite and his movement towards the centre of intellectual circles began as England transitioned between the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, when Dee petitioned Queen Mary to preserve the works of “the old religion.”⁶³ Dee’s preservation of Catholic and Neoplatonic works had two major effects. Firstly, it ensured that many of the Renaissance ideas about magic would remain. Secondly, it laid the foundation for the existence of future aristocratic circles that would be sympathetic to esoteric worldviews. Queen Mary never took him up on his offer. Instead, Dee began actively to collect books and manuscripts for his personal library. This library became one of the largest in Britain and was a showcase for his deep passion for historical preservation and his unbridled curiosity as he attempted to uncover the “hieroglyphs of the universe.”⁶⁴ The path to the centre of wealth and power in Renaissance England required that one be trained in classical studies. “John Dee was well aware that the way to curry general favor was to be proficient in ancient languages and humanistic studies.”⁶⁵ Moreover, in Neoplatonism he found a basis to rationalize his investigation of the world.⁶⁶ However, it was no simple task to convince England’s intellectual elite of the usefulness of magic. In his earliest work, the *Propaedeumata Aphoristica* (1558), Dee

⁶³ This is an indication of a shift in the hegemonic order because by ‘old religion’ Dee meant Catholicism which, according to Timothy Fitzgerald, was regarded in the Tudor period by Protestants “as barbarous and pagan in their superstitious practices and idolatries.” See Timothy Fitzgerald, *Discourses on Civility and Barbarity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) 109.

⁶⁴ See John Dee, *Monas Hieroglyphica* (Antwerp: G. Silvius, 1564).

⁶⁵ Peter J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge, 1972) 22.

⁶⁶ *Propaedeumata Aphoristica I*, quoted in Nicholas H. Clulee, *John Dee’s Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1988) 43: Dee’s early work is Aristotelian rather than Neoplatonic in his approach to experimental science, but he believed that “the creation of the world from nothing took place contrary to the laws of reason and nature, so that created things can never be reduced to nothing unless it is through the Power of God which is also contrary to the laws of nature and reason.”

attempted to curtail criticisms and doubts concerning the validity and precision of astrology. Despite the brevity of the *Propaedeumata*, its contents represent not only the breadth of Dee's interest in astrology, but also the ongoing dialogue of assimilation and adaptation of Renaissance modalities into intellectual discourse. Dee was successful in convincing those in power of the use of magic for scientific investigation because as his work continued there was an increase in its application. According to Nicholas Clulee in *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (1988), Dee's work would shift from the "theoretical and mathematical study of the influences operating on all things in the natural world"⁶⁷ seen in the *Propaedeumata*, to a pronounced attempt to unite the enchanted tropes of the Renaissance with an expanding disenchanted world. This trend began in the late sixteenth century with the publication of his *Monas Hierophyphica* (1564). The content of the *Monas* was "a very clever blend of kabbalah, numerology, astronomy, alchemy and Gnostic magic"⁶⁸ forming a discourse which challenged the exclusion of alchemy and magic from the constellation of sanctioned disciplines. The *Monas* and Dee's later work on spirit summoning are difficult to place in the intellectual history of England because they did not add to the sciences of natural philosophy the way the *Propaedeumata* had done. Nevertheless, Dee's work illustrates his motivation and intent to know the hidden springs and ultimate reasons behind the processes and very existence of the cosmos. However, Dee's work depended on patronage and support from nobility, and it may very well be that the narrative generated by the aura of courtly magician, a *magus*, enhanced his intellectual status.⁶⁹ This aura must have extended far because he had access to immense physical space from patrons which allowed him to explore his alchemic interests.

⁶⁷ Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, 21.

⁶⁸ Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*, 114.

⁶⁹ See E.M. Butler, *The Myth of the Magus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

One such patron was Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (1564–1632). Percy and Dee formed a kind of amorphous university at Syon House where the ‘Wizard Earl’ of Northumberland gathered like-minded individuals who shared their feelings that neither Christian theology nor the emerging new science was sufficient to explain the world.⁷⁰ In fact, Dee at the height of his popularity rejected university positions so he could pursue his studies and travel amongst continental courts.⁷¹ However, by 1582 Dee overreached continental discursive boundaries when he claimed to have been visited by an angel who gave him a crystal which would enable him to converse with spirits and foretell the future. Dee was forced to return to England,⁷² where he found his library stolen and his alchemical equipment broken. The hegemonic order was changing and intellectual discourse along with it. He failed to secure patronage within the court of James I, and he died in relative poverty in 1608-9. His treatment in England was fairly benign, considering the fate suffered by his Italian contemporary Giordano Bruno (1548–1600).⁷³ Nevertheless, Dee succeeded in preserving and repositioning obscure and neglected medieval ideas in a reformed and expanding seventeenth-century intellectual environment. Moreover, Dee influenced conceptions of magic in intellectual circles following the English Renaissance in two significant ways: he set the model by which all other English

⁷⁰ French, *John Dee*, 171.

⁷¹ Cluee, *John Dee’s Natural Philosophy*, 238.

⁷² See Méric Casaubon, *A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Years between Dr. John Dee and Some Spirits* (London: 1659).

⁷³ See Francis Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1964). Giordano Bruno was an Italian Dominican friar, philosopher, mathematician and astronomer. His cosmological theories went beyond the Copernican model in proposing that the Sun was essentially a star and, moreover, that the universe contained an infinite number of inhabited worlds populated by other intelligent beings. He was burned at the stake in 1600 after the Roman Inquisition found him guilty of heresy for pantheism.

magicians would be judged, and he established the need for secrecy to maintain magical practices.⁷⁴

Intellectual discourse had shifted by the end of the seventeenth century, and consequently magical practices within intellectual circles were marginalized. The ceremonial and ritual expressions of esotericism had fused into secret societies, and aristocratic circles in which esoteric claims were clandestinely nurtured.⁷⁵ The prime example of a boundary between discursive expectations and clandestine magical activities being maintained is Isaac Newton (1642–1727). During most of his life Newton was a well-known physicist and mathematician who laid the ground work for modern scientific thinking in his *Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica* (1687). Though the content of the *Principia* focuses on the motion of large bodies it was his principles of parsimony applied to natural forces that revolutionized the investigation of natural phenomena.⁷⁶ Newton's explanation of physical forces reaffirmed the work of Kepler and Galileo and removed any doubt of the existence of a geocentric system. Thus, the Earth was no longer the crown jewel in God's universe, but a cog in a grand mechanism of which God was the maintainer. This model of a mechanical universe became conventionally known as Newtonianism, and it became (not without dissent)⁷⁷ the prevailing scientific paradigm of the early eighteenth century, especially in England.

⁷⁴ Some have suggested that Dee was a member of the Rosicrucian Order. See Ron Heisler, "John Dee and the Secret Societies," *The Hermetic Journal* 1992, http://www.levity.com/alchemy/h_dee.html (June 2011).

⁷⁵ See Robert Lomas, *Freemasonry and the Birth of Modern Science* (Gloucester, Mass: Fair Winds Press, 2004).

⁷⁶ See Isaac Newton, *Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica* (London: 1729) 200.

⁷⁷ See Patricia Fara, "Marginalized Practices," in *The Cambridge History of Science: Eighteenth-Century Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 503–504. Dissent ranged from clergy to Cartesian philosophers and amongst the most aggressive in England was John Hutchinson (1647–1737). Patricia Fara, in her examination of marginalized practices in intellectual discourse, demonstrates that Hutchinson had no issues with the mechanistic model: "Hutchinson envisaged the universe as a large machine driven from the sun by a perpetual circulation of three forms of a subtle fluid—fire, light, and spirit—analogueous to the holy Trinity." The source of contention for Hutchinson is the belief that the route

In addition to his contribution to scientific discourse, Newton was also the most important alchemist of his time. Though his best work on mechanics, optics, gravity and calculus was done between the ages of twenty-three and twenty-five, his alchemical work did not come until he was in his fifties. Newton was definitely a scientist, by any reasonable meaning of the word, but not all the time. He also chose to work in secrecy with alchemy and other esoteric projects which were then being pushed to the margins of intellectual society. Newton was aware of the intellectual discursive boundaries of his time which rejected alchemy, but it was through alchemy that he sought for the unifying mechanism of the cosmos: “He sought evidence of the alchemists’ universal animating spirit, through which he believed God constantly molded the universe. For him, gravity, alchemy, and God were intimately linked though his ethereal speculations.”⁷⁸ Newton’s magical work was present throughout his life, and in a way similar to Dee’s it grew towards the end of his life. But unlike Dee, whose work was cut off because of lack of patronage, Newton’s magical work was suppressed, even self-suppressed.

to understanding the natural world is through an uncorrupted Bible centered on God’s immanence in the world. This suggests that intellectually there was no issue with a mechanical philosophy, the issue was with abstract mathematical reasoning. As Hutchinson said; “Cobweb of Circles and Lines to catch Flies In.” After Hutchinson’s death his supporters were marginalized but carried on the belief that the cosmos was a self-sustaining system driven by divine energies that sprung from within. Because Newton’s mechanist model of the universe removed an interventionist God from creation and reframed God as a grand creator, Newton held that, “this most beautiful system of the sun, planets, and comets, could only proceed from the counsel and dominion of an intelligent Being” to keep God involved in the new model of the universe. However, the impact of expelling a providential being from human affairs resulted in an internalization of divinity. This discourse would later influence the diffuse doctrinal and liturgical stance taken up by English Latitudinarians (Broad Church Anglicanism), which essentially dismissed God to areas of morality.

⁷⁸ Fara, “Marginalized Practices,” 501.

Because Newton and his supporters⁷⁹ chose to conceal his magical activities, its absence would later contribute to the widening divide between marginalized practices and the edifice of Newtonian science in the eighteenth century. In fact, Newton was so successful in concealing his alchemical works that they only came to view in 1936 when John Maynard Keynes acquired a trove of alchemical documents that Newton had concealed in a trunk at Cambridge.⁸⁰ This discovery prompted Keynes to quip:

Newton was not the first of the Age of Reason. He was the last of the age of magicians, the last of the Babylonians and Sumerians, the last great mind which looked out on the visible and intellectual world with the same eyes as those –who began to build out intellectual inheritance rather less than 10,000 years ago. Isaac Newton, a posthumous child born with no father on Christmas Day, 1642, was the last wonder-child to whom the Magi could do sincere and appropriate homage.”⁸¹

Keynes’ statement suggests that as England entered the eighteenth century intellectual discourse had been transformed, leaving little room for an enchanted world. It also suggests that magical propositions, which had served Dee so well, had been occluded; there were no more *magi* to bridge the apparent divide between magic and science. In a way Keynes is correct. The enchanted rhetoric that had been used in scientific discourse during the Renaissance fell out of use by the end of the seventeenth century. Magical explanations and discourse were now no longer central to the academic discussion about truth and reality. It would take Francis Barrett and the publication of *The Magus* at the end of eighteenth century for there to be a recasting of

⁷⁹ See Michael White, *Isaac Newton: The Last Sorcerer* (Reading: Perseus Books, 1997) 131–162. Newton’s suppression of his alchemical work is evident in the relationship between Newton and his friend the chemist Robert Boyle (1627–1691). Boyle had met Newton in his 30s and by this time Boyle had already laid the groundwork for separating the fields of alchemy and chemistry (chymistry and chemistry if you like) in *The Sceptical Chymist* (1661). Although Boyle kept the two fields apart to maintain the dominant discourse, he tried to make available his alchemical work to a wider audience. Newton suggested to Boyle to keep discussions of alchemy a secret, even going to far as to suggest that Boyle should disguise his name in his works.

⁸⁰ White, *Isaac Newton*, 3.

⁸¹ See Maynard Keynes, “Newton the Man,” in *Newton Tercentenary Celebrations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947) 27–34.

sixteenth and seventeenth century magic in a form which would be acceptable to a more modern English audience.

The Author of *The Magus*, Francis Barrett.

Barrett's Biography

According to his biographer Francis King, Francis Barrett's parents were humble folk married in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields on September 29 1772:

If my identification of the parents of the magician Francis Barrett is correct it is clear that his origins were comparatively humble. For at the time of his marriage to Ann Jones the elder Barrett was illiterate, signing his name with a cross. Interestingly enough Ann Jones was literate—not only did she sign the register (Anne (sic) Jones) but her signatures displays a practiced hand, i.e. that of someone used to writing, not that of someone whose sole claim to literacy was the ability to write a signature in large, clumsy pot-hook of the sort often found in Parish Registers of the period.⁸²

The date of Barrett's birth is uncertain and unremarkable. He was a Protestant middle-class Anglo-Irish or Welsh male born in London.⁸³ A document exists from a parish register in St. Marylebone London indicating the birth of a Francis Barrett born December 18, 1774, to Francis Barrett and Anne Jones then baptized at St Mary's Church in Marylebone, January 1775.⁸⁴ Little after that time is known about him until 1800, when a marriage register from the parish of Barnstable was signed by a Francis Barrett and a very young woman by the name of Grace Hodge. Some debate exists on the identity of Barrett's wife;⁸⁵ however, he did marry, and he

⁸²See Francis King, *The Flying Sorcerer: Being the Aeronautical Adventures of Francis Barrett* (Oxford: Mandrake, 1992) 29.

⁸³ King identifies Barrett as a Welsh name. This is problematic because 'Barrett' is an Irish name. See Patrick Woulfe, *Irish Names & Surnames* (Dublin: Irish Genealogical Foundation, 1923) 227: "The Barretts settled in the thirteenth-century in Tirawley, where they became numerous and powerful. In later times they formed a clan after the Irish fashion." However, if we are to believe that Anne Jones is Francis' mother then King may be correct in identifying Francis as coming from Welsh extraction, as Jones may be a Welsh name.

⁸⁴ King, *The Flying Sorcerer*, 29.

⁸⁵ King, *The Flying Sorcerer*, 30–31; According to King, Francis Barrett was married to Grace Hodges in Barnstaple in the county of Devon. Although King is correct in identifying Grace as being of young age because of a note made on the register that says "with consent from her mother Elizabeth Marsh," he is incorrect that she was Barrett's wife. See Appendix I for an example of the marriage register and a comparison between the clear and flourished script of the extant signatures of Barrett in Wellcome MS 1072, 1073, and Mellon MS 140. The signature on the marriage register from the records office in Devon

later reported that he had one son.⁸⁶ Barrett and his family lived in two locations in London,⁸⁷ where in the Woolworth district he worked as an apothecary⁸⁸ while he compiled *The Magus*.

is related in name only, and King is incorrect in saying that the Francis Barrett on the marriage register is the same Francis Barrett that lived in London in 1801. King's reproduction of the marriage register also suggests Barrett's place in the social strata of Georgian society: he was "recorded as being neither as 'of this Parish' nor 'of the Parish of so and so.' Instead the printed letters 'of th' in line 1 had been crossed out and the groom was described as 'Francis Barrett resident in the parish of Barnstaple.'" Furthermore, in an occluded endnote, King suggests "the fact that in the Marriage Register Barrett was simply described as 'gentleman' does not necessarily mean that he had no occupation. King contends, "by 1800 the description was being used of a great many men who were neither of independent means nor armigerous," 35.

⁸⁶ See *The European Magazine, and London Review* 42 (London: Philological Society of London, 1802) 156, 286. According to Ron Heisler "Behind *The Magus*," 53: his son "may have been the Barrett junior described as a medical assistant who received a medallion from the Royal Humane Society on April 16 1820."

⁸⁷ Wellcome MS 1072: There was a correction made to the MS before it went to the printer, changing the address from Princess Street Cavendish Square to Norton Street. See Thomas Smith, *A Topographical and Historical Account of the Parish of St Mary-le-bone* (London 1833) 214. The building of Norton Street did not begin until 1790 and was not completed before the end of 1793.

⁸⁸ *The Times*, 13, 14 Aug 1801. The history of the development of the apothecary trade comes from C.J.S Thompson, *The Mystery and Art of the Apothecary* (London: R. Clay & Sons, 1929); J. Bell *Historical Sketch of the Progress of Pharmacy in Great Britain* (Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, London, 1880). Apprenticeship was a system that had existed since the Norman Conquest in 1066 and was the means of qualification for an apothecary. Becoming an apothecary would have required a seven year apprenticeship with the livery company (trade association). However, the licentiateship records of The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries show no record of any Francis Barrett for the time he would have been active. This is only slightly uncommon for the period before 1815; many practitioners (particularly those outside London) belonged to no professional body, and their activities may well be unrecorded. During the thirteenth century, the word apothecary described a person who kept a stock of wine, spices and herbs, which they sold from a shop or street stall. London apothecaries were originally members of another livery company, the Grocers, and together these tradesmen can be traced back to the Guild of Pepperers, which formed an association in London in 1180. By 1316, the Pepperers had been joined by yet another guild, the Spicers. Because there was much overlap between these guilds and they were wholesale merchant traders dealing *en gros* (hence the word 'grocer'), they were incorporated in 1428 as The Worshipful Company of Grocers. Members of the Grocers Company had their shops where they stored and sold spices, confectionery, perfumes, spiced wines, herbs and drugs which they compounded and dispensed to the public. The trade in spicery and the development of pharmacy, on the other hand, became interdependent and led to the emergence of spicer-apothecaries. By the mid-sixteenth century the apothecaries had become the equivalent of today's community pharmacists, dealing mainly with the preparation and sale of substances for medicinal purposes. The London apothecaries with their specialist pharmacy skills petitioned for several years to secede from the Grocers Company. Gideon de Laune, a wealthy and influential Huguenot, led the separatists. He was Apothecary to Anne of Denmark, wife of James I, which may have helped them gain the king's approval. The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London was incorporated by royal charter on 6 December 1617. However, the prescription of medicine in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century was in the hands of physicians. Slowly vendors of drugs encroached upon the practice of physicians because of their direct involvement in the preparation of *materia medica*. In 1704, the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries won a key legal suit

How he learned his trade is currently undocumented. Consensus is that Barrett was mentored by the affluent physician and astrologer Ebenezer Sibly, who lived one street over from Barrett's last known residence at 99 Norton Street (see Appendix IV: Residency Map of Marylebone ca.1800).⁸⁹ Sibly was a physician who received his medical degree from King's College, Aberdeen, on 20 April 1792 with the title of *Chirurgus Londinensis*, which indicates that he may have written for his degree by correspondence and never left London.⁹⁰ He took up residence on Upper Tichfield Street, which is the street behind Norton Street, now called Bolsover. Sibly traveled in affluent social circles in England and Europe; he was a member of the Mesmer Harmonic Philosophical Society and joined the Freemasons in 1784.⁹¹ He actively wrote and published his own works on astrology, the most important being *The New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (1784), printed in four volumes. In addition to this large tome on astrology, he prepared one of the most popular medical works of the period, his edition of

(known as the Rose Case) against the Royal College of Physicians in the House of Lords, which ruled that apothecaries could both prescribe and dispense medicines. This led directly to the evolution of the apothecary into today's general practitioner of medicine. Over a century later, as a result of the Apothecaries' Act of 1815, the Society was given the statutory right to conduct examinations and to grant licenses to practice medicine throughout England and Wales, as well as the duty of regulating such practice. Between the Rose Case and the Apothecaries Act of 1815 there was a significant division in the type of services offered between physicians and apothecaries in the eighteenth century, the apothecaries would be important for the administration of medicine while physicians would mainly diagnose.

⁸⁹ King, *The Flying Sorcerer*, 33. According to King, Barrett and his family rented a room or rooms from Catherine Collier who paid the taxes on the domicile.

⁹⁰ See Thomas Neville Bonner, *Becoming a Physician: Medical Education in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States, 1750–1945* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Thomas H. Broman, "The Medical Sciences," *The Cambridge History of Science: Eighteenth-Century Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 465–481. A traditional history of medicine in the eighteenth century would suggest an ordered hierarchical, pyramidal medical profession, one with physicians at the top, surgeons in the middle and a heap of apothecaries at the bottom. Physicians were university trained men who attended Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow, Edinburgh, St Andrews, or Aberdeen to gain the qualification of MD. The education these men received was mainly if not exclusively a matter of lecture and explanatory comment, and by the 1790s, medical professionals in the Georgian period stood between two recursive and complicit discourses of science (traditional medicine and unorthodox experimentations), a *mise en abîme* as it were.

⁹¹ See Jocelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York, 1994) 107.

Culpeper's English Physician and Complete Herbal (1789), which reached thirteen editions by 1812. According to Allen Debus, Sibly was interested in chemistry and knew the work of Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) and Antoine Lavoisier (1743–1794), but at the same time he sought truth in the allegories of the alchemists and the earlier Paracelsians; “he was well read in the scientific and medical literature of his own day, but, sought a system of nature different from that of the mechanists,”⁹² by including the Aristotelian elements as philosophically pure substance. In addition to the Aristotelian concept of a pure elemental air, he understood that the atmosphere is a mixture of “corpuscles of various kinds.”⁹³ However, rather than fully embracing proto-atomic theory, he believed the atmosphere is composed primarily of “dephlogisticated and phlogisticated air, which supports and sustains both animal life and vegetation.”⁹⁴ Sibly readily admitted that there were many methodologies employed by the scientists of his day, and like the contemporary mechanists he used the clockwork analogy to describe the workings of the cosmos. The extent of Sibly’s influence on Barrett is unclear, but it is likely that Barrett emulated Sibly.

⁹² See Allen G. Debus, “Scientific Truth and Occult Tradition: The Medical World of Ebenezer Sibly (1751–1799),” *Medical History* 26 (1986): 259.

⁹³ See Debus “Scientific Truth and Occult Tradition,” 260.

⁹⁴ See Debus “Scientific Truth and Occult Tradition,” 277. For an explanation of the replacement of the Phlogiston theory of chemistry see Almqvist, E. *The History of Industrial Gases*. (Plenum Publishers, London, 2003). Aristotle’s elemental schema, Earth, Water, Air, and Fire, had already been refined prior to the eighteenth century, and the broad element of Air was being broken down faster in the eighteenth century than ever before. Joseph Black confirmed different gases existed in 1755, Henry Cavendish described “dephlogisticated air” (Hydrogen) as being ten times lighter than air in 1766, and Joseph Priestly in 1774 isolated Oxygen and phlogisticated Nitrous air (Nitrous Oxide). This discovery would prompt a flurry of innovations and led to a revival in the pneumatic school of medicine. This school professed that there was vital energy in the air that entered into the blood in which doctors saw possibility of Nitrous Oxide (N₂O), Oxygen, and other manufactured gases for treatment of tuberculosis and other lung ailments. See Roy Porter, *Doctor of Society: Thomas Beddoes and the Sick Trade in Late Enlightenment England* (London: Routledge, 1992). Beddoes was convinced that pneumatics was the future of medicine and founded the Bristol Pneumatic Institution for Relieving Diseases by Medical Airs in 1799. The efficacy of this institute was marked by its popular support of its superintendant Humphry Davy. Davy experimented with N₂O, attracting England’s elite, such as Robert Southey (1774–1843), Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795), and Peter Mark Roget (1779–1869).

Before the publication of *The Magus*, Barrett worked on at least one manuscript, a translation of George von Welling's *Opus Mago-cabbalsticum et Theosophicum* (1735).⁹⁵ There exists an earlier draft of this manuscript, but there is a debate⁹⁶ as to whether Francis Barrett wrote the earlier version. If he did, it would place Barrett's birth in the 1760s, a decade earlier than what is currently believed. King assumes that Barrett was in his early thirties when *The Magus* was published.⁹⁷ After its publication Barrett lead an extremely public life by attempting massive, not to mention dangerous, hydrogen balloon launches the following summer.⁹⁸ In July of 1802, Barrett announced his intention to make a balloon ascent in August with the aid of the consul-general of Portugal.⁹⁹ *The Times* in August 13, 1802, reports:

Mr. Andrade was situated by the most liberal motives. Having little knowledge of Mr. Barrett and learning he was anxious to rival a foreigner in the feat of Aerostation, he very liberally offered every alliance in his power.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Mellon MS 140.

⁹⁶ According to Ian Macphail, and Laurence Wittenin, ed., *Alchemy and the Occult: A Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts from the Collection of Paul and Mary Mellon given to Yale University Library* (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1968) 713: MS 127 is "the first part of the translation completed in MS 128. MS 127 and MS 128 are related in subject to the collection to MS 140 signed by Francis Barrett in 1801." They note that MS 127 and 128 appear to be an earlier draft translation of MS 140, and that in MS 140 the translation appears to be more complete. Regarding the relation of authorship between MS 127–128 and MS 140, they say: "Although there are some differences in orthography and ductus between the scripts of the two earlier manuscripts and the present volume [MS 140], there are also many similarities and the writing of 'Kitchin Salt' at the beginning of both MS 127 and 140 is in fact identical. Differences may well be explained by the period of two decades which separates the manuscripts, and it is tempting to conclude that MS 140 represents Barrett's final version of Part I."

⁹⁷ King *The Flying Sorcerer*, 27.

⁹⁸ See Michael R Lynn, *The Sublime Invention: Ballooning in Europe, 1783–1820* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010).

⁹⁹ *The Gentleman's Magazine* 87 (1817): 79. The consul-general was a man of scientific inclinations associated with the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, The Berlin Society of Friend's Inquiring into Nature, and the Parisian Philomathic Society. He also took a great interest in Scandinavian fossils.

¹⁰⁰ *The Times* Aug 13 1802. This may be an indication of Barrett trying to climb into a higher stratum of society, but numerous questions remain unanswered about the connection between Francis Barrett and the consul-general. How did Barrett contact the consul-general? How did he persuade him to permit thousands of people on embassy grounds? Perhaps an examination of the ambassadorial records in Lisbon would reveal some answers.

We cannot be certain of the public response to the announcement, but reports say “the roads leading from London [...] were filled the whole afternoon,”¹⁰¹ presumably leading from Maze-hill in Greenwich and One Tree Hill to the grounds of Mr. Andrade. On the first day, Barrett was unable to generate hydrogen fast enough to inflate his balloon, and he confidently announced that there would be a launch at 3 p.m. the next day. Barrett sought out help, and Captain Richard Choyce Sowden offered his experience in hydrogen balloons, as he had flown with a French balloonist, Jacques Garnerin, the month before.¹⁰² They managed to inflate the balloon halfway, sending it up with an empty basket; it remained aloft for an hour and a half, travelling several kilometers. This short distance is not uncommon in the early careers of aeronauts; it was just lucky that Barrett was able to launch something to prevent a riot.¹⁰³

Towards the end of the summer of 1802 Barrett left London and traveled around southern England and Wales to find new audiences for his book and ballooning adventures. Barrett arrived in Swansea in the autumn of 1802, and a correspondent from *The Times* reported:

The Balloon was to ascend at a quarter past one o'clock [...] The day was fine as could be wished [...] They began to fill the Balloon about eight o'clock; from that to eleven that got on but very slowly. At this time a complete stop was put to the process by the want of vitriol. The Chemist, who had let Mr Barrett have 600 weight, would not furnish any more without the cash. Time was now getting on; the Balloon had no appearance of any thing being in it; messages and messengers now passed between Mr Barrett and the chemist until three o'clock, when the assemblage of persons on the spot (at least eight thousand) began to be unruly. Mr Barrett now came forward on the stage to make an apology, when just as he said—‘Ladies and Gentlemen’—down fell the stage with a most tremendous crash, and Mr Barrett and his Balloon with it, with a great number of persons.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ *The Times* Aug 13 1802

¹⁰² See *Air Balloon. A Full and Accurate Account of the Two Aerial Voyages made by Monsr. Garnerin, on Monday, June 28, and Monday, July 5, 1802; including the Interesting Particulars Communicated by Captain Sowden and Mr. Locker, who Accompanied M. Garnerin. As Written by Themselves. To which is Prefixed, The Origin of Balloons; the Method of constructing, filling, and directing them through the Atmosphere; And an Account of the several aerial Adventurers, to the present Period; together with a Sketch of the Life of M. Garnerin* (Sommers-Town: Printed and published by A. Neil, 1802).

¹⁰³ See Lynn, *The Sublime Invention*, 53.

¹⁰⁴ *The Times*, 19 Oct 1802.

Barrett was getting closer to a successful manned launch. A fresh subscription was raised and on October 16th, even after a small explosion, Barrett managed to “alternately ascend and descend for a space of a quarter of an hour, carrying over fields, trees and hedges, and sometimes skimming a few feet above the surface of the earth.”¹⁰⁵

Barrett continued to travel around England, and on an apparent lecture tour he arrived in Cornwall:

The celebrated Mr. Barrett, professor of occult sciences, whose performances in several parts of this country have lately proved so interesting, is soliciting subscriptions among the gentry at Penzance to take his departure from that place, as soon as it is completed.¹⁰⁶

Unfortunately none of these launches were on the magnitude of well connected, well financed aeronauts in the period, but Barrett’s “ballooning endeavors are marked by a boldness bordering on reckless—by a readiness to undertake a task beyond his capabilities.”¹⁰⁷

In addition to his ballooning feats Barrett advertised a school for students of occult philosophy from his home in London.¹⁰⁸ He did this until at least 1806, after which, it seems, he retreated from public life. Barrett’s remaining years are murky and rumour filled. The most prevalent rumour was that Barrett was successful in establishing a sodality of occultists and that he published at least one more anonymous text.¹⁰⁹ There is substantial documentation for this rumour. Barrett had at least one pupil, Dr. John Parkins of Little Gonerby, Lincolnshire.¹¹⁰

Parkins was a professional Cunning-Man who received training in the magical arts from Sibly.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ *The Times*, 22 Oct 1802.

¹⁰⁶ *The Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 26 Jul 1806.

¹⁰⁷ King, *The Flying Sorcerer*, 17.

¹⁰⁸ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book II, 140.

¹⁰⁹ See Montague Summers *Witchcraft and Black Magic* (London: Courier Dover Publications, 2000) 160; John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica 2* (Glasgow: James Maclehouse and Sons, 1906) 41.

¹¹⁰ See *Ecce Homo! Critical Remarks on the Infamous Publications of John Parkins of Little Gonerby, near Grantham; better known as Doctor Parkins* (Grantham: 1819).

¹¹¹ See John Parkins, *The Book of Miracles; or, Celestial Museum, Being an Entertaining and Instructive Treatise on Love, Law, Trade, and Physic with the Bank of Heaven, containing a Never-failing Method*

A few years later he set up as a professional Cunning-Man in Little Gonerby. He called his magical establishment the ‘Temple of Wisdom’ and built up a considerable clientele for his charms and ‘unbewitching’ services.¹¹² Unlike most Cunning-Folk, he used printed pamphlets and booklets to advertise his business. These provide us with some insight and a strong indication of the extent to which Sibly and Barrett influenced the way occultism operated in England.

Barrett’s death probably occurred in the 1830s; a manuscript addendum written by Parkins in a text on preparing a crystal for divination states that “[t]he most noble science of Divine Magic ... is regularly taught in all its parts by Dr. Parkins, Pupil to the late Mr. F. Barrett. Little Gonerby, near Grantham, Lincolnshire.”¹¹³ Some claim that Barrett may have travelled to the United States before his death, a claim that is not without merit, but no documentation has surfaced.¹¹⁴ Although little is known of Barrett’s remaining years, his greatest legacy by publishing *The Magus* was to lay the foundation for a new approach to occult philosophy and a new way of practicing magic.

for Ladies to Obtain Good Husbands, and Gentlemen Good Wives (London: Printed for, and sold by, the author, at the Temple of Wisdom, Little Gonerby ... to be had also of the printer [J. Bailey] [ca. 1817]) 17: “[...] the late Dr. Sibly, had both Saturn and Mars located in the seventh house in his nativity, and the consequence was this; he had two or three wives, but could not live with any of them. No person could have imagined or thought this to be the case, neither from his common conversation, address, accomplishment, or his company; yet, that unfortunate gentleman during the time I was at his house in Upper Titchfeild Street, London, in the year 1796, he was then living in a state of separation from his wife, whom I never saw all the while I was in town [...].”

¹¹² See King, *The Flying Sorcerer*, 41; Davies, *Popular Magic*, 51–52, 115–118.

¹¹³ See Wellcome MS 1073

¹¹⁴ King, *The Flying Sorcerer*, 39. See also Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (New York: Signature Books, 1998). In 1974 Dr. Reed C. Durham, a Mormon and noted scholar of Mormon history gave a lecture entitled, “Is there no help for the Widow’sWidow’s Son?” Durham revealed that a medal worn by Joseph Smith and long thought to be a Masonic emblem was, in fact, a talisman of Jupiter identical to the example given by Barrett in *The Magus*.

Publishing History and Reception of *The Magus*

The immediate impact of *The Magus* on the conceptions and practices of magic in the nineteenth century is unclear. As W. Sparrow Simpson, the Sub-Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, said in 1884: "it is a marvel to any thoughtful person that such a book as Barrett's *Magus* should have ever been compiled [wondering if there were] patrons of a work such as this [and if there are still] practitioners of the black art."¹¹⁵ Barrett attempted to use *The Magus* as a textbook for a school out of his London home. It is not known if Barrett's school continued after 1806 and whatever immediate effect he may have had on contemporary conceptions of magic is unclear. However, from *The Magus*' publication history it is clear that the work provided an impetus for the study of ancient magic in its ancient and modern forms. It is during the French Occult Revival that the impact of *The Magus* can be first felt. By the 1830s, the French occultist Abbé Alphonse Louis Constance (1810–1875), also known as Eliphas Lévi, was inspired by *The Magus* to visit the developing network of occultists and aristocrats responsible for the English Occult Revival.¹¹⁶ This would lead Lévi to produce his own interpretation of Renaissance magic.¹¹⁷ Or, as E.M. Butler begrudgingly admits, Lévi made "the dry bones of *The Magus* live very vividly" in his works. Furthermore, the impact of *The Magus* in the nineteenth century was not restricted to Europe.¹¹⁸ In 1835, a copy of *The Magus* made its way to Philadelphia's lending library.¹¹⁹ There is also a debate as to the extent that *The Magus* influenced magical practices in the U.S., particularly the practices of Joseph Smith Sr. and his son Joseph Smith Jr., the founder

¹¹⁵ W. Sparrow Simpson, "On a Seventeenth Century Roll Containing Prayers and Magical Signs," *Journal of the British Archeological Association* 40 (1884): 302–303.

¹¹⁶ See C. Nelson Stewart, *Bulwer Lytton as Occultist* (London: Kessinger Publishing, 1996) 36.

¹¹⁷ See Eliphas Levi *Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie* (Paris: 1855).

¹¹⁸ E.M. Butler, *Myth of the Magus*, 243.

¹¹⁹ See *A Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1835), 188–192.

of the Latter Day Saints movement (Mormonism).¹²⁰ Be that as it may, it was not until 1896 that the printing firm of W.W. Harmon in Boston produced the first U.S. edition of *The Magus* under the title *The Book of the Magi*.¹²¹ This American printing may have been a response to the revival of occult sciences and spiritualism in England during the 1880s.

One of the key players in the British occult publishing industry partly responsible for the English Occult Revival was Fredrick Hockley (1809–1885). An accountant, tea-merchant and crystal scryer—he would communicate with spirits through crystals¹²²—he used the engraving plates bought by his employer, John Denley, in 1818¹²³ to produce the 1875 edition of *The Magus*.¹²⁴

The Magus’ English language publishing history after 1900 is long and varied:

Wellingborough, England: Thorsons Publishers, 1900; New York: Samuel Weiser, 1900;
Toddington England: Helios Books, 1965; New Hyde Park, N.Y: University Books, 1967;
Leicester, England: Vance Harvey Publishing, 1970; Secaucus, N.J.: Citadel, 1975, 1977 and
1980; Wellingborough, England: Aquarian, 1989; New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1995;
Escondido. CA: Book Tree, 1999; York Beach, Me.: Samuel Weiser, 2000; Stroud, Ireland:
Nonsuch, 2007; New York: Cosimo Classics, 2008; Charleston, S.C.: Forgotten Books, 2008;
Glastonbury: Lost Library, 2011; and finally, Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2012.¹²⁵

There have also been several translations: two Spanish editions, *El mago: un sistema cvompleto de filosofia oculta* (Barcelona: Ibis, 1990,) and (Barberà del Vallès Barcelona: Humanitas 2001); a Portuguese edition, *Magus : Ttratado completo de alquimia e filosofia oculta* (São Paulo:

¹²⁰ See Davies, *Grimoires*, 147–152.

¹²¹ Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, 75.

¹²² See John Hamill, *The Rosicrucian Seer: The Magical Writings of Frederick Hockley* (Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press, 1986).

¹²³ Davies, *Popular Magic*, 143.

¹²⁴ Ferguson *Bibliotheca chemica* 1, 75.

¹²⁵ From a search of the worldwide library catalogue Worldcat.

Mercuryo 1994); and finally a German translation, *Der Magus: Ein vollständiges System der okkulten Philosophie* (Berlin: Schikowski, 1995).

However, the most interesting twentieth-century edition of *The Magus* does not appear under Barrett's name at all.

In 1915, Delaurence, Scott and Co. of Chicago produced *The Great Book of Magical Art, Hindu Magic, And East Indian Occultism - Ceremonial, And Talismanic Magic*. It was advertised as “handsomely bound with a durable and expensive binding, with lettering, oriental and occult symbols stamped in beautiful bright metal known as oriental gold [and according to Davies there was] nothing Hindu or Indian about its contents.”¹²⁶ It was, in fact, a plagiarized copy of *The Magus* in which Delaurence changed Barrett's ‘I’ to ‘we’, adding photographs of India and a miscellany of extraneous engravings. The Delaurence Company was the fabrication of one self-styled Dr. Lauron William Delaurence, who was in the habit of plagiarizing works from the now established occult publishing industry. He used unattributed English texts to create an occult mail-order supply industry.¹²⁷ And according to Davies, Delaurence would be vital in “filling the gap in the English-speaking African market” for spells or ‘root’ workthrough his inexpensive publishing model.¹²⁸

It should be clear at this point from *The Magus*' continuous print history that it continued to attract publishers and buyers, whatever their intentions may have been. The intellectual and academic reception of *The Magus* has been another matter. For students of occult philosophy and for those writing about the western magical tradition, the publishing history of *The Magus* has elicited various responses. On the one hand its legacy as an original contribution to the western

¹²⁶ Davies, *Grimoires*, 216.

¹²⁷ See The Church of Good Luck, “De Laurence Catalog,” *The Church and Museum of Good Luck*, 2012, http://www.churchofgoodluck.com/De_Laurence_Catalog.html (August 2012).

¹²⁸ Davies, *Grimoires*, 224.

magical tradition has merited lofty praise. Idries Shah has identified Barrett as the first self-professed occultist to compile works of occultism into a unique system:

[...] there is no known magical book which fulfills the requirements of the original authorship. Occultists sometimes delight in making distinctions between ‘composite’ and other ritual. The fact is that every extant book of spells, charms, divination or magical conjuration—whether working through the power of God, of the Devil, of demons or angels, of flower, stones, or familiars, crystals or visions—is a work which has gone through innumerable hands, been edited and re-edited, and translated in many cases to three times between different languages.¹²⁹

Or, as the historian Alexandrian Sarane puts it when writing about the revival of occultism in the nineteenth century:

Et la forme la plus pure, la plus savante de cette tendance se trouva en France, alors qu’auparavant la philosophie occulte brillait surtout en Italie, en Allemagne, en Angleterre où parut en 1801 *The Magus* de Francis Barrett, ouvrage superbe dont il n’y aura plus aucun équivalent en ce pays jusqu’à ceux d’Aleister Crowley un siècle après.¹³⁰

On the other hand, E.M. Butler calls *The Magus* “an abysmally learned treatise on all magic enumerated” which does not “advance the art of ceremonial magic one iota,”¹³¹ and Donald Tyson describes it as being “made up of large blocks of plagiarized material from the *Occult Philosophy* and the spurious *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*. It contains nothing original.”¹³² Between these two views, there have been more neutral assessments of *The Magus*, but they have typically been descriptive, offering little explanation of the work or its importance.

¹²⁹ Idries Shah, *The Secret Lore of Magic* (London: Fredrick Muller, 1963) 75.

¹³⁰ Alexandrian Sarane *Histoire de la philosophie occulte* (Paris: Edition Seghers, 1983) 29.

¹³¹ E. M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949) 254.

¹³² See Donald Tyson, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (St Paul MN: Llewellyn, 2006) xl. Tyson’s critique is problematic for several reasons. First his critique of Barrett’s interpretation of the source material may stem from the fact that Tyson compiled an edition of Agrippa’s work and yet utilizes diagrams and illustrations from *The Magus* for his own edition of *Occult Philosophy*, which undermines Tyson’s objectivity. Second, Tyson in 1988 wrote *The New Magus: Ritual Magic as a Personal Process* and I believe Tyson has no serious criticisms, and his words are in fact a lack of objectivity which stem from the retroactive use of Barrett’s illustrations and the need to make his own edition noteworthy. Not to mention that Tyson’s edition of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* is competing with Barrett’s *The Magus* in the occult publishing industry. Furthermore, Tyson’s position echoes the same fault that E. M. Butler’s opinion engenders; the value in the book may not be found in what it offers to those within a tradition, but to those outside of a tradition.

In this regard Alison Butler's 2003 article, "Beyond Attribution: The Importance of Barrett's *Magus*," is an advance. She argues that *The Magus* was compiled for the purpose of providing an authoritative source for occult studies, and that it heralded a new way of transmitting knowledge by making cabalistic magic less exclusive in its dissemination:

The *Magus* or Celestial Intelligencer of Francis Barrett is one of the most original and valuable additions to western occult literature. Barrett's compendium tells much about the state of magical knowledge and practice in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century by presenting, in a single book, a large portion of the occult literature available in English translation.¹³³

Wouter Hanegraaff recently has supported her view. He describes her work on Barrett's impact on the initiatic chain handed down from the Renaissance through the 'dark ages' of the early nineteenth century to the Victorian era this way: "She manages to praise *The Magus* as one of the most original and valuable additions to western occultist literature, although her own evidence demonstrates its derivative nature."¹³⁴

In regards to *The Magus*'s derivative nature, Butler has identified the two main sources on which Barrett drew: the English translation of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, and pseudo-Agrippa's *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*.¹³⁵ Henry Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535) was a German occultist from Köln who travelled to Wurzburg in the early part of the sixteenth century to study with the famous magician/monk Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516).¹³⁶ By the time Agrippa left his studies with Trithemius, he was sure that he could unlock the secrets of all knowledge and revive magic in intellectual circles. In much the same way as Agrippa Butler argues that Barrett's use of these

¹³³ Alison Butler, "Magical Beginnings: The Intellectual Origins of the Victorian Occult Revival," *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies* 9 (2003): 83.

¹³⁴ Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy*, 238

¹³⁵ Alison Butler, "Beyond Attribution," *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic* 1 (2003): 14.

¹³⁶ See Noël L. Brann, *The Abbot Trithemius (1462–1516): The Renaissance of Monastic Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 1981); *Trithemius and Magical Theology: A Chapter in the Controversy of Occult Studies in Early Modern Europe* (Albany: SUNY, 1998).

sources shows “he was not alone in his work. At one point in his life Barrett was a student of the occult and, as such, had colleagues with whom he learned, and teachers from whom he learned, [and his life] gives voice to an era [the early nineteenth century] of occult studies that is relatively undocumented.”¹³⁷ Butler observes how Barrett used Agrippan literature to set the stage for new developments in English ritual magic and thus gives a sense of why Barrett is important to the history of esotericism in England and beyond. However, since Butler’s method is primarily one of literary criticism, she can only hint at the social and intellectual conditions that would make a work like *The Magus* possible. For example, she suggests that “perhaps Barrett’s pointed omission of certain sections of Agrippa was also an effort to facilitate a transition, leaving behind the more superstitious and popular elements and embracing more foreign and esoteric ones as provided in the cabalistic tradition.”¹³⁸ But she does not explain why such a move would have had an appeal or been possible in Barrett’s day. The answer may be found not in an examination of *The Magus* from the perspective of literary criticism (which has illustrated its importance in the western magical tradition) but from the perspective of bibliographic science (which systematically examines *The Magus* in a print and cultural tradition). By using techniques within the domain of bibliographic science, I will now systematically describe *The Magus*, identify its sources, and analyze it in relation to the conceptions and practices of its period.

¹³⁷ Butler, “Beyond Attribution,” 18.

¹³⁸ Butler, “Beyond Attribution,” 25.

The Magus

A Bibliographic Description of *The Magus*

A bibliographic examination of a book has several elements, each element describing an aspect of the textual artifact. Descriptive bibliography constitutes the close examination and cataloging of a text as a physical object, recording its size, format, binding, and so on. Textual bibliography (or textual criticism) identifies variations—and the etiology of variations—in a text with a view to determining “the establishment of the most correct form of a text.” Both form the basis for a more holistic form of bibliography known as analytical bibliography.¹³⁹ Analytical bibliography examines the material features of a book as a textual artifact—type, ink, paper, imposition (the arrangement of the printed product’s pages), format, impressions and states of a book—to recreate the conditions of its production. Analytical bibliography often uses collateral evidence—such as general printing practices, trends in format, responses and non-responses by readers to design—to scrutinize the historical conventions and influences underlying the physical appearance of a text. Analytical bibliography also uses knowledge gained from the descriptive bibliography and textual bibliography of a particular book to determine the ‘ideal copy’ of a text. It is not the purpose of this study to use these bibliographic techniques to provide a complete description of an authentic first edition of *The Magus*. Rather, the techniques are used selectively to highlight the social and intellectual conditions surrounding *The Magus*’ production and use. The first element in a bibliographic description of a book is the title. The full title of Barrett’s book is *The Magus, Or Celestial Intelligencer*, but the text of the title page is much longer. It consists of an exhaustive list of its contents as well as an advertisement of its goals and a

¹³⁹ See Fredson Bowers, *Bibliography and Textual Criticism*, 498.

proclamation of Barrett's credentials. The title page states that the work is in three books which contain:

The antient [sic] and modern practice of the cabalistic art, natural and celestial magic; shewing [sic] the wonderful effects that may be performed by a knowledge of the celestial influences, the occult properties of metals, herbs, and stones, and the application of active to passive principles. Exhibiting the sciences of natural magic; alchymy [sic], or hermetic philosophy; also the nature of creation, and fall of man; his natural and supernatural gifts; the magical power inherent in the soul; with a great variety of rare experiments in natural magic: the constellatory practice, or talismanic magic; the nature of the elements. Stars, planets, signs; the construction and composition of all sorts of magic seals, images, rings, glasses; the virtue and efficacy of numbers, characters, and figures, of good and evil spirits. Magnetism, and cabalistical or ceremonial magic; in which, the secret mysteries of the cabala are explained; the operations of good and evil spirits; all kinds of cabalistic figures, tables, seals, and names, with their use. The times, bonds, offices, and conjuration of spirits. To which is added biographia antiqua, or the lives of the most eminent philosophers, magi.

The purpose of constructing a title page this way was twofold. Firstly, it was an advertisement; a title page was printed separately from the rest of the work and often placed in the printer's window to inform others on what the printer was currently offering.¹⁴⁰ Secondly, it was an attempt to encapsulate a vast area of knowledge that could no longer be conveyed in a simple way. Wouter Hanegraaff identifies *The Magus* and other books that employed lengthy titles on these sorts of topics printed after this period as part of a "waste basket approach to rejected knowledge."¹⁴¹

At the end of the list, the title page states that the work was written by Francis Barrett F.R.C. (Frater Rosae Crucis),¹⁴² professor of chemistry, natural and occult philosophy, and the cabala.¹⁴³ This proclamation attracted a number of critics. In the *Critical Review* (1801) one critic said:

¹⁴⁰See W. A. Dwiggins "Notes on the Structure of a Book," *American Institute of Graphic Arts, Fifty Books Exhibited by the Institute, 1926* (New York, 1927) 1: "The title page is overture. This is the place to marshal all the scenic effects you can afford. Here is the one chance the usual commercial book gets to make a little melodious noise; to play a few bars of incidental music while the curtain rises; to get the audience in a sympathetic state of mind."

¹⁴¹ Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy*, 230.

¹⁴² Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, 119–121: There was no 'Fraternity of the Rosy Cross' as such in England in 1800. There is one possible tie that Barrett may have pursued to amend F.R.C. to his

In vain do we boast of the progress of philosophy; for, behold! In the beginning of the nineteenth century appears a work which ought not to have surpassed the fifteenth. The prefixed portrait of the author seems rather to indicate weakness than roguery; yet we are led to imagine that this compilation is a kind of advertisement intended to inform the public of a **new cunning man** (my emphasis). We cannot guess the meaning of the letters F.R.C. appended to the authors name, except they imply Fellow of a Roguish Company.¹⁴⁴

Barrett's contemporary, the poet Robert Southey said:

[...] This same Barrett who took in the people at Greenwich¹⁴⁵—and who wrote a book called *The Magus*—of which I have seen the title page and his own rascally portrait as frontispiece. My gentleman professes to teach the occult sciences. Unhappily I did not know this was the fellow when I saw him—else I would have gone thro [sic] his sciences—and he puts all the letters in the alphabet after his name to look like honorary titles. And so he had better break his neck from a balloon to save the country the expense of hanging him [...]¹⁴⁶

Finally, at the end of the title page it states that the book was printed in London for Lackington, Allen, and Co., Temple of the Muses in 1801. James Lackington started out as a shoemaker in Somerset in the 1750s. He entered the book trades after his grandfather left him a legacy of £10. His investment of this money is remarkable—but not entirely uncommon—transforming a small book stall of a few chapbooks into the massive ‘Temple of the Muses’ at Finsbury Square.¹⁴⁷ In 1801 Charles Knight (publisher of the 1875 reprint of *The Magus*) recounts his experience visiting this emporium as a small boy:

A dome rises from the center on the top of which a flag is flying. This royal manifestation proclaims that this is no ordinary commercial establishment. Over the principal entrance is inscribed ‘Cheapest Booksellers in the World’.¹⁴⁸

name. Dr. Sigmund Bacstrom (1740– 18??) possessed a charter for the brotherhood and intermittently lived in London, one of his addresses being in Marylebone in 1798, where he did alchemical work. Bacstrom's intermittent stays in Barrett's neighborhood may account for the hasty emendation of FRC Barrett made on Wellcome MS 1072 just prior to his submission to the printer. Furthermore, on Mellon MS 140 FRC appears not to have been an afterthought (see Appendix I).

¹⁴³ According to Ferguson, *Bibliotheca chemica 1*, 75; the American 1863 edition of *The Magus* FRC was changed to FRS (Fellow of the Royal Society).

¹⁴⁴ *The Critical Review*, 34 (1802): 406.

¹⁴⁵ See page 35 above regarding his ballooning.

¹⁴⁶ The full letter may be found in *New Letters of Robert Southey 1792–1810*, 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

¹⁴⁷ See James Lackington, *Memoirs of the Forty-Five First Years of the Life of James Lackington* (London: Lackington Allen & Co., 1796).

¹⁴⁸ Charles Knight, *Shadows of the Old Booksellers* (London: G. Routledge, 1908) 282.

Lackington was able to proclaim the title “Cheapest Bookseller” by offering a drastic solution to the closed-door credit system (in which one could buy books only by being referred to the bookseller) by switching to a face-to-face cash sale of other publishing houses’ old stock.¹⁴⁹ Lackington’s discounting of remaindered and second-hand books for cash was condemned by rival booksellers as unfair practice, given that they could not, like Lackington with his large one-off emporium, break free of the retailing and newspaper-led advertising structure that their customers expected.¹⁵⁰ Lackington exploited the system by allowing his competitors to produce and advertise books as they attempted to maintain the traditional image of a book as a luxury item, while reselling their remaindered stock. Lackington believed that books were the key to knowledge and that everyone had a right to it (if they had the cash). Moreover, the consumption of expensive books by the middle class was becoming important because the conspicuous presentation of books in personal libraries in urban Georgian society emphasized growing divisions of occupation, wealth, status, and even degrees of learning.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ See Laura Runge “Introduction,” in *Producing the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009) 13–30.

¹⁵⁰ See James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450–1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) 46–83, 221–257. Publishing in the early 1690s was shackled by post-Restoration licensing laws, restricting the medium to London, Cambridge, Oxford and York. In 1709 the monopoly of the stationers was broken by *An Act for the Encouragement of Learning 1709* (8 Ann. c 19). This Act created a twenty-one year publishers’ copyright for all works already in print at the time of its enactment and a fourteen year term for all works published subsequently. This resulted in a secure copyright for publishers, and by 1800, print issued from hundreds of presses operating in London and almost every small town in the country. London and country booksellers now sold a range of literature, still mostly printed and published in London, but available in unprecedented variety and, according to their type, in unprecedented quantity and quality. Due to the entrepreneurial spirit of publishers eager to capitalize on a broadening consumer market, a nation of readers was born and this rise of literacy would provide the impulse for writers to be published. This suggests that by the end of the eighteenth-century, stabilization occurred, resulting in an entrenched self-regulated, and credible—that is, a modern—print culture.

¹⁵¹ See David Allan, *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (London: British Library, 2008).

Of the 30,000 volumes listed in the Lackington's 1811 catalogue, *The Magus* is given several extra lines, highlighting the publisher's assessment of this book of occult philosophy.

The notice is worth repeating:

There was a time when any treatise written on this subject would have exposed even the person, in whose possession it might be found, to the rack or the flames. But an age of good sense having succeeded that of credulity and ignorance, the publication of books on what is called Occult Philosophy, can be injurious neither to the authors nor the readers; but on the contrary, may afford great amusement to the inquisitive mind, without raising up any phantoms of terror before the imagination. In this point of view may be considered the elaborate system compiled by Mr. Barrett. It contains the secrets of most of the celebrated magicians from Zoroaster to Cornelius Agrippa, and Paracelsus. The work is extremely curious and entertaining; and should it fail of enabling men to perform the wonders it professes to do, it will at least give them an idea of the pursuits of many ancient philosophers, and make them acquainted with all those supernatural mysteries which in different periods of the world, were objects of research, of reverence, of terror, and of persecution.¹⁵²

The next three elements of bibliographic analysis that I discuss deal with paper, format, and collation. They provide insight into the publisher's investment as well as how the text may have circulated. The paper of a first edition of *The Magus* is a clean smooth surface composed of rag pulp, also known as wove paper.¹⁵³ This is unusual. Paper was an expensive and labour-intensive product, resisting technological change for many hundreds of years, and wove paper would not become the default choice for book production until the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁴ Because of the

¹⁵² See Lackington, Allen and Co, *Lackington, Allen & Co's. General Catalogue for the Year 1811* (London: Harding, 1811).

¹⁵³ An examination of an 1875 reprint at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library shows that it was done on wove paper but produced by a machine with a "dandy" roll to give the impression of laid paper, thus giving it an antiquarian look.

¹⁵⁴ Early paper in England was imported. However, over the course of the eighteenth century England became less dependent of continental sources, starting with the establishment of a paper mill in the early part of the century. See James Raven, "The Book Trades," in *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*, ed. Isabel Rivers (London: Continuum, 2001) 1–35. The production of paper increased greatly in this time, paper production increased from 2000 tons in 1700 to 15,000 per year by 1800. All this was done from a pulp of linen rags laid on a wire mould, which required significant time and energy to filter. For five hundred years paper makers could only make laid paper, a sheet characterized by pronounced laid or chain wiremarks imprinted on the wet surface of the sheet by the wire cover of the mould. This method of papermaking would be a significant barrier for all book production until the innovative James Whatman (1702–1759). See John Noel Balston, *The Whatmans and Wove Paper: Its Invention and Development in the West: Research into the Origins of Wove Paper and of*

expense of paper, its size would dictate the price of a book as well as the width and height of a book. In large and expensive works, the paper was folded once and called folio; folded again it was called quarto. For chapbooks (small booklets), the paper would be folded many more times (octavo and duodecimo) to save paper and reduce the cost of printing. *The Magus* is in a quarto format, placing it amongst a class of books that would have been out of economic reach for most of the lower classes. However, the lower class could access expensive works not printed in the cheaper octavo or duodecimo formats through the purchase of parts of a book in the form of unbound gatherings, through lending libraries, and through manuscript transcription. Although the first edition of *The Magus* states that it is divided into three books, its collation suggests otherwise. As previously mentioned, a sheet of paper is folded, and then a set number of folded pages are gathered together in what is called a gathering or choir. These choirs would then be stitched together and bound at the expense of a customer. *The Magus* was listed at £1 7 s, and for an extra 6 s one could have it bound in calf. Therefore the binding of *The Magus* would have varied and would tell more about how the owner valued the book than how the publisher did.¹⁵⁵

In regards to the original collation of *The Magus*, it is currently unknown exactly how the gatherings were stitched together, but the inclusion of separate title pages before individual units of *The Magus* (which we will return to later) strongly suggests that the printer imagined them as separate books, a chapbook if you will. Gathering the chapters of each section this way would

Genuine Loom-woven Wire-cloth (West Farleigh, Kent: Balston 1992). In the mid-eighteenth century Whatman devised a mould which produced a sheet unblemished by the furrows formerly found in laid paper, this was wove paper. Wove paper could be produced by machine in the eighteenth century as evidenced by the establishment of a paper mill driven by a Boulton and Watt steam engine set up at Wilmington in 1786. However, it was a short-lived experiment, sporadically pursued, and it was not until 1814 that machine wove paper was the dominate choice for paper manufacturing worldwide.

¹⁵⁵ For example, the binding on a first edition held in the Wellcome Library has on the pastedown and endpaper of the upper board two nativity charts dedicated to the owner (see Appendix III).

provide a consumer an opportunity to purchase sections of *The Magus* as separate units, very similar to the chapbook *grimoires* found in continental Europe.¹⁵⁶

Paper, format, and collation aside, the largest expense in producing *The Magus* came from its illustrations.¹⁵⁷ One of the most attractive features of a book for readers is its illustrations. *The Magus* is illustrated with 22 plates, 6 plates in Book I and 16 in Book II, 5 of which are hand colored aquatint engravings.¹⁵⁸ The first engraving, a frontispiece, is of Francis Barrett, executed

¹⁵⁶ See Davies, *Grimoires*, 132–134: “There was a ready market for grimoires in Britain but there never was a chapbook revolution. Britain’s main contribution to the grimoire tradition lay in huge tomes of Neoplatonic magic that attracted mostly young men from artisan or middling-sort backgrounds.”

¹⁵⁷ See Raven, *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, 30: The pursuit of better quality and an increased quantity of paper would pave the way for book producers to invest further in book technologies. The most significant of the technological investments that occurred in the eighteenth century book trade was the improvement of typeface and engraving technologies. Initially type face was an imitative process designed not to draw attention to the fact that the medium had changed. Until at least the 1720s the type used in book production was of poor quality imported from Germany and the Low Countries; the areas around delta of the Rhine, Scheldt, and Meuse rivers. Modern typefaces were manufactured in England in the late-eighteenth century beginning with John Baskerville (1706–1775), who lost all his experiments and faces in bankruptcy. The shift from an imitative face to a minimal face significantly impacted the reception and dissemination of books as it increased legibility and readability; that is, it eliminated ambiguous characters and assured that the reader could navigate the text. Moreover, the changes in typeface simultaneously conveyed nuances in communication while limiting the author—by proxy of the printer—to the subtle signifiers of that face. The typography of *The Magus* is unremarkable, save for one feature: the first edition printing used a long, or medial, ‘s’. According to R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1927), 27, the effective introduction of the reform of typography in England was credited to the printer and publisher John Bell who in his *British Theatre* of 1791 used the short ‘s’ throughout: “In London printing the reform was adopted very rapidly, and save in work of an intentionally antiquarian character, we do not find much use of [long] s in the better kind of printing after 1800.”

¹⁵⁸ See Anthony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (London: British Museum Press, 1996) xiii–101. The only method of producing multiple images up to the end of the eighteenth century was by making a relief on a wood block or copper plate, applying ink to it, and then pressing the inked design onto a sheet of paper. The advance of engraving and copperplate making in the eighteenth-century is associated with the development of specialist craftsmen, adopting intaglio techniques (a family of engraving practices in which ink is deposited in the void of the design rather than the ridges) to produce copperplate engravings and etchings. Etching was an easy art form to learn, but it was engraving that attracted the most attention because it offered greater detail. Unlike paper making, or type design, the engraving trade attracted men and women from various crafts, which tells us more about the new forms of collaboration involved in the book trade than about fundamental changes in the industry. The culture of engraving was an urban pursuit found rarely in the provinces, but considered low in the hierarchy of visual arts. Engraving as an art form was seen as a mechanistic art rather than a liberal art. The predominantly servile role of the engraving was emphasized on the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768 by the exclusion of engravers from their membership. In 1796 engravers were admitted in an inferior capacity, but the best never joined. Later apprentice engravers were admitted, but

by Daniel Orme, engraver to the King.¹⁵⁹ The remaining plates were designed by Francis Barrett. The identity of the engraver is unclear, but the most likely candidate is Robert Griffith, an engraver and seal maker who operated a short walk from Barrett's residence (see Appendix IV).¹⁶⁰ We will return to the utility of these illustrations in an examination of the last bibliographic element, content. It is through the examination of this final element that we can demonstrate how this book accomplished the hybridization of Renaissance magic for an increasingly modern English audience.

Content Analysis

The content of *The Magus* is divided into three books, further divided into sub-sections, hereafter referred to as units. In what follows is a systematic description, investigation of the sources and discussion of each unit in order of its appearance. Rather than citing page numbers to identify a unit, I will use a modified bibliographic technique of referring to the collation signatures that appear at the foot of the beginning of a gathering.¹⁶¹ (When there is a direct quote from *The Magus*, the corresponding page number will appear in a footnote). A signature statement begins with lower case letters to indicate the preliminary gathering and continues with capital letters to indicate the main text. The alphabet of a signature statement proceeds from A

the art form was never taught there. The servility of engraving would feed the growing hunger for illustrated printed material in the period, and it would later enable works on the occult to bring to life complex esoteric illustrations and the images of spirits faster and cheaper.

¹⁵⁹ In an e-mail from Elizabeth King, March, 2010: "My correspondence with the archivist at the Royal Academy in London has yielded that Orme was a student of the Royal Academy in 1785, active in London from 1785–1814, and was appointed engraver to the King in 1799."

¹⁶⁰ See King, *The Flying Sorcerer*, 49. King suggests that R. Griffith could be Moses Griffith from Caernafon Wales who adopted the initial R. to avoid being associated with *The Magus*. King's "somewhat desultory research has failed to trace any other engravings by this R. Griffith, nor any biographical information concerning him." However, based upon geography and the *British Book Trade Index*, the man most likely responsible for producing the engraving plates that depict talismans and daemons is Robert Griffith. Griffith was a jeweler and seal engraver active in 1801 at 29 Oxford St.

¹⁶¹ The rules of collational formulary can become alarmingly complex. Gaskell provides a quick introduction, but for an in-depth explanation of the intricacies see Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962).

through H, followed by either I, or J, continuing with K through T, followed by either U, or V, or W, continuing with X through Z, otherwise known as the ‘printer’s alphabet.’ In the printer’s alphabet the letter I was used in place of a J while V replaced U or W. If the gatherings continue after Z the signature appears as double letters (AA, Aa, or aa.), noted here as 2A, 2B and so forth. Referring to the collation signatures provides a basic (but provisional) understanding of how *The Magus* is composed and describes where the illustration plates appear, because some of the illustrations do not have page numbers.

What follows is a sequential description of each unit and identification of its sources, followed in each case by a discussion of what we can learn from elements of the unit, such as its collation or its engravings, and from Barrett’s use of his sources to understand the purpose of the unit and the role of *The Magus* in the social and intellectual climate of Barrett’s day. In addition to using this bibliographic technique, the description will contain a general overview and purpose of an individual unit. Furthermore, the units will be compared to contemporaneous magical practices and literary conventions of eighteenth-century England, thus contextualizing *The Magus*’ social and intellectual conditions.

The identification of the source(s) of a unit can be problematic. Barrett rarely cited the sources he used in the composition of *The Magus*. However, there is a general description of the source material in circulation and Jocelyn Godwin describes the sources that were in circulation and to which Barrett had access as follows:

The source for the seventeenth-century books used by Barrett to compile *The Magus* was the library of Ebenezer Sibly, which at Sibly’s death on 30 October 1799 had passed first to his nephew, then to the bookseller and publisher James Lackington. Many of the books were bought by another, smaller bookseller, John Denley (1764–1842), who had set up a small shop in Convent Garden and specialized in the occult. It is easy to reconstruct what happened. Barrett borrowed the books from Denley, transcribed them, and then offered his version to Lackington

for publication. The *Magus* was duly published by Lackington, Allen, & Co. at ‘The Temple of the Muses,’ Finsbury Square, while Denley was not even given a complimentary copy.¹⁶²

It is not clear how much material Barrett used from these sources or how he used them.

Nevertheless, the scholarly consensus is that Barrett used mostly the works of Agrippa to compose his book. Therefore, Agrippa’s works can serve as the foundation from which a systematic examination of the content of *The Magus* can be done: that is, the material Barrett included, the material he omitted, and the material he gleaned from other sources.

Book I

Preliminary

Description

The collation of the preliminary gatherings of *The Magus* is [a]², b2⁴,c²; this means that the first two leaves (indicated by the super script 2) of an unsigned gathering (which is inferred by ‘a’ and indicated by square brackets) are followed by four leaves where the first two leaves are signed ‘b’ then ‘b2.’ These are followed by two leaves, the first leaf signed ‘c’ and the second leaf unsigned, for a total of eight leaves (or sixteen pages). The preliminary gathering contains a half-title on the recto of [a], followed by an engraving of Barrett on the verso. This is followed by the title page on the recto of [a2] and blank on the verso. Starting on b is the text of the “Preface” in which Barrett outlines the purpose of the text;

¹⁶² See Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (New York: SUNY, 1994) 118. Godwin’s premise is that Denley supplied the source material for Barrett via John Hamill’s *The Rosicrucian Seer*. Fredrick Hockley worked for Denley at some point in the 1850s or 60s and in his correspondence he mentions that Denley could have supplied the materials for Francis Barrett’s work. There are two weaknesses in his premise. First, Hockley wrote about events that occurred before his birth, which I think makes Hockley’s opinion at the least highly suspect if not outright unreliable. Second, the characterization of Denley by Lytton in the influential occult novel *Zanoni*, does not lead one to believe that Denley allowed unfettered access to rare occult material. See E.B. Lytton, *Zanoni* (1842) iii: “But old D— did not desire to sell. It absolutely went to his heart when a customer entered his shop: he watched the movements of the presumptuous intruder with a vindictive glare; he fluttered around him with uneasy vigilance,—he frowned, he groaned, when profane hands dislodged his idols from their niches.”

In this work, which we have written chiefly for the information of those who are curious and indefatigable in their enquiries into occult knowledge, we have at vast labour and expence [sic], both of time and charges, collected whatsoever can be deemed curious and rare in regard to the subject of our speculations in Natural Magic—the Cabala—Celestial and Ceremonial Magic—Alchymy [sic]—and Magnetism.¹⁶³

Following the text of the “Preface” is a “Table of Contents” on [b4] through to [c2], with directions for the facing of the illustrations on the verso of [c2].

Discussion

There is no ‘source’ *per se* for this unit because it is a direct communication to the reader by Barrett on the organization and content of the subsequent material. At the outset of the “Preface” Barrett notes the propitious circumstances that accompany the publication of *The Magus*, connecting the new sciences with ancient knowledge (an instance of an amalgamation of Enlightenment and Romantic sensibilities):

At this time, the abstruse sciences of Nature begin to be more investigated than for a century past, during which space that have been almost totally neglected; but men becoming more enlightened, they begin to consider the extraordinary effects that were wrought by antient [sic] philosophers, in ages that were called dark.¹⁶⁴

In the remainder of the “Preface” Barrett describes the content of the three parts of *The Magus*. Finally, Barrett wishes his reader every success for the glory of God and “Eternal Wisdom,” but not without a word of caution. Barrett paraphrases from first from the Book of Matthew:

Remember our instructions—to be silent: talk only with those worthy of thy communication—do not give pearls to swine; be friendly to all, but not familiar with all; for many are, as the Scriptures mention—wolves in sheep clothing.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Barrett, *The Magus*, v.

¹⁶⁴ Barrett, *The Magus*, vi.

¹⁶⁵ Barrett, *The Magus*, ix.

Natural Magic (Cosmology)

Description

The collation of this unit is fairly simple, A2-F2⁴,G¹; the first two signatures of each gathering of four leaves is numbered up to the second signature, and the unit consists of twenty-five leaves (fifty pages). Because the content of this unit does not end in the middle of a gathering, it could have circulated as a chapbook. On the recto of A is a short “Advertisement.” From A2-B2 is an “Introduction to the Study of Magic.” The remainder of the unit, [B3]-G, presents “The First Principles of Natural Magic.” In the “Advertisement” Barrett prefaces a short discourse for the “Introduction to the Study of Natural Magic.” In this section Barrett describes the influences of the celestial bodies on human affairs and gives a general description of natural magic. In “The First Principles of Natural Magic” there are ten chapters which outline the propositional foundation on which the subsequent units are based. For example:

Natural magic is by which we search out her secret and occult operations through her vast and spacious elaboratory [sic]; whereby we come to a knowledge of the component parts, qualities, virtues, and secrets of metals, stones, plants, and animals; but see in the regular order of the creation, man was the work of the sixth day, everything being prepared for his vicegerency here on earth, and that is pleased the omnipotent God, after he had formed the great work, or macrocosm, and pronounced it good, so he created man the express image of himself; and in man, likewise, an exact model of the great world.¹⁶⁶

Source

The source for this unit is a synthesis of biblical cosmology, an English translation of Jan Baptist van Helmont’s *Oriatrike or Physick Refined* (1662),¹⁶⁷ and Giambattista della Porta’s *Magia naturalis* (1659).¹⁶⁸ More importantly, the majority of this unit is drawn out of Agrippa’s *De occulta philosophia*.¹⁶⁹ Agrippa had drafted his first manuscript edition of *De occulta*

¹⁶⁶ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book I 13.

¹⁶⁷ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book I 15.

¹⁶⁸ See Giambattista della Porta, *Natural Magick by John Baptista Porta, a Neapolitane* (London: printed for John Wright next to the sign of the Globe in Little-Britain, 1669) 1–26.

¹⁶⁹ Chapters I to X that are drawn from Book I of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* appear in this order: 45, 46, 18, 21, 23, 36, 41, 42, and then finally 49. The translation of *De occulta philosophia* into English was done in 1651 by J.F., at a time when occult science was on the decline. There is some uncertainty to

philosophia by 1510, when it went into circulation. Over the next twenty years Agrippa would travel around Europe and expand on his increasingly famous work. In 1533 the book was completed. *De occulta philosophia* was the culmination of Agrippa's search for a broad foundation to human knowledge. Rather, and more simply put by Perrone Compagni, "Agrippa was proposing to supply an answer to questions which like so many thinking people of the time were also asking: the hoped-for reform of knowledge and religious life that also included magic" (which he would later recant).¹⁷⁰

Discussion

This unit presents Barrett's cosmology, mankind's place within Nature, and how the various forces of Nature may be understood in a mechanical world. Barrett's selection of chapters from *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* illustrates how Barrett refines the kernel of a Renaissance worldview by re-organizing Agrippa's work in such a way that is in line with dominant intellectual discourse. Rather than approaching Nature with "critical rationalism,"¹⁷¹ he approaches Nature with rhetorically seductive empiricism and classical or 'naïve' inductivism.¹⁷² That is, Barrett ascribes to the idea that knowledge is gained by human experience and that the

the identity of J.F. But the most likely candidate is John French 1616–1657, French obtained a B.A. from Oxford University in 1637, an M.A. in 1640 and finally an M.D. in 1648. See Peter Elmer, "French, John (c.1616–1657)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008,

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/article/10164> (17 Aug 2012)

¹⁷⁰ Compagni, *De occulta philosophia libri tres*, 50¹⁷⁰ Compagni, *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres*, 50. Agrippa recanting his work was part of a debate within intellectual centers as to the value of vain sciences, which included not only magic and alchemy, but geometry, astronomy, and arithmetic as well. Knowledge in the first few centuries of print culture was marked above all by intellectual ferment and works such as *De occulta philosophia* and according to print historian Elizabeth Eisenstein in *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 44–55, knowledge in the sixteenth century was marked by a "somewhat wide angled, unfocused, scholarship." The result would be that new links between disciplines were being forged before old ones had been severed creating confusing cross currents. Or as Eisenstein puts it, when "technology went to press so too did a vast backlog of occult lore," and few readers could discriminate between propositional claims and prescriptive technologies.

¹⁷¹ See Karl Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).

¹⁷² See Peter Markie, "Rationalism vs. Empiricism," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2012 <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/rationalism-empiricism> (17 Aug 2012).

natural order is connected to the human body through the doctrine of subtle medium (magnetism). Barrett writes:

The wonders of Animal Magic we mean fully to display under the title of Magnetism. But here we hasten to investigate by what means, instruments, and effects, we must apply actives to passives, to the producing of rare and uncommon effects; whether by actions, amulets, alligations and suspensions--or rings, papers, unctions, suffumigations, allurements, sorceries, enchantments, images, lights, sounds, or the like. Therefore, to begin with things more simple:--If any one shall, with an entire new knife, cut asunder a lemon, using words expressive of hatred, contumely, or dislike, against any individual, the absent party, though at an unlimited distance, feels a certain inexpressible and cutting anguish of the heart, together with a cold chilliness and failure throughout the body.¹⁷³

In other words, the result of a magical operation (in this case the broadcasting of anger) is achieved by innate or a priori knowledge (empiricism) of the intended effect, and these effects can be refined once one understands the interaction between correspondences and the subtle medium. Furthermore, one's magical actions are proved to be real through personal observation (inductivism) rather than external verification and deduction (critical rationalism).

Alchemy (Deontology)

Description

This short unit of ten leaves is entitled *The True Secret of the Philosophers Stone or, The Jewel of Alchemy wherein the Process of Making the Great Elixir is Revealed*. It is collated as [G2]³,H2⁴,I2³. It is uncertain if this unit could have been a chapbook because of the uneven distribution of the signatures; further research is required. However, since the first three leaves are merely inferred as 'G', it is possible that the Title Page and Barrett's "Epistle to Muses" were printed separately and inserted later. Following Barrett's "Epistle to Muses" is one leaf with eleven lines addressed "To the Reader," where Barrett states:

Although we do not, in any point of science, arrogate perfection in ourselves, yet something we have attained by dear experience, by diligent labour, and by study, worthy of being communicated for the instruction of either the licentious libertine, or the grave student--the

¹⁷³ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book I 25.

observer of Nature; and this, our Work, we concentrated into a focus: it is, as it were, a spiritual essence drawn from a large quantity of matter.¹⁷⁴

This is a proviso which indicates that Barrett is on the one hand professing enough familiarity with the process of alchemy to teach some techniques, while on the other hand making no claim to being a master of alchemy. Furthermore, it suggests that alchemy is more than a physical process.

On the verso of [G4] is “Part the First,” a summation of the key figures in the history of alchemy. It concludes with a ten-point lesson plan on how to prepare oneself as an alchemist. “Part the Second” is a four-point addition to the lesson plan on the manner of extracting *Prima Materia* (First Matter) and transmuting imperfect metal to gold.

Source

No single source for this unit can be identified as there is a vast amount of material that Barrett synthesized in this short space, as his note to the reader indicates. However, Barrett does identify in passing several historical figures of alchemy: Nicholas Flammel (1330-1417), Paracelsus (1493-1541), Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680), Jan Baptist van Helmont (1579–1644) and John Bulwer (1606–1656). We may assume that he is referencing material that he is somewhat familiar with, because he quotes from these writers, although without direct citation or transcription. In addition to the mention of historical alchemical figures, there are also elements of John French’s alchemical works. Furthermore, French was an important contributor to chemistry; his *The Art of Distillation* (1651) was a handbook on the process of obtaining “the choicest spagyricall (rare chemical) preparations.”¹⁷⁵ French also contributed a preface to John

¹⁷⁴ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book I 55.

¹⁷⁵ John French, *The Art of Distillation* (London: 1651) 1. This may explain how Barrett became knowledgeable in hydrogen production for his balloon, that and possibly witnessing aeronauts as a child.

Everard's translation of *The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus in XVII Books* (1650).¹⁷⁶

Discussion

Apart from the short history of alchemy, the main purpose of this unit is to provide the reader with the moral requirements for magical work. The first ten lessons echo moral expectations found in works of Renaissance magicians like Agrippa, who had to legitimate their practices for political and religious reasons. These lessons also appealed to eighteenth-century moral sensibilities. Barrett tells the reader to clear one's mind from hypocrisy, deceit, and profane speech, and explains that there is a duty to care for the poor and offer up as much as one can to charity:

The preparation for this work is simply this:--Learn to cast away from thee all vile affections--all levity and inconstancy of mind; let all thy dealings be free from deceit and hypocrisy; avoid the company of vain young men; hate all profligacy, and profane speaking. Keep thy own, and thy neighbours' secrets; court not the favours of the rich; despise not the poor, for he who does will be poorer than the poorest. Give to the needy and unfortunate what little thou canst spare; for he that has but little, whatever he spares to the miserable, God shall amply reward him.¹⁷⁷

There is as well a rather long lesson in which Barrett advises his reader to avoid drunkenness and needless excess.¹⁷⁸ Considering the promulgation of Latitudinarianism and Methodism in England at this time,¹⁷⁹ these lessons typify the essential moral sense used by the middle class in the late eighteenth century to differentiate themselves from the perceived lower orders.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, while this unit overtly assures the reader that a philosopher's stone can be attained,

¹⁷⁶ See Stanton J. Linden, ed., *The Alchemy Reader: From Hermes Trismegistus to Isaac Newton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 208–210.

¹⁷⁷ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book I 64.

¹⁷⁸ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book I 65.

¹⁷⁹ See Charles John Abbey and John Henry Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green 1878).

¹⁸⁰ See G.J. Barker-Seinfeld, "Sensibility," in *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture, 1776–1832* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 102–104.

the subtext of this section suggests that the true philosopher's stone is attained via the process of living a studious and genteel life.¹⁸¹

Talismanic Magic (Theory of Correspondences)

Description

The unit on talismanic magic consists of forty-six chapters printed on fifty-three leaves and collated as [I4]¹,K2-Y2⁴. On the recto of [I4] is the title page of this unit which proclaims it to form “a complete system of delightful knowledge and abstruse science; such as is warranted never before to have been published in the English language.” In addition to many woodcut tables and figures printed on letterpress, six copperplate engravings are inserted: one after the verso of [S3], three before the recto of T, one before the recto of [U4], and one before the recto of [Y4].

Source

In this unit Barrett's use of Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* is obvious. Chapters I to XIII are drawn from Book I of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* and Chapters XVI to XLVI is a near complete transcription of Book II.¹⁸²

Discussion

Although Barrett is copying almost verbatim the information required to construct a talisman, there are key differences between Agrippa's and Barrett's material. First, Barrett reorganized the propositional chapters of Book I of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* before continuing with the prescriptive elements of talismanic magic from Book II. In reorganizing the propositional Barrett clarifies Agrippa's work. Second, Barrett transforms the language of the source material to modern English. Finally, in addition to changes in syntax, grammar, spelling

¹⁸¹ In Mellon MS 140, p. 345 Barrett quotes an unknown 1783 sermon entitled *Cause of the Petitioners Examined*, where a Rev. Hastings says: Alchemy, or the higher chemistry exhibits to us every wonderful resemblances of spiritual things [...].

¹⁸² See Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 167–340.

and punctuation, Barrett explains the purpose of the theory of correspondences for his readers; that is, he recasts the Renaissance formulation of the classical elements, which is propositional, into an applied or prescriptive mode, namely that of talisman production. Compare the beginning of Chapter III of Agrippa's Book I:

There are four Elements, and originall grounds of all corporeall things, Fire Earth, Water, Aire, of which all elementated inferior bodies are compounded; not by way of heaping them up together, but by transmutation, and union; and when they are destroyed, they are resolved into Elements. For there is none of the sensible Elements that is pure, but they are more or less mixed, and apt to be changed one into the other: Even as Earth becoming dirty, and being dissolved, becomes Water, and the same being made thick and hard, become Earth again; but being evaporated through heat, passeth into Aire, and that being kindled, passeth into Fire, and this being extinguished, returns back again into Aire, but being cooled again after its burning, becomes Earth, or Stone, or Sulphur, and this is manifested by Lightening: Plato also [...].¹⁸³

with the parallel introductory lines of Chapter I in *The Magus*:

*It is necessary that we should know and understand the nature and quality of the four elements, in order to our being perfect in the principles and ground-work of our studies in the Talismanic, or Magical Art. Therefore, there are four elements, the original grounds of all corporeal things, viz. fire, earth, water, and air, of which elements all inferior bodies are compounded; not by way of being heaped up together, but by transmutation and union; and when they are destroyed, they are resolved into elements. But there are none of the sensible elements that are pure; but they are, more or less, mixed, and apt to be changed the one into the other: even as earth, being moistened and dissolved, becomes water, but the same being made thick and hard becomes earth again; and being evaporated through heat it passes into air, and that being kindled into fire, and this being extinguished, into air again, but being cooled after burning, becomes earth again, or else stone, or sulphur; and this is clearly demonstrated by lightning (italics added).*¹⁸⁴

Knowledge of the classical elements forms the basis on which Barrett builds his theory of correspondences. However, the idea that physical reality is made up of the four elements was no longer an accepted idea. Instead, Barrett draws attention to the nature and qualities of the four elements as being part of natural processes. In this way Barrett stays in line with the current understanding of the mechanical model of the world while maintaining its ancient basis, upon which Barrett builds his theory of correspondences.

¹⁸³ Agrippa, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, 6.

¹⁸⁴ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book I 3.

Furthermore, in addition to linking the propositional foundation for the theory of correspondences to prescriptive applications, Barrett provides his reader with the “know-how” to enable them to apply the theory in practice. In *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* there is no clear understanding of a completed talisman based on the celestial virtues and their corresponding images. Barrett, through the use of engraving plates, provides his reader with a better understanding of what a finished talisman should look like. For example, the first four plates ([S3] and T) of this unit reproduce the material found in Agrippa, but Barrett provides an additional plate ([Y4]) that synthesizes the previous illustrations into a representation of the front and back of a completed talisman. To put this into a social context, the making of well crafted personal charms became popular amongst the aristocratic classes in the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁵ The practice appears to have begun in the late eighteenth century, when Barrett was active. In 1792, for instance, William Gilbert announced the start of a college in occult philosophy at his house and offered his expertise in preparing personal magical charms at a high price.¹⁸⁶ Barrett’s instructions and illustrations in *The Magus* could be seen as satisfying this interest. In fact, it is tempting to speculate on the potential benefits of the interest in talismans for Robert Griffith, Barrett’s copperplate engraver. Griffith may have also provided his services as a jeweler to manufacture talismans for Barrett. But this is, admittedly, speculative and outside the scope of this paper.

Book II

By the end of the first book of *The Magus*, a change was made in the printer from Knight and Compton, Middle Street, Cloth Fair to Walter Blackador, 10 Took’s Court, Chancery Lane.

¹⁸⁵ See Edward Lovett, *Magic in Modern London* (Croydon: Printed at the Advertiser Offices, 1925).

¹⁸⁶ See Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, 116; Ellic Howe, *Astrology, a Recent History* (New York: Walker & Co., 1967) 24.

The main difference between the organization of the first book and the second book is the use of a title page when a new unit begins.

Magnetism (Doctrine of Subtle Medium)

Description

The opening unit of the second book is collated as B2-D2⁴,E2³. At the beginning of this unit on B is a title page that proclaims it to contain “Magnetism and Cabalistical Magic [...] to which is added a translation of the works of Tritemius of Spanheim,” followed by a half-title on B2 which repeats the information of the main title page, except that the final section is called a treatise on “Prophecy, Prophetic Dreams and Inspiration.” This indicates that the new printer, not knowing the organization of the first book or the preliminary gathering, organized the remaining units as a second volume. Nevertheless, the material of the second book continues with its organization as individual units of study, as intended by Barrett in his manuscript.

Source

The source for this unit on magnetism is J. B. Van Helmont’s *De magnetica vulnerum naturali et legitima curatione* (1621), translated into English with two other treatises in *A Ternary of Paradoxes: The Magnetick Cure of Wounds, Nativity of Tartar in Wine, Image of God in Man* (1650). J. B. Van Helmont was a Belgian physician and chemist and was the author of one of the most important discoveries of science, that of gas: “the spirit that cannot be contained in vessels or be reduced in a visible body, I give this a new name gas.”¹⁸⁷ This would lead to the foundation of pneumatic chemistry. Furthermore, it would spark a debate as to where life energy (*pneuma*) existed in the body.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Eric John Holmyard, *The Great Chemists* (London: Methuen, 1929) 55.

¹⁸⁸ See Antonio Clericuzio, “From van Helmont to Boyle: A Study of the Transmission of Helmontian Chemical and Medical Theories in Seventeenth-Century England,” *British Journal for the History of*

Discussion

This section contains Barrett's doctrine of subtle medium articulated by the concept of 'vital spirit':

The vital spirit in the flesh and blood performs the office of the soul; that is it is the same spirit in the outward man, which, in the seed, forms the whole figure, that magnificent structure and perfect delineation of man which hath known the ends of things to be done, because it contains them; and the which, as president, accompanies the new framed young, even unto the period of its life; and the which, although it depart therewith, some smacks, or small quantity, at least, thereof remains in a carcass slain by violence, being as it were most exactly co-fermented with the same.¹⁸⁹

This presentation of the doctrine of subtle medium is akin to Franz Mesmer's (1734–1815) universal magnetic fluid. Franz Mesmer was a German physician living in France who extended the Newtonian model of the forces of heavenly bodies on the earth to the human body through an invisible universal magnetic fluid. Mesmer attempted to manipulate this fluid through music, trance, electric currents, and hand movements to affect cures.¹⁹⁰ Mesmer's work showed some signs of success, forming the foundation of dynamic psychiatry.¹⁹¹ In England, practitioners of animal magnetism adapted the French method to capitalize on the money-laden ambiance of Mesmer's salon. John de Mainaduc (d. 1797), a trained surgeon and midwife, astutely located himself in the upscale Bloomsbury district. At the same time, Mainaduc disclaimed any affiliation with Mesmer and physical magnets because of the practice's association with the French.¹⁹² Mesmerism would not gain a serious intellectual investigation in England until 1829.¹⁹³

Science 26 (1993): 303–334; Walter Pagel, *Joan Baptista Van Helmont: Reformer of Science and Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

¹⁸⁹ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book II 20.

¹⁹⁰ See Frank A Pattie, *Mesmer and Animal Magnetism: A Chapter in the History of Medicine* (Hamilton, NY: Edmonston, 1994).

¹⁹¹ See Henri F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry* (New York: Basic Books, 1970).

¹⁹² See Fara, "Marginalized Practices," 493.

¹⁹³ See Roy Porter, "'Under the Influence': Mesmerism in England," *History Today* 35.9 (1985): 22–29.

Barrett distances his formulation of the doctrine of subtle medium from French mesmerism by articulating it in a folk idiom through the practice known as the *bahr recht* (bier right), the practice of touching a corpse to see if it bled in the presence of a criminal.

This singular property of the blood, which Belmont calls Vital Powers, is no less wonderful than true, having been myself a witness of this experiment while in South Wales. It was tried upon a body that was maliciously murdered, through occasion of a quarrel over-night at an alehouse. The fellow who was suspected of the murder appeared the next day in public seemingly unconcerned. The Coroner's jury sat upon the body within twenty-four hours after this notable murder was committed; when the suspected was suddenly taken into custody, and conveyed away to the same public-house where the inquisition was taken. After some debate, one Dr. Jones desired the suspected to be brought into the room; which done, he desired the villain to lay his left hand under the wound, which was a deep gash on the neck, and another on the breast; the villain plainly confessed his guilt by his trepidation; but as soon as he lightly laid his finger on the body, the blood immediately ran, about six or seven drops, to the admiration of all present.¹⁹⁴

The practice of touching a corpse to determine guilt has been documented in Wales as late as 1755, when Lewis Cynfyn was indicted for the murder of his wife upon the evidence of a witness who claimed that blood had spurted from the nose of the corpse upon his touching her body.¹⁹⁵ Barrett's story shows that the practice was still known in the nineteenth century. And based on my research, considering the location, timing and the description of the crime, I believe that Barrett is referring to the case of Morgan David. In March of 1800 David was found guilty of manslaughter for the death of John Pritchard after they fought after drinking in an inn, though there is no mention of the *bahr recht* in the proceedings.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book II, 16. King, *The Flying Sorcerer*, 23 has suggested that Dr. Jones was related to Barrett based on a Welsh connection. However, my research at the National Library of Wales has yet to yield any information on Dr. Jones.

¹⁹⁵ Court of Great Sessions 13th June 1755, case of Lewis Cynfyn of Crickhowell. The National Library of Wales, fo. 4/381/3, doc. 19: "Murder of his wife by strangling her. Prisoner and deceased had previously been scolding one another. In the presence of witnesses (21 altogether), deceased, needing a candle, said 'One does not know where such a villain may meet me in the Dark and knock me on the Head'. On touching the corpse one witness stated that 'the Blood started out of the Nose of the deceased very strong upon his [the prisoner] touching her.' Corpse removed from grave for viewing by two surgeons and apothecaries from Abergavenny. Inquest refers to suicide. A note on the back of depositions refers to murder."

¹⁹⁶ See Court of Great Sessions 1st March, case of Morgan David of Llangyfelach. The National Library of Wales, fo. 4/630/5, doc 28.

Cabalaistical Magic (Theory of Spiritual Intervention)

Description

The second unit of Book II is entitled *The Cabala; or Secret Mysteries of Ceremonial Magic Revealed*. The twenty one leaves are collated as [E4]¹, F2-K2⁴. On [E4] is a full title page for this unit which proclaims to show “the art of calculating by divine names; the rule, order, and government of angels, intelligences, and blessed spirits.” Inserted in this unit are thirteen engravings, one facing the recto of F4, one facing away from the recto of G2, [G3], [G4], H, four inserted before [I4], two inserted before K, one inserted K2, and [L3]. (As we shall see, several of these engravings provide clues to the reception of *The Magus*.) The intent of this unit is to provide the “mind and spirit for the contemplation of the greatest and best part of magic, which we call intellectual and divine.”¹⁹⁷

Source

Barrett draws heavily from Book III of *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, starting with Chapter III and continuing to the end of the section, reproducing the plates used for gematria (the assignment of numbers to letters to illustrate a relationship between words that share the same numerical value). Although Barrett copies a great deal of Book III for this unit, he omits almost half of Agrippa’s work. For example, Barrett does not include information on the kinds of “phrensy”—a source of inspiration that emanates from the Muses, Dionysus, Apollo and Venus—and the casting of lots, soothsaying, and oracles. Alison Butler suggests that the omission of the chapters on lots and soothsaying may stem from a different type of popular divination (astrology) being practiced in England at the time.¹⁹⁸ It is noteworthy that Barrett’s mentor, Sibly, was a highly influential astrologer of the late eighteenth century. In light of his

¹⁹⁷ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book II 33.

¹⁹⁸ Butler, “Beyond Attribution,” 19.

influence, Barrett may not have seen the need to revive classical forms of divination when astrology was (and still is) so popular.

Discussion

This unit marks the beginning of Barrett's articulation of the theory of spiritual intervention, and it starts by condensing the complex system of cabala into a practical approach. He does this by showing his reader how to calculate the names of various spirits, but he leaves out some of the methods of obtaining these names. Timothy D'Arch Smith has suggested that Barrett deliberately omitted or changed certain secret formulae in order to reserve the key for the worthy.¹⁹⁹ That may be the case. But the section is also a simplification of Agrippa's cabala, indicating that Barrett was providing a basic entry into the system. The strongest evidence that Barrett simplified cabala for an English readership appears in the practices of the Essex Cunning-Man James 'Cunning' Murrell (1785–1860).²⁰⁰ As Hutton describes him, "Murrell was a small aloof fellow who went about mostly at night, wearing iron goggles and carrying a basket and a whalebone umbrella."²⁰¹ He made his living as a shoemaker, surveyor, and chemist's still-man. As a Cunning-Man he aided his clients through astrological predictions, exorcisms, and even veterinary surgery as far away as Suffolk and Kent. His chief fame, however, was that of a spell-breaker by making witch-bottles. Witch bottles were sealed iron (or glass) vessels filled with noxious ingredients. Murrell would heat this vessel until it exploded. In addition to using this bombastic display of folk magic, he was familiar with ceremonial magic. In "Wizard of Yesterday," Arthur Morrison provides a reproduction from a page of Murrell's lost manuscript

¹⁹⁹ Timothy D'Arch Smith, *The Books of the Beast: Essays on Aleister Crowley, Montague Summers, Francis Barrett and Others* (London: Crucible, 1987): 92.

²⁰⁰ See Robert Hallmann, "James 'Cunning' Murrell (1785–1860)," *Hadleigh & Thundersley Community Archive*, 2011, http://www.hadleighhistory.org.uk/page_id__90_path__0p11p.aspx (August 2012).

²⁰¹ Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon*, 87.

“Book of Conjurations.”²⁰² The manuscript page is identical to the engraving found facing G in Book II of *The Magus*. In addition to the similarities in layout between Murrells manuscript and Barrett’s illustration, there is a transcription error repeated; in the upper left corner of the four by four square appears the Hebrew letter Dalet (ד) when in Agrippa the letter that appears in the same position is He (ה) (see Appendix II). This suggests that *The Magus* was contributing to the popularization of the cabala in English culture and was important to the dissemination of information traditionally restricted to the aristocratic class to Cunning-Folk.

The most appealing contribution in this section, aside from Barrett’s explanation of ceremonial magic, are the engravings of Evil Spirits at G2, [G3], [G4], and H. They are copperplate engravings hand painted in watercolors. The images range from grotesque to jovial. Some authors have maintained that these images represent a sanitization of the images of demons when compared to the horrific and monstrous images of devils from Elizabethan books of magic.²⁰³ But it is unlikely that Barrett had access these Elizabethan images, as Montague Summers suggested.²⁰⁴ It is more likely that the images of these creatures reflect human failings expressed by their physiognomy. The vessels of wrath, Theutus and Asmodus, are depicted with grotesque faces, the winged deceiver Apollyon is depicted as thin and wry, while the Incubus and the Antichrist appear the most human, at once most appealing and most devious. The influence of these engravings of demonic figures can be seen in subsequent compendia on demons,²⁰⁵ as well as in the literary genre known as “Gothic.”²⁰⁶ However, there was a

²⁰² Arthur Morrison, “The Wizard of Yesterday,” 433.

²⁰³ See Rosemary Guiley, *The Encyclopedia of Demons and Demonology* (New York: Facts on File, 2009).

²⁰⁴ Summers, *Witchcraft and Black Magic*, 142

²⁰⁵ See *Sammlung der größten Geheimnisse* (Köln am Rhein: bei Peter Hammer, 1725); Collin de Plancy *Dictionnaire Infernal* (Paris: 1818).

²⁰⁶ See Franz Potter, *The History of Gothic Publishing, 1800–1835* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian 2005) 77–95.

contemporary parallel to these demonic visages circulating in *The Conjurors Magazine*. *The Conjurors Magazine* published stories of necromancers, kitchen-table experiments, mechanistic astrology and politics, and in one edition there was a supplement of Johan Caspar Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* (1775).²⁰⁷ Physiognomy was an ancient practice which judged peoples characteristics based upon their appearance. Lavater's *Physiognomy* formulated precise rules for studying bodies and faces to aid the perception of moral and intellectual attributes. Lavater contended that each member of God's creation is unique and that each part of an individual contains the character of the whole.²⁰⁸

Though there was an increased interest in physiognomy during the eighteenth century, it was never part of the staunch discourses of scientism. However, it was referred to with a modicum of seriousness. Several medical men published detailed studies of physiognomy based upon new anatomical and experimental approaches to the body, and aesthetic theorists compared the roles of the rational and the imaginative approaches of art and explored the relationship between physical and moral characteristics.²⁰⁹ For instance, Robert Southey was a vocal critic of occult sciences, but when this 'staunch scientist' visited Lisbon, he surveyed the galley slaves "with physiognomic eyes to see if they differed from the rest of the people."²¹⁰

The Key to Cabala

Description

This unit is a continuation of the previous unit and is organized as L2-O2⁴, with one engraving plate at [L4]. There is no title page for the beginning of this unit, but rather a half title:

²⁰⁷ See *The Conjurors' Magazine* 1 (Nov 1791).

²⁰⁸ See J.C Lavater, *Physiognomy; Or, The Corresponding Analogy between the Conformation of the Features and the Ruling Passions of the Mind* (London: H.D. Symonds: London, 1800).

²⁰⁹ See Fara, "Marginalized Practices," 495.

²¹⁰ Robert Southey, *Letters from England* (London: Crescent Press, 1951) 304–19, and a letter to his brother of 23 may 1800, in *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, ed. Charles Southey; 6 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans) 2: 68–74.

“The Perfection and Key of the Cabala.” In this unit Barrett provides his reader with the essential requirements for a magical ritual:

The perfection and key of all that has been written [in the previous unit], showing what is to be done every hour of the day so that as by reading thou shalt contemplate in theory (and know) the distinct functions of the spirits, and how that are to be drawn into communication in all places, seasons, and times.²¹¹

Source

Barrett’s source for this section is from Agrippa’s *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*. The Latin original of *The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* appeared in 1559, thirty years after Agrippa’s death, leading to disagreements as to whether the work was actually Agrippa’s or an attribution.²¹² Johannes Wyer (1515–1588), Agrippa’s pupil, emphatically denied it was his master’s work in *De praestigiis daemonum* (1563):

We may quite properly include in these writings the detestable little book recently published by some impious person and attributed to Cornelius Agrippa, my erstwhile host and revered teacher, now dead for more than forty years—so that I am confident that the current book is falsely ascribed to his hand. It bears the title *Four Books on Occult Philosophy: Concerning Magical Ceremonies*, and it claims to be the key of Agrippa’s first three books on occult philosophy and of all magical activities. But [...] the book is pure nonsense, an undone broom with straws scattered everywhere. You can make nothing out of it, even if you are an enthusiastic student of this variety and carefully follow every direction, in the order recommended by the author.²¹³

Wyer’s strong reaction stems from the nature of the contents; *The Fourth Book* quotes from and expands on certain themes in Agrippa’s *De occulta philosophia*, to create a more concise and practical synopsis for the techniques of summoning spirits. Wyer’s objection, however, would do little to rehabilitate Agrippa’s infamous depiction as a summoner of daemons and other black arts. Agrippa’s notoriety aside, *The Fourth Book* provided a practical approach to magic for magicians, but its language (Latin) would be a barrier to those outside intellectual circles. It

²¹¹ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book II 73.

²¹² See A.E. Waite, *Book of Black Magic and Pacts* (London: G. Redway, 1898) 77–78.

²¹³ Johann Weyer, *De Praestigiis Daemonum* (Basileae: Oporinus, 1563) 55.

would be one hundred years before this work would appear in the English vernacular translated by Robert Turner (1619–1664).

Robert Turner was the author of two medical books, *Mikrokosmos: A Description of the Little-World* (1654) and *Botanologia: The Brittish Physician* (1664). *Mikrokosmos* applied astrological principles to the art of healing, and *Botanologia* is a detailed account of the plants that existed in England and how they may be used for medicine. However Turner was chiefly known for his translation in 1655 of the *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*. Turner was writing at a time when one could pursue scientific endeavors concurrently with classical studies, as evidenced on the title page of *The Fourth Book*, where Turner identifies himself as Φιλομαθής (Philomathus). However, magical studies were becoming increasingly marginalized towards the end of the seventeenth century, which explains the short defense of magic and six commendatory poems, five by writers affiliated to Cambridge University, included at the beginning of his translation.²¹⁴ Nevertheless, Turner's translation would ensure that the prescriptive requirements for ceremonial magic would remain intact.

Discussion

Barrett's inclusion of material from all four books of *Occult Philosophy* into *The Magus* illustrates two things. First, it maintained the tradition that *The Fourth Books of Occult Philosophy* was actually written by Agrippa;

We must not forget the Key of his Occult Philosophy, which he kept only for his friends of the first rank, and explained it in a manner, which differs but little from the speculations of our Quietists. Now many suppose that the 4th book of the Occult Philosophy is the Key which Agrippa mentions in his letters to have reserved to himself; but it may be answered, with great shew of probability, that he amused the world with this Key to cause himself to be courted by the curious. [...] But he explains what he means by this Key, where he says, in the Epist. 19. lib. v. This is that true and occult philosophy of the wonders of nature. The key thereof is the

²¹⁴ Turner, *Henry Cornelius Agrippa's Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, and Geomancy. Magical Elements*, n.p.

understanding: for the higher we carry our knowledge, the more sublime are our attainments in virtue, and we perform the greatest things with more ease and effect.²¹⁵

Second, including material from all four books provided a bridge between the theoretical and mathematical foundations of the previous unit of *The Magus* and the prescriptive and applied unit at the end of *The Magus*. Furthermore, it provided the reader with the ritual foundations for understanding of the theory of spiritual intervention.

The Composition of the Magical Circle

Description

The next unit of twelve leaves is collated as P2-R2⁴. The unit begins with a half title: “Of the Particular Composition of the Magical Circle; of Exorcism, Benedictions, and the Conjurations of Every Day in the Week; and The Manner of Working Described.” There are three engravings, one inserted before the unit at P, one before the recto at P2, and one at the verso of [R4]. All three of the plates illustrate the sigil and diagrams required for the construction of a magic circle for a ritual to acquire spiritual intervention.

Source

The source for this unit is the *Heptameron: Or, Magical Elements of Peter de Abano Philosopher*, another book with pseudepigraphical attribution. The *Heptameron* contains practical instructions for the summoning of spirits for the seven days of the week, hence its name. The earliest edition of the *Heptameron* appears in Venice in 1496 and is attributed to the fourteenth-century physician named Peter from the town of Abano in the province of Padua. He was reputed to have a talent for healing and for being versed in astrology after translating the work of Abraham ibn Ezra from Hebrew to Latin.²¹⁶ His success was soon equated with his working with spirits and necromancy, and he was subsequently brought up on heresy charges by

²¹⁵ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book II 178.

²¹⁶ See Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Tractatus de significationibus planetarum in duodecims domibus* (Venice: 1507).

the Inquisition. Peter died in 1315 during his second trial for heresy. The interval between his death and the publication of the work attributed to him is 181 years, in the words of E.M. Butler, a “trifling chronological disparity.”²¹⁷ Because of this span of time and the habit of pseudepigraphical attribution in occult literature, there is some doubt if Peter D’Abano actually wrote the *Hemptameron*.²¹⁸

Discussion

Barrett’s use of the *Heptameron* fulfills two purposes. The first is traditional: the *Heptameron* was already understood as key material for the efficient use of Agrippa’s works. The *Heptameron* was included in both its Latin and English versions with *The Four Books of Occult Philosophy* after 1559.²¹⁹ In Turner’s English edition, its inclusion is described as follows:

In the former book, which is the *Fourth Book* of Agrippa, it is sufficiently spoken concerning magical ceremonies and initiations. But because he seemeth to have written to the learned, and well experienced in this art; because he doth not specially treat the ceremonies, but rather speaketh of them in general, it was therefore thought good to add hereunto the *Magical Elements* of Peter de Abano: that those who are hitherto ignorant, and have not tasted of magical superstitions, may have them in readiness, how they may exercise themselves therein.²²⁰

The second purpose is to explicate use and application. It is the final prescriptive element in Barrett’s articulation of the theory of spiritual intervention:

The following instructions are the principle and sum total of all we have said only we have brought it rather into a closer train of experiment and practice than any of the rest; for here you may behold the distinct functions of the spirits; likewise the whole perfection of magical ceremonies is here described, syllable by syllable. But as the greatest power is attributed to the circles, (for they are certain fortresses,) we will now clearly explain, and shew [sic] the composition and figure of a circle.²²¹

²¹⁷ E.M Butler, *Ritual Magic* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998) 36.

²¹⁸ See Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 2: 912.

²¹⁹ Other tracts included with the Turner edition were: *Of Geomancy*, *Astronomical Geomancy*, *The Nature of Spirits*, and *Arbatel of Magick*.

²²⁰ Turner, *Henry Cornelius Agrippa’s Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, 70.

²²¹ Barrett, *The Magus*, Book II 106.

By the end of this unit the reader would have a total comprehension of the execution of a magical operation, from correct timing to proper incantation. Furthermore, by including an illustration of the tools (the circle, the wand, the candles, etc) it gives the reader a clear picture of the material components of a ritual.

The Art of Drawing Sprits into Crystals

Description

The penultimate unit of *The Magus* is a short gathering of six leaves collated as S2⁴, T2². The unit begins with a title page that proclaims it to contain Trithemius of Spanheim's "Book of Secret Things and Doctrine of Spirits: With many curious and rare secrets [...] never yet published in the English language." After the title page comes "The Translator's Letter to a Friend of his, a young Student in these Occult Sciences." Following the letter is another proviso on the verso of [S3], called "A Caution to the inexperienced in the Art, and A Word of Advice to those who would be adepts," from Barrett and dated 1800. The remainder of this unit is composed of instructions for preparing a crystal as a vessel for a spirit. It concludes with an advertisement for students of occult philosophy.

Source

Alison Butler has attempted to identify the source for this unit. Due to a misreading of Bran,²²² she mistakenly identified the source material as *Güldenens Kleinod, oder: Schatzkästlein* (1782).²²³ But a closer reading shows that apart from being attributed to Johannes Trithemius, there is no relationship between *Güldenens Kleinod* and this unit. However, a manuscript entitled "Crystallomancy, or The Art of Drawing Spirits into a Crystal" appeared in 1870.²²⁴ Therefore, it

²²² Brann, *Trithemius and Magical Theology*, 241–242.

²²³ Butler "Beyond Attribution," 12–13.

²²⁴ Jocelyn Godwin, *The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor: Initiatic and Historical Documents of an Order of Practical Occultism* (York Beach, Me.: S. Weiser, 1995) 194.

is possible either Barrett created something original or that this unit is part of a Crystallomantic tradition and Barrett was the first to publish this material.

Discussion.

Provenance aside, it is in this unit that Barrett brings together his competency in occult literature with his skill as an instructor to complete his articulation of the theory of spiritual intervention. In addition to the letter and his proviso, this unit is the most explicitly prescriptive in its application of magical techniques. It is a step-by-step manual for the creation of a personal crystal based on all the elements that have lead up to this unit. Given the brevity of the text and the advertisement at the end, it may very well be that this unit was intended for distribution at Barrett's balloon attempts. The format, an independent gathering, would have allowed for this. Furthermore, this unit provides a strong indication of the other types of services offered by Barrett (as a Cunning-Man) to his clientele.

Book III

Biographia Antiqua ('Bibliography')

Description

Although the previous unit claims to be the last one, the present one is in fact the final unit of *The Magus*. It is twenty-nine leaves collated as [T]²,U2-2B2⁴,2C². It begins with a title page on [T3], which proclaims to give “an account of the lives and writings of the ancient and modern Magi, Cabalists, and Philosophers [...] to which is added a short essay proving that the first Christians were magicians [...]” The main difference between the title page of this unit and the previous ones is that this one does not have Barrett's name on it. In both previous books, each of the printers included “By Francis Barrett Student of Chemistry, Natural and Occult Philosophy,

The Cabala, &c.” on their respective title pages.²²⁵ This unit contains seventeen entries, in no particular order.

Source

The sources Barrett used for this unit are extensive. It would be beyond the scope of this thesis to identify all of them. A non-exhaustive list includes biographies of Aristotle, Zoroaster, Paracelsus, and John Dee. However, there is one particular text that illustrates Barrett’s scholasticism and talent for synthesizing occult literature for his audience. In addition to mentioning the works of ancient philosophers and historians, he provides an account of the lives of famous occultists. Barrett makes reference to an important collection of Agrippa’s works known as his *Opera*. The *Opera* was a massive and rare two-volume tome which appeared around 1580 in Lyons. It then went through many undated printings. Around 1660, it was sized down to a manageable octavo. Many of the sources that appear in the *Opera* also appear in *The Magus*. Some of the titles included in the *Opera* were: *De occulta philosophia libri tres; Geomanticae disciplinae lectura; De occulta philosophia liber IV; Petri de Abano heptameron, seu elementa magica; De speciebus magiae caeremonialis quam goetiam vocant; Plinii Secundi naturalis histoariae mundi libri; Magicae naturalis brevissimum, sed eruditum compendium; De fascinationibus disputatio; De materia demonum, seu illorum daemonum qui sub lunari collomito versantur; Gerardi Cremonensis geomantiae astronomicae libellus; Arbatel de magia seu pneumatica veterum; Ars notoria; Ioannis Tritemii in libros suos de steganographia*. With further study and translation of the Agrippan omnibus, it would be possible to show how Barrett emulated the *Opera* by providing a new and modern compendium of some of these titles in the English vernacular.

²²⁵ Curiously on the main title page Barrett is referred to as ‘Professor.’

Discussion

If we are to imagine that *The Magus* is a textbook or a reference manual for occultism, then this section is akin to a bibliography. It not only provides an account of the lives of central figures to the western magical tradition, it also points to some of their works. However, there is a discrepancy between this unit and the rest of *The Magus*. The title page of this unit does not bear Barrett's name and the material found in it does not appear in the manuscript version of *The Magus*. It may be that this was an earlier draft of *The Lives of the Alchemystical Philosophers* (1815) attributed to Barrett. Or this unit may be the work of the printer Walter Blackador. Nevertheless, this unit identifies which figures of occult philosophy were perceived as important during the transitional period of English magic.

Summary

We may now draw together several observations and conclusions based on the foregoing analysis. Although the form of *The Magus* has arrived to us in one volume, the circulation of sections of *The Magus* in the form of chapbooks would, of course, have made it much more affordable. It is possible and indeed likely that units of *The Magus* were designed to circulate separately. This is suggested by the form of the gatherings, particularly in the penultimate unit of Book II which demonstrated how to summon spirits into crystals; not only was this unit a short gathering of leaves, it also made an advertisement to attract clientele. Furthermore, the observation that the units of *The Magus* were also chapbooks is supported by the printer's practise, in Book I, of adding title pages to the units as seen in the units on Natural Magic and Alchemy.

Second, it is clear that Barrett intended *The Magus* to be an accessible and practical manual for people. This is evidenced by Barrett's selection of texts that he felt were important to

traditional magical practise, his cumulative lesson plan to become a magician, and his use of engravings which illustrated the manufacture of magical talismans and tools. By drawing together the program of occult learning into one edition, he allowed people to be versed in occult philosophy and learn how to become a magician. Furthermore, Barrett's impetus for writing *The Magus* is congruous with the overall Enlightenment project; thinkers proclaimed that people should take destiny into one's hands, represented by the Enlightenment motto *sapere aude* (dare to be wise). In other words, Barrett's recasting of Renaissance magic was in part a result of an Enlightenment ideology which challenged others to become directors of their own destiny. Thus, by following Barrett's course plan the aura of magus could (theoretically) emanate from anyone.

Third, in the process of rendering occult learning more practical and accessible, Barrett also recast it to correspond more to contemporary notions of science, morality and magic. We have seen evidence of this recasting in the units of Alchemy, Magnetism and the physiognomic representations of demons in the unit on Cabala. Although Barrett maintained that alchemy can achieve wondrous effects, he instead distilled alchemy's processes down to a moral and spiritual pursuit. Barrett also recast Magnetism for the English market by hybridizing the doctrine of subtle medium with folk practises (the *bahr recht*). This permitted magnetism to remain at the boundaries of intellectual discussion about the source of life energy while maintaining traditional practises and romantic ideas. Evidence of this hybridization can also be seen in the engravings of demons which were recast from the traditionally external malefic forces of Satan to a physiognomic hybrid that expressed demonic visages as mortal failings.

Finally, we have both direct and indirect evidence that *The Magus* was used by entrepreneurial practitioners who reflected the new mode of magical practise, combining new technology with ancient lore. This first evidence for this was seen in the activities of James

Murrell, who copied at least one page of *The Magus* for his explosive display of folk magic. We have also seen evidence of the new modes of magical practises in the career of John Parkins, who produced chapbooks and made Cuning-Man his fulltime occupation. Ultimately the entrepreneurial foundations and the concise practical way Barrett packaged *The Magus* lead to L.W. Delaurence repurposing *The Magus* for his business. In doing so Delaurence would export this unique and original English interpretation of occult philosophy far beyond Barrett's role in the transition of magic into the period we have examined thus far.

Conclusion

Barrett's Role in the Transformation of Magic

The time between Renaissance magic and the modern Occult Revival, the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, was a transitional period.²²⁶ The traditional occult sciences sharply declined in popularity around the mid-seventeenth century and were no longer taught in official centres of learning but found an audience outside those centres of learning.²²⁷ Magic based on Renaissance modalities would lie dormant until the end of the eighteenth century, when it re-emerged in a hybridized form. In England, the most important contributor to this re-emergence was Francis Barrett. He identified and collected texts he felt were important to the western magical tradition, texts that had fallen out of fashion and were thus difficult to locate. With great labour and expense, he found a publisher for a book composed of a compilation of occult works intended for lay persons and students of occult philosophy. *The Magus, Or Celestial Intelligencer* (1801), written in the English vernacular, was the first modern dissemination of Renaissance works to an English audience of mostly middle- to upper-class men. However, Barrett's text is neither strictly Renaissance compendium nor an entirely modern interpretation of Renaissance texts; rather it is a hybrid reinterpretation of English magic in a pragmatic way. By copying the prescriptive and applied aspects of Renaissance magic and modifying its propositional and theoretical aspects to more closely match his intellectual society, his text would mark the start of a series of feedback loops that would eventually give rise to influential

²²⁶ King, *The Flying Sorcerer*, 50: "The occult writing and activities, magical and otherwise of both Francis Barrett and John Parkins illustrate the fact that in the period 1800–1830 English occultists existed in a curious transitional period between ossified esoteric tradition of eighteenth-century Europe and the syncretistic ritual magic, influenced by non-European cultures, which developed in the years, very roughly, 1830–1890."

²²⁷ See Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Penguin Books, 1978).

British, French and American occultists of the nineteenth century.²²⁸ Ultimately this process would lead to today's neo-pagan movement and Wicca.²²⁹

The Paradigm Shift

This process first began in the sixteenth and seventeenth century when magic was understood as a viable means of gaining control over the forces of nature. It emerged out of a revival of classical philosophies like Hermeticism which posited that the physical world was a reflection of the spiritual world. The revival of Hermeticism would shape and inform people's conceptions of the universe and how magic operated. Three dominant theories existed to explain how magical effects operated: the theory of correspondences, the belief in spiritual intervention, and the doctrine of subtle medium. The theory of correspondences was the idea that Nature was a network of symbols that could be deciphered for the use of the magician. The theory of spiritual intervention posited that there were non-physical agents inhabiting creation which could affect change, for good or ill. Finally, the doctrine of subtle medium explained how the physical body was connected to the spiritual world. These three theories were the foundation on which the study of magic was based, and they informed most, if not all forms of learning in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The study of nature through magic would be part of the driving force towards a rational approach to the study of nature. Although there was debate as to the value of

²²⁸ See Alison Butler, "Magical Beginnings: The Intellectual Origins of the Victorian Occult Revival," *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies*, 9 (2003): 29–78; C. Nelson Stewart, *Bulwer Lytton as Occultist* (London: Kessinger Publishing 1996); Christopher McIntosh, *Eliphas Lévi and the French Occult Revival* (Albany: SUNY, 1972); Dave Evans, *The History of British Magic after Crowley: Kenneth Grant, Amado Crowley, Chaos Magic, Satanism, Lovecraft, The Left Hand Path, Blasphemy and Magical Morality Great in Britain* (Great Britain: Hidden Publishing, 2007); D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998).

²²⁹ Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon*, 151–170.

studying magic and associated forms of learning, which included geometry, arithmetic and alchemy, users of magic found ways to legitimate their practices to the authorities.

The way users of magic legitimated their practices depended on the form of magic they practiced. In ceremonial and folk magic the power to perform magical effects depended on how the magician and their clientele imagined their relationship to the world. The practices of ceremonial magicians revolved around centres of wealth and learning. Magicians secured their place around these centres by patronage by appealing to the idea that ancient authorities possessed deeper insight into nature's mysteries, and by arguing that the power to do magic was derived from a divine source. However, ecclesiastical authorities saw the practices of ceremonial magicians as idolatry and heresy. This would lead to a systematic persecution of ceremonial magic within centres of power. This trend began with John Dee and theoretically ended with Isaac Newton.

Outside of urban centres of power, the persecution and eradication of magical practices proved difficult. The practices of folk magicians, the Cunning-Folk, were community-centred and legitimated by the community they served. Their practices would continue unchanged until the mid-seventeenth century when Latin treaties of ceremonial magic, such as Agrippa's *Occult Philosophy*, were translated into the English vernacular. However, the flood of traditional occult literature was short lived as there was a change in the conceptions of magic in legislation and intellectual discourse at the end of the seventeenth century.

Conceptions of magic and witchcraft in English legal discourse differed over time. In the Tudor and Jacobean periods the legislative conceptions of magic and witchcraft were linked to religious and moral behavior. By the Georgian period the idea of magic and witchcraft in a legal

sense was perceived as an act of fraud or a waste of time. This shift in the perception of magic and witchcraft can be linked in part to the scientific revolution.

As scientific rationalism became dominant in intellectual discourse, it contributed to the decline in popularity of magical practices in English society. However, as we have seen, the moniker ‘scientific revolution’ is slightly misleading. Publicly the edifice of scientific rationalism was the driver of intellectual discourse, but outside of urban intellectual circles magical practices persisted relatively unchanged, that is until the late eighteenth century. Just as science diverged from a shared origin with magic and was poised to march seemingly unassailable towards modernity, magical practices and conceptions adapted to the new notions of instrumental causality. The scientific advance forced traditional practices to the boundaries of intellectual discourse. The intellectual and social climate in eighteenth-century England would have been unwelcoming, if not hostile, to Francis Barrett and *The Magus*. Yet Francis Barrett found an market for *The Magus*, which marked the start of a process of hybridization ,that made traditional conceptions of instrumental causality (theory of correspondences, the doctrine of subtle medium, and the theory of spiritual intervention) acceptable to a wider modern audience by blending dominant epistemologies (Newtonianism, mechanistic philosophy, scientism) with traditional practices (the *bahr recht*, mesmerism, the power of stones and herbs), aided in part by a lack of understanding of and a disagreement about the source of nature’s power.

The arrival of *The Magus* illustrates a change in the conceptions of magic in England at the end of the eighteenth century and is indicative of a transitional period in English magic. The compendium recast theoretical treaties on how magical effects operated in the world into a treatise on how to do magic, interpreting the academic approach towards magic in a vernacular that was practical. It was aided by the probable low cost of the text for the English market, since

the formation of its units is highly suggestive of a series of chapbooks. *The Magus* was an exotically packaged compendium of ancient knowledge that appealed to those with a predilection for arcane mysteries at a time when the networks of book production were expanding. As Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) observed on the writing of books in the eighteenth century:

One of the peculiarities, which distinguish the present age, is the multiplication of books. [...] And although I admit the authors producing those books are no more than copyists who lay two books before them, out of which they compile a third, without any new material of their own [Johnson is quick to qualify] that all compilations are useless I do not assert, because he that collects valuable incidental remarks under proper heads is very laudably employed in that he facilitates the progress of others, and by making that easy of attainment which is already written, may give some mind more vigorous or more adventurous than his own leisure for new thoughts and original designs.²³⁰

In this regard Barrett can be considered an original author, his silent attributions aside, linking him to the “revival of literary interest in the medieval and the uncanny which produced the genre conventionally known as ‘Gothic’.”²³¹ Indeed, Timothy D’Arch Smith described the literary atmosphere in the Georgian period as

[c]aught up in the full flood of the Gothic Revival and nowhere more than in her [England] novels does this extreme curiosity about supernatural affairs appear so marked, [and that the] “gothic revival had arisen from both a genuine spiritual impulse and as a reaction from the draconian and entirely stilted and spurious formalities which had been imposed on the arts in the earlier part of the eighteenth-century.”²³²

The Magus may be understood as the aggregate of two narratives which operated at the end of the eighteenth century. The first is a narrative of Enlightenment progress that says the world can be explained by current and future levels of scientific knowledge. The second narrative is one of Romantic recursion which says the world has already been fully explained; one just needs to reinterpret that ancient knowledge. In drawing on or expressing both these narratives, *The*

²³⁰ Arthur Murphy, *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (New York: Collins, Keese and Co., 1836) 438.

²³¹ Hutton, *Triumph of the Moon*, 69

²³² D’Arch Smith, *Books of the Beast*, 91

Magus was uniquely positioned to satisfy the appetite for arcane knowledge at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century.

We have noted in passing the emergence of an urbane, cunning and yet folksy entrepreneurial magician at this time, in the activities of John Parkins, James Murrell, Joseph Smith and L.W. Delaurence. It is not clear that *The Magus* alone would have been sufficient enough to inspire this new form of magic user. Nevertheless, Barrett's manufacture of a textbook for students of occult philosophy provided an imaginative and practical foundation for a new generation of English magicians to develop their own magical groups and lodges. It certainly inspired the French magician Eliphas Lévi, who in turn inspired 'The Wickedest Man in the World' Aleister Crowley, so much so that Crowley claimed to be the reincarnation of Lévi.²³³ As these groups and lodges developed, they would hybridize and shift the prescriptive elements to match their own propositional understandings, much as Barrett modified inherited propositional understandings to satisfy his prescriptive purposes. Further contextual examination of texts like *The Magus* may reveal how the trend Barrett started continued to effect the popularization of occult knowledge and practices in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. What we can surmise is that these groups during the next transition would try to distinguish themselves from their predecessors and build upon a complex network of occultist. This would result with the emergence of Neo-Paganism and the New Age, each of which is an extreme form of the democratization of the magic user. None of this could have occurred without Barrett writing and publishing *The Magus*, the first hybrid grimoire.

²³³ McIntosh, *Eliphas Lévi and the French Occult Revival*, 226.

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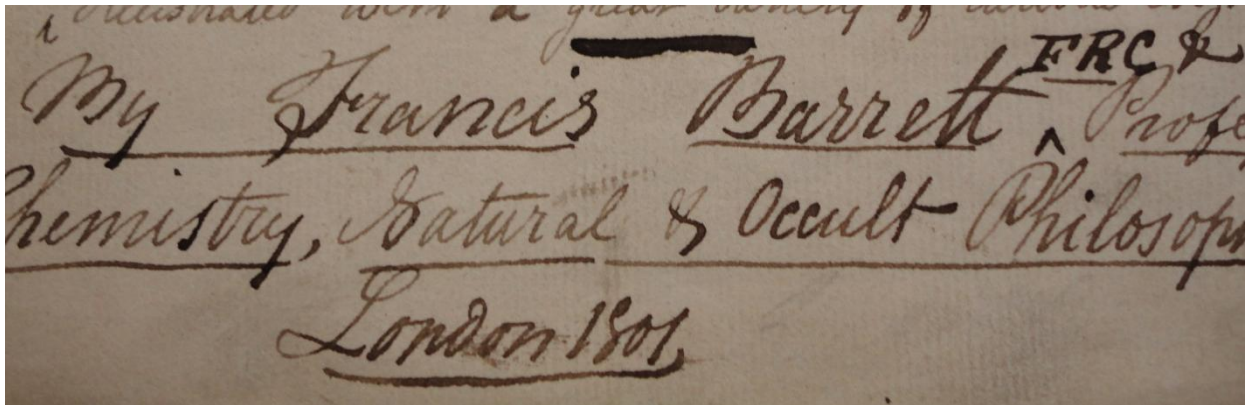
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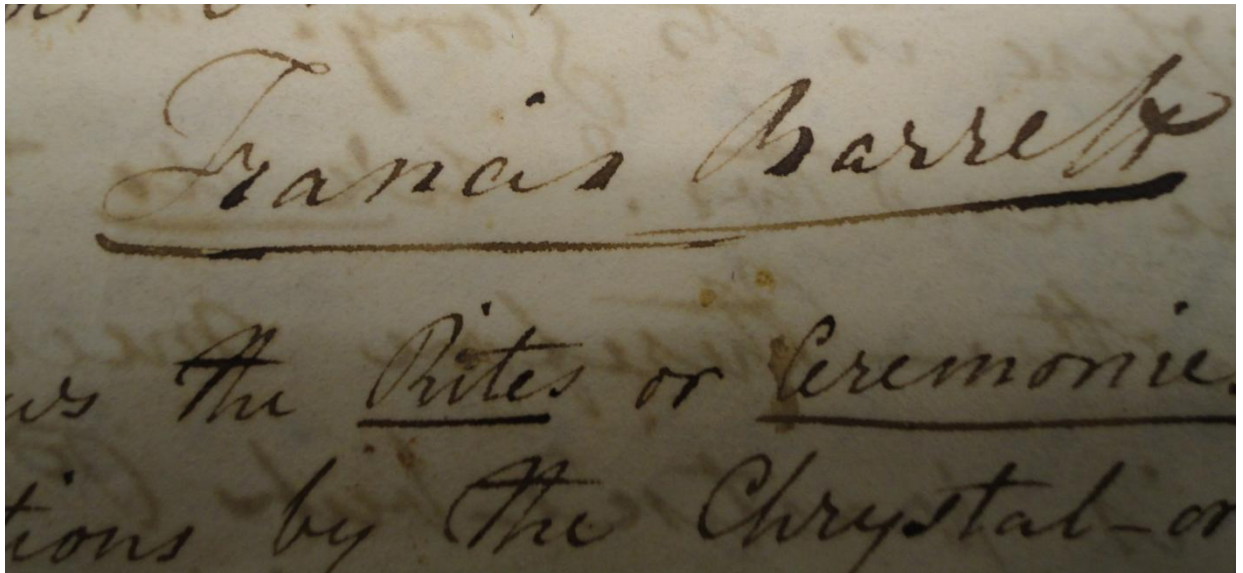
Appendix I: Signatures

Wellcome MS 1072



A handwritten signature in cursive script on aged paper. The signature reads "My Francis Barrett" with "FRC" written above "Barrett". Below the name, the text "Chemistry, Natural & Occult Philosophy" is written, and "London 1801" is written at the bottom. The signature is underlined.

Wellcome MS 1073



A handwritten signature in cursive script on aged paper. The signature reads "Francis Barrett" and is underlined. Below the signature, the text "as the Rites or Ceremonie" is written, and "tions by the Crystal-or" is written below that.

Mellon MS 140

Carefully corrected & revised by
+ Francis Barrett, F.R.C.
(With additional Notes & observations)
Professor of Chemistry & Nat. Philosophy
London June 1801

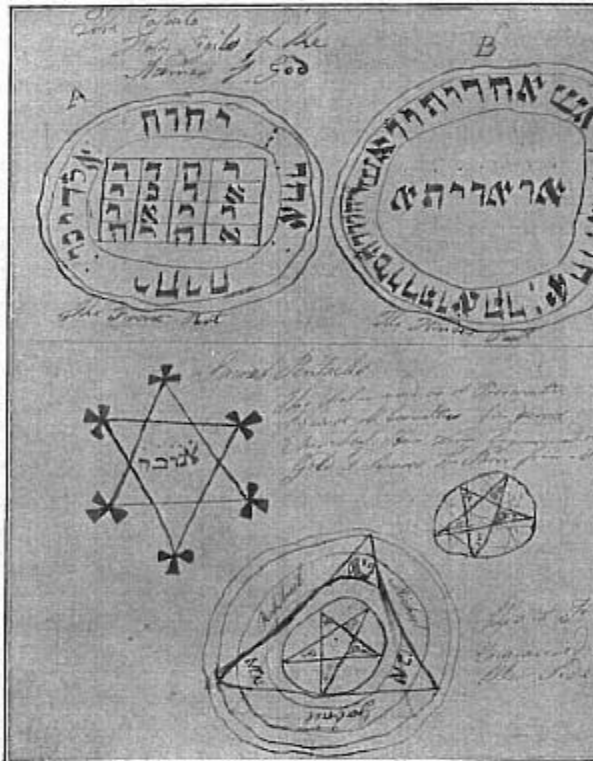
Marriage register entry for a Francis Barrett, Devon, 1800.

Barnett Francis
~~son~~ sent.
= Grace Hodge
with consent of her mother
Elizabeth Marsh
BARNSTAPLE
1800

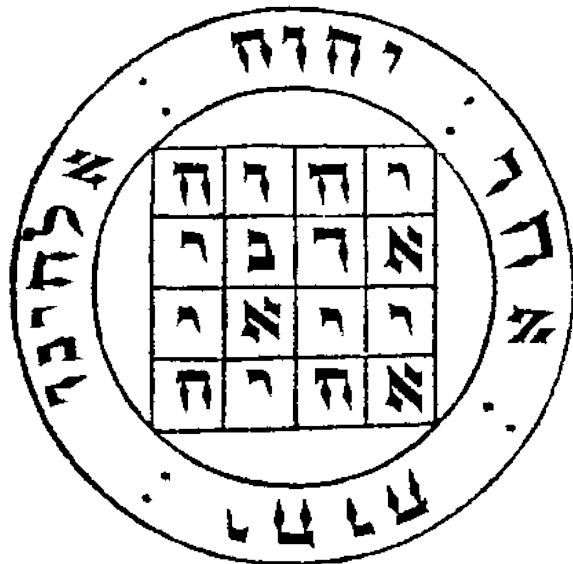
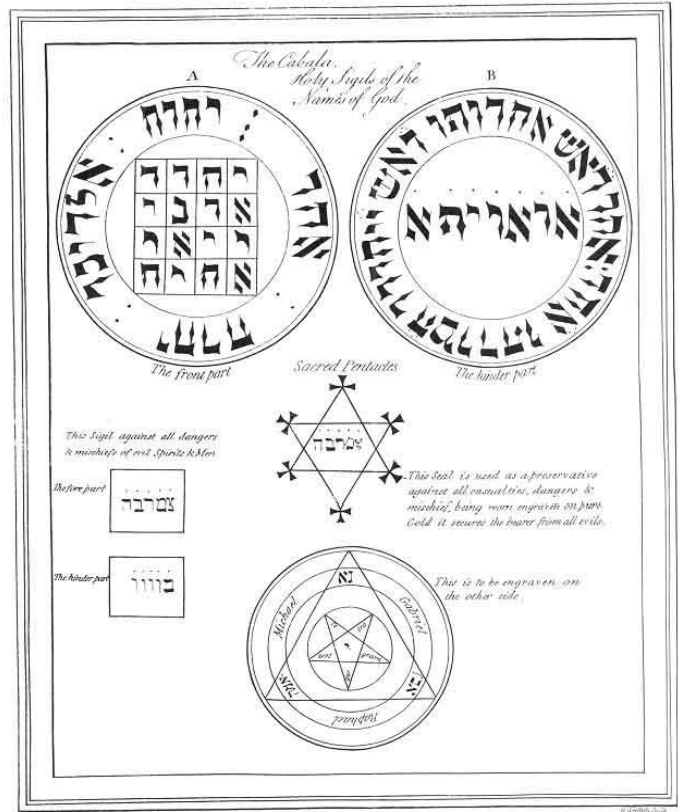
Appendix II: Plate Comparisons

James Murrell's "Book of Conjurations."

The Magus Book II, 41.



A PAGE OF THE BOOK OF CONJURATIONS, WITH SIGLS AND PENTACLES.



Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*: Anterior



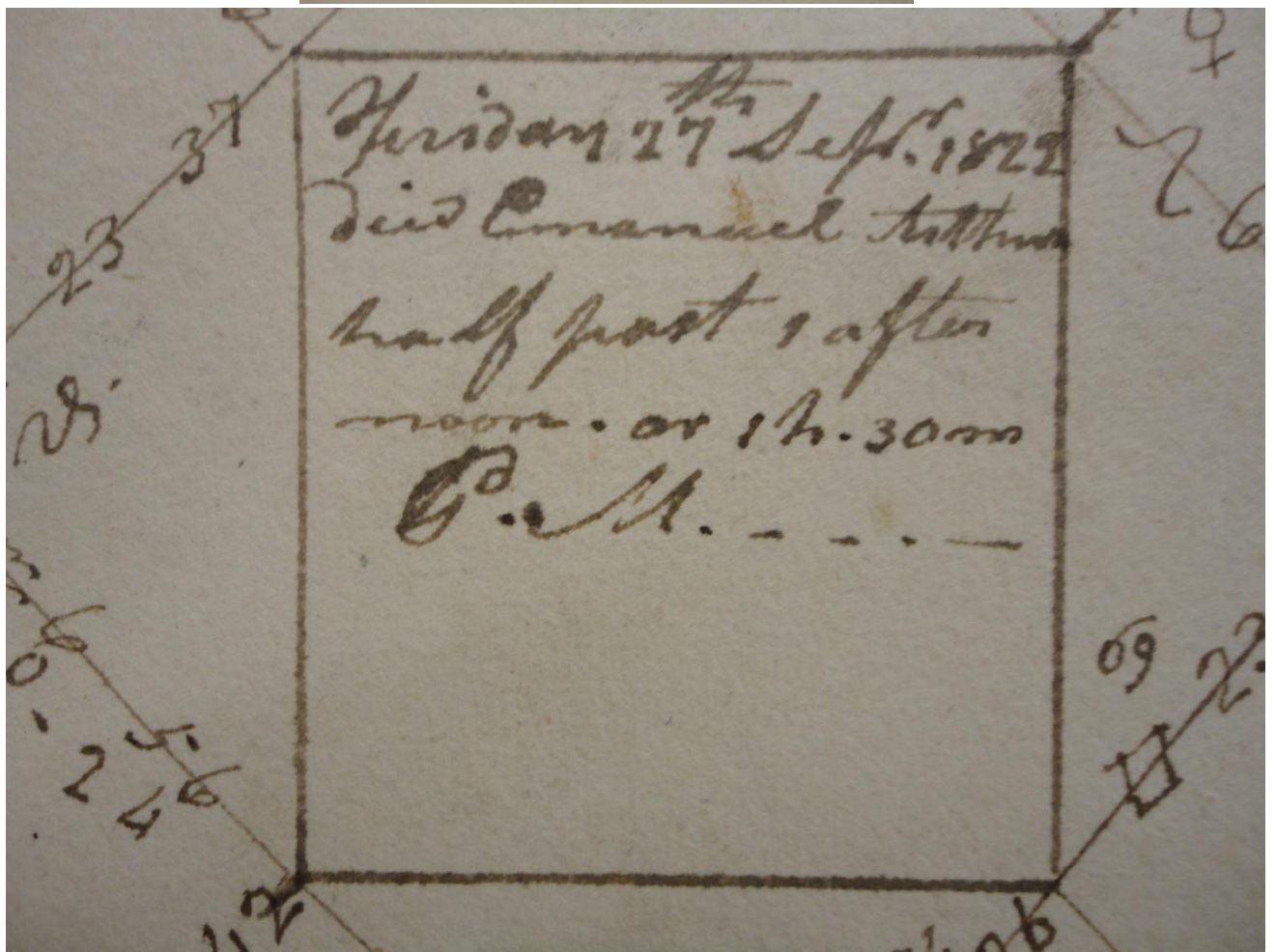
Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*: Posterior

Appendix III: Nativity Charts

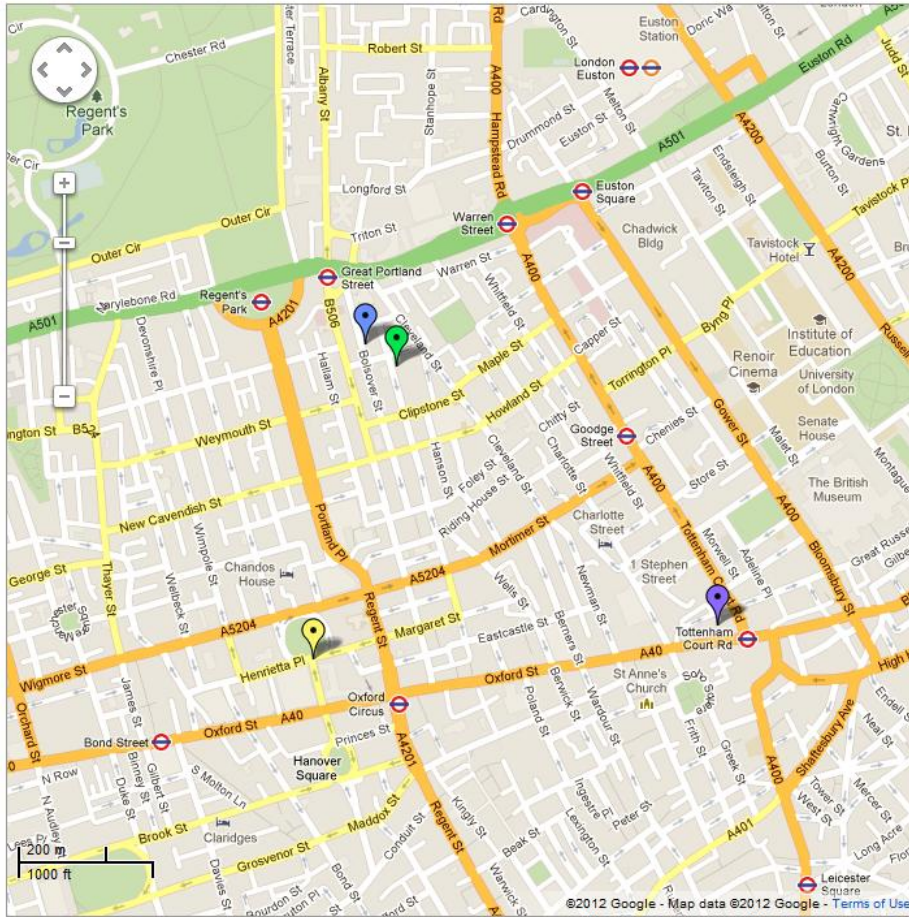
The Magus, Wellcome Library.



Thursday April 8th
1802
Emanuel Arthur's B.
Nativity.
11 h. 46 m. A.M.
♀ d. ♂ h.
lat 5°-12' north.



Appendix IV: A Residency Map of Marylebone c. 1800



-  Francis Barrett
-  Ebenezer Sibly
-  Daniel Orme
-  Robert Griffith