CHAPTER 14

SWEDENBORG: INSPIRER OF MODERN POETRY

This title will surprise all those who have not read The Symbolist Movement by Anna Balakian, the American Professor of Comparative Literature and specialist in surrealistic poetry.1 To those who are familiar with this book, there is nothing astonishing in calling Swedenborg “the inspirer” or even “the precursor” of modern poetry. Mrs. Balakian not only devotes an entire chapter to Swedenborgism and the Romanticists, about which I must add that the author has a tendency to emphasize French swedenborgisme rather than the religion revealed by Swedenborg which Anglo-Saxons call “Swedenborgianism,” and that she also promotes the Swedish revelator to such a degree that his ideas (or the ideas attributed to him) become the touchstone of the whole art of poetry. Thus, that which is not Swedenborgian becomes non-Swedenborgian or anti-Swedenborgian. This is true particularly in regard to her interpretation of Baudelaire’s Fleurs du Mal, whose two last verses: “Plonger au fond du gouffre, Enfer ou Ciel, qu’importe? Au fond de l’inconnu pour trouver du nouveau!” form, in Anna Balakian’s opinion, the final answer in which the poet protests against the dualism of the infinite according to Swedenborg—a protest forming a striking contrast with the poems in the beginning of the collection: Elévation et Correspondances, recalling the treatment of Heaven and Hell by William Blake in his Marriage of Heaven and Hell.2


1 Present address: 17 Rue Mozart, F-78330, Fontenay-le-Fleury, France.


2 Anna Balakian, op.cit., pp. 15 and 33.
But if French specialists, notably Jean Pommier in his *Mystique de Baudelaire*, attribute a much more restrained influence by Swedenborg on the French poet, while emphasizing the satanic side of the *Fleurs du Mal*, I must admit that Baudelaire himself seems to justify Anna Balakian’s opinion, at least as far as the famous sonnet *Correspondances* is concerned:

La nature est un temple où de vivants piliers laissent perfois sortir de confuses paroles;  
L’homme y passe à travers des forêts de symboles qui l’observent avec des regards familiers.

Comme de loins échos qui de loin se confondent dans une ténèbreuse et profonde unité,  
Vaste comme la nuit et comme la clarté,  
Les parfums, les couleurs et les sons se répondent.

Il est des parfums frais comme des chairs d’enfants,  
doux comme les hautbois, vert comme les prairies,  
—Et d’autres corrompus, riches et triomphants.

Ayant l’expansion des choses infinies,  
Comme l’ambre, le musc, le benjoin et l’encens,  
Qui chantent les transports de l’esprit et des sens.

In his respectful homage paid to Victor Hugo, Baudelaire reminds us that prior to Charles Fourier’s “mysteries of analogy”:

Swedeborg, who had a much greater soul, already taught us that *Heaven is a very great man*; that everything, form, movement, number, color, perfume, in the *spiritual* as in the *natural*, is significant, reciprocal, converse, corresponding.5

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5 Underlined by Baudelaire. Cf Emmanuel Swedenborg, *Le Ciel et ses merveilles, et l’Enfer*, Paris, Cercle Swedenborg, 1973, 59: “As they (the angels) know that all the Heavens with their societies represent one man, they call Heaven, the *Very Great Man and the Divine Man*.”
At first, this seems to be perfectly clear: in Baudelaire’s theory of correspondences, which he recommends to artists for their contemplation of Nature, he goes back before Charles Fourier’s laborious analogies to the science of correspondences revealed by Emanuel Swedenborg. However, if we examine the contents of the sonnet program, we soon see that neither one of its two central ideas, that is to say “animated Nature” and “synesthesia,” is found in Swedenborg’s science of correspondences, which was solely intended for the interpretation of the Holy Bible.

But how can it be that Baudelaire wanted to give credit to Swedenborg not only for the “vertical” correspondences between the natural and the spiritual, but also for the “horizontal” correspondences or “synesthesias” so dear to Baudelaire himself as well as to the whole school of romanticists before him? As early as his Salon de 1846, Baudelaire recorded this predilection for an association of different yet mutually complimentary sensations suggesting interrelationships by quoting the following paragraph from E.T.A. Hoffmann:

> It is not only in my dreams and the light delirium preceding the sleep, but even awake, that I hear music, that I find an analogy and an intimate connection between colors, sounds and perfumes.6

Baudelaire’s “Swedishborgianism” is not unlike Balzac’s “Swedishborgianism.” The poet personally knew the author of the Comédie Humaine from 1840-41, a time at which he also became acquainted with two other novelists who were interested in Swedenborg: Gérard de Nerval and Henri de Latouche.7

But before making assumptions about the influence that these personal acquaintances could have had on the way Baudelaire brought Swedenborg into his artistic conception, I must quote the poet’s very lucid judgment of Balzac’s “Swedishborgianism”:

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6 Recorded by Marcel A. Ruff in his Préface of Baudelaire, Œuvres complètes, p. 13.
We know Séraphîtus, Louis Lambert and many passages in other books in which Balzac, this great mind haunted by legitimate encyclopedic pride, tried to melt into a unitary and definitive system ideas drawn from Swedenborg, Mesmer, Marat, Goethe and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire.

However, this lucidity, did not hinder him from imitating the author of the Livre mystique by creating his romantic and vaguely hermaphroditic hero: “Samuel Cramer, who formerly signed the name of Manuela de Monteverde” in his short story La Fanfarlo. Anna Balakian has pointed out the resemblance between Samuel Cramer and Louis Lambert. Let me add that the clearly autobiographical feature of the schoolboy in Vendôme has a connection with the short story by Baudelaire who, in illustrating his own work by a pencil drawing, gave it his own profile, thus confirming his identification with Samuel Cramer.

Anna Balakian reminds us that Samuel Cramer has a volume of Swedenborg on his bedside table. This is true, but only half the truth. The remainder of the sentence in which Baudelaire gives us this information seems to confirm his satanic side as emphasized by Jean Pommier:

He (Samuel Cramer) resolutely blew out his two candles, one of which still quivered over a volume of Swedenborg, and the other one went out over one of those shameful books whose reading is profitable only to minds haunted by an immoderate taste for truth.

Among these privileged minds, there were, of course, Louis Lambert and his author. Were Gérard de Nerval and Henri de Latouche among them too? Certainly! In the Background of Modern French Poetry, P. Mansell Jones states categorically that: “Baudelaire owed his knowledge of Swedenborg’s teachings to Gérard de Nerval” quoting the following sentence in Nerval’s Aurélia: “Everything is alive, everything acts, every-

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8 Notice de “Révélation magnétique” preceding Baudelaire’s first translation of one of Edgar Allan Poe’s Tales published in La liberté de penser of July 15, 1848.
10 Anna Balakian, op.cit., p. 29.
thing has its correspondence,” which is, of course very close to the sonnet Correspondances but not necessarily to the science of correspondences revealed by Swedenborg, as I have already stated concerning Baudelaire. Nevertheless, Aurélia is a good example of Nerval’s Swedenborgianism because Swedenborg’s name is on its very first page and because this short story contains Mémorables drafted on the model of Swedenborg’s Memorabilia. Knowing this, I was very disappointed only to find rather marginal allusions to Swedenborg and his philosophy in Gérard de Nerval’s portraits of Illuminati.

The previously mentioned book by P. Mansell Jones resembles Anna Balakian’s work, which it preceded by about fifteen years. Following a chapter defining the term symbolism and a second chapter devoted to Swedenborgism and the Romanticists, Balakian examines the Swedish revelator’s contribution to Baudelaire’s art of poetry. The title of the first chapter in P. Mansell Jones’ book is Swedenborg, Baudelaire and their Intermediaries. Thus these two English-speaking writers dare to do what the French specialists have been very reluctant to do: place Swedenborg at the origin of an artistic school that continues to enrich French poetry. The printer (?) of Jones’ work played a very bad trick on its British author when he attributed Fragoletta to Labiche!!

The hermaphroditic heroine in Henri de Latouche’s novel had already served as inspiration to Balzac for his Séraphîta. In his work on Gérard de Nerval et les Filles de Feu, Jean Gaulmier informs us that Latouche was a “notorious Martinist” and that following publication of the Système philosophique d’Emmanuel Swedenborg in the Revue Européenne in 1832, the France Littéraire offered its readers in 1835, an extensive study on Saint-Martin, “Swedenborg’s best disciple in France.” It is true that at that time Le Boys des Guays’ useful work of clarification of text had not yet begun, and that this confusion was common both before and afterwards. But

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12 P. Mansell Jones, op.cit., p. 15.
14 Jean Gaulmier, op.cit., pp. 144-145.
15 See the chapter on “Captain Bernard and his Friends.”
16 See August Strindberg’s article mentioned in Note 63 of the chapter on “The New Church in Paris.”
Anna Balakian goes further: she finds in Victor Hugo a Swedenborgian poet, and in Charles Fourier a declared follower of the Swedish revelator.\(^{17}\) I believe I have proven the contrary in my chapter on Le Boys des Guays and his community in Saint-Amand.

In any case, this does not matter. As Danielle Vilpoux has clearly shown in her Masters thesis *Diffusion et Interpretation de la Pensée de Swedenborg de Balzac à Baudelaire*,\(^{18}\) the poet of the *Fleurs du Mal* borrowed from the Swedish revelator only what pleased him and then modified it to suit his taste. What a pity that this talented commentator on one of the great turning points of French literature in the XIXth century did not consider it necessary to go back to the sources! She did not read Swedenborg’s *Book of Dreams*.

However, it is in the realm of oneiromancy that the closest link between Swedenborg and Nerval may be found. Nerval says so himself in the very first page of his *Aurélia*:

> Swedenborg called his visions *Memorabilia*; he owed them to dreams more often than to sleep; Apuleius’ *Golden Ass*, Dante’s *Divine Comedy* are poetical models of these studies of the human soul. I will try to transcribe, following their example, my impressions of a long illness that took place entirely in the mysteries of my mind;—and I do not know why I use this term illness, for never, as far as I am concerned, have I felt better. Sometimes, I thought my strength and activity doubled; it seemed to me as though I knew everything, that I understood everything; imagination gave me infinite delights.\(^{19}\) While recovering what men call reason, must I regret having lost them?…

As far as Baudelaire is concerned, he elaborated an entire philosophy of dreams:

\(^{17}\) Anna Balakian, op.cit., pp. 30 and 42.

\(^{18}\) Under the direction of Jacques Body; June 1971.

\(^{19}\) In the *Préface* of his translation into French of the *Book of Dreams*, Régis Boyer reminds us of Swedenborg’s calling his state of extreme intentness of mind “deliquium.”
In sleep, this adventurous journey of every night, there is something positively miraculous; it is a miracle whose punctuality has blunted the mystery. Man’s dreams are of two sorts. Some full of his ordinary life, his preoccupations, his desires, his vices, are combined in a more or less strange way with objects caught sight of during the day and indiscreetly placed onto the large canvas of his memory. These are natural dreams; they belong to man himself. But the other sort of dreams! Absurd unforeseen dreams with neither any relationship nor any connection with the sleeper’s character, life and passions! These dreams, which I will call hieroglyphic, represent, of course, the supernatural side of life, and it is just because they are absurd that the ancients believed they were divine. Since they are inexplicable by natural causes, they were attributed to a cause outside man; and still today, without speaking of oneiromancy, there is a philosophical school which sometimes sees in this sort of dream a reproach, sometimes a piece of advice; finally a symbolic and moral picture generated in the very mind of the sleeping man. It is a dictionary to be studied, a language to which the wise can obtain the key.\[20\]

These are, of course, the hieroglyphic dreams which correspond more closely to Swedenborg’s dreams. The last sentence of this quote reminds us immediately of the Clavis Hieroglyphica written by Swedenborg in 1741.\[21\]

Moreover, Baudelaire tells us that he thought of writing a more detailed study concerning this subject:

—Preface, mysticism and playfulness.
Dreams and theory of Dreaming à la Swedenborg.\[22\]

Among those who introduced Baudelaire to the field of Swedenborgianism, we must include the American writer Edgar Allan

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\[20\] Œuvres complètes, Les Paradis artificiels, p. 570.
\[21\] See the introductory chapter.
\[22\] Œuvres complètes, Mon cœur mis à nu, p. 624.
Poe, of whom a great number of works were translated by the author of the *Fleurs de Mal*. We know that Edgar Allan Poe, like Emerson, read and admired Swedenborg. In the *Revue de Paris*, Baudelaire drew the following portrait of the author of the *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*:

But they say that Poe troubled very little about the choice of his audience. He scarcely bothers about his listeners being capable of understanding his subtle abstractions or of admiring his glorious conceptions which cut unceasingly the dark clouds of his brain by their glimmers of light. He sat down in a pub at the side of a naughty rascal, developing from him in a serious way with his impacable coolness, the great lines of his terrible book *Eureka*, as though he were dictating to a secretary, or having a discussion with Kepler, Bacon or Swedenborg.

Balzac considered Swedenborg to be “the greatest scientist in the XVIIIth century.” 23 We can see once more that Baudelaire’s “Swedenborgianism” was similar to Balzac’s. In his comments to his *Notice de Révélation Magnétique,* Marcel A. Ruff speaks of “these scientific, philosophical and mystic doctrines quoting Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire as much as Swedenborg as their authorities.” 24 Did not Baudelaire say the same thing in his judgment of Balzac’s “unitary system” quoted above? But Ruff, and later on Anna Balakian, 25 emphasize Edgar Allan Poe’s part in renewing Baudelaire’s deep admiration for Swedenborg:

We can see that the interest that Baudelaire took in Edgar Poe was due above all not to his literary theories, which he then ignored as well as his poetry, but to the supernatural and Swedenborgian side of his work.

I should, however, place emphasis on his role as a renewer; the ground in France was sufficiently impregnated by the water from the pseudo-

23 Cf Note 37 in the chapter on “Balzac and his ‘Buddha from the North’.”
25 Anna Balakian, op. cit., p. 31.
Swedenborgian streams and that it did not need any more. And although, contrary to Anna Balakian’s statement, Charles Fourier was no follower of Swedenborg, we must consider Fourierism as one of its principle currents. Ruff reminds us of Baudelaire’s trying to “give material” to the Fourierist periodical Démocratie pacifique. Concerning this we must not forget that the poet of the Fleurs du Mal himself confirms the “Swedenborgian” chain of influence going back to the Swedish revelator’s correspondences via Fourier’s analogies. And the corresponding quotations, such as the one previously noted in this chapter, are not always unfavorable to the founder of the phalansteries. What follows is an example of one which is more than favorable:

Fourier and Swedenborg, one with his analogies, the other with his correspondences have become incarnate in the vegetable and animal kingdoms within our view, and instead of teaching by the voice, they indoctrinate us by form and color.26

Once again Baudelaire attributes synesthesia to Swedenborg, and incorrectly so, as I have already stated.

Baudelaire had an imperious and morbid desire to shock his readers at all costs. Swedenborg can do the same. At least, the poet of the Fleurs du Mal thought this to be the case in the fiftieth of his Petits poèmes en prose: Les bons chiens:

And how many times did I not think that there exists perhaps (who knows, after all), in compensation for so much courage, patience and work, a special paradise for good dogs, poor dogs, dirty and sad dogs as Swedenborg states so well, that there is one for Turks and one for the Dutch!

In fact, Swedenborg states that there are different citizenships in Heaven as well as on Earth.27 Turks are Mahometans, and they have their

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27 Heaven and Hell, 318.
“Heaven, divided into two Heavens, the upper one and the lower one.” As far as the Dutch are concerned, Swedenborg was partial to this nation long before his religious crisis. In his *Itineraria* of 1736, he explains why the Lord blesses and protects this nation more than others. It is true that the Swedish scientist owed more than he could ever repay for the freedom of press that existed in Holland— unlike most other countries at that time, especially his own. Many of his works were published in Holland, were they not?

I could go on listing the borrowing, both accurate and inaccurate, that Baudelaire made or thought he made from the famous Swede. But that would not be useful here. The essential question is this: why did Baudelaire, like Balzac, want a certain measure of surety from the founder of a religion with whom he ultimately had very few things in common?

Edouard Richer has already provided an answer to this question. Swedenborg built his religion like a philosopher would his philosophy, or like a scholar his scientific theory, and his qualities as a “synthesizer” were so great that it is impossible to distinguish in him what is completely new. Yet everything is renewed under Swedenborg’s pen: Ancient times, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the great discoveries of the XVIIth century which form the natural basis of his religious philosophy. Moreover, the former engineer, (so as not to say the former materialist), explains the marvels of Heaven and the horrors of Hell in the same clear and didactic way in which he had formerly described the mysteries of the natural world. Thus Richer was able to state that Swedenborg created “the religion of good sense, the religion of the XIXth century.”

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28 *Conjugial Love*, 343.
30 See the chapter on the “Swedenborgian Group in Nantes.”
CONCLUSION

After having dealt with the “Swedenborgianism” of Balzac, George Sand and Baudelaire, I should mention some works of lesser importance. Three examples from the last century are:

— the novel *Ida* by Viscount d’Arlincourt, forgotten today, but very popular during the period of Romanticism,
— the stage play *Swedenborg, ou Stockholm en 1756*, by Viscount de Beaumont-Vassy,¹
— the “Swedenborgian” poem *Hespérus* by Catulle Mendès.

In our own century, one could tackle the difficult task of finding the “time” and “duration” of Henri Bergson’s philosophy some reminiscences of the “first” and “second finite” in order to make a distinction from the infinite, according to the first volume of the *Opera Philosophica et Mineralis*, or that of separating the Swedenborgian traces in Boehme’s influence on Jules Romain, perceptible in his *Manuel de Défication*.

Half a century later on, André Pièyre de Mandiargues ascribes the passion of reading Swedenborg to his virile seducer in *La Motocyclette*,² resulting in an absurd mixture of Swedenborgianism and sadism, or eroticism and esoteric ideas, which the polished style of the poet’s prose could not save.

Among the surrealist poets, most of whom were under an indirect Swedenborgian influence, there was in addition to André Breton (whose *Ode à Charles Fourier* shows the relationship of esoteric ideas, and was published in 1947, reprinted and annotated by Jean Gaulmier),³ the poet

¹ In the *Chevrier Collection*, there are two documents pertinent to Beaumont-Vassy: 1) Le Boys des Guays to Chevrier; Saint-Amand, October 3, 1859:

I have not heard about this large volume by Mr. de B.V.; I just know that in a work on Sweden published several years ago /Probably *Les Suédois depuis Charles XII*/, he speaks much about Swedenborg, undoubtedly, like many others, without knowing him. Besides, you know that Mr. de B.V. is a sad specimen of humanity.

2) In his letter to Le Boys des Guays of August 5, 1844, Hartel told him that Beaumont-Vassy had subscribed to the journal *La Nouvelle Jérusalem*.

² nrf, Gallimard, 1963.

Malcolm de Chazal,\textsuperscript{4} from the family that formed the heart of the New Church in Mauritius for over a century.

From all this we can see that Swedenborg’s voice has never ceased to hold us in its spell. I was pleasantly surprised, when I read a recent novel by Jean d’Ormesson, \textit{Dieu et son Oeuvre}, to find paragraphs as Swedenborgian as the following one concerning the Last Judgment:

There are, of course, mysteries in God that the narrow mind of man has great difficulty in understanding. One of the mysteries is the following: the issue of the rebellion of angels is the creation of the Earth. However, the Earth is already the ground of the war of the evil against the good. The solution of this riddle is infinitely simple: as everything takes place in the eternity of God’s thought, that which does not yet exist already exists, that which is no more exists always—and there is no difficulty in seeing the act of the war as constituting a theatrical stage. The true conclusion of the rebellion of angels is the Last Judgment. Well, have no doubt about this: in the same way as the not yet created Earth exists, the celestial war between evil and good, the Last Judgment which appears so far away to us, so improbable, so mythical, is already with us. Throughout their diversity and opposition, the origin of the conflict and the battle field and the raging fight and the improbable peace are merely one and the same thing. Like the divine past, the future divine is also part of our Earth. Or rather, the past, the present, the future, the Earth on which we are living are, like all the rest, nothing else than a reflection of the reflection of God’s unlimited dream in which everything distinguished beneath is merged and combined above, under his eternal sight, in his infinite goodness.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{4} Malcolm de Chazal’s Swedenborgianism is ambiguous: on the one hand, he was baptized in the New Church, attended New Church services both in Mauritius and in the USA (1921-25) during his stay at Louisiana State University; on the other hand he refused stubbornly the idea of Swedenborgian influence on his poetry and painting. See Laurent Beaufils, \textit{Malcolm de Chazal, Quelquasaspects de l’homme et de son œuvre}, ELA La Différence, Paris, 1995.

\textsuperscript{5}Jean d’Ormesson, op.cit., Gallimard, 1980, pp. 224-225.
I do not think that Jean d’Ormesson read the two treatises Swedenborg devoted to the Last Judgment; it is more a question of an intuitive anticipation of the religious philosophy of modern man that was made by the Swedish revelator over two centuries ago.

For there has been and there will be an influence of Swedenborg on French literature, directly or more often indirectly, consciously or sometimes unconsciously, a true influence or more often, an influence wrongfully attributed to Swedenborg’s ideas.

But the “literary Swedenborgianism” in the XIXth century is, above all, the artistic exploitation of the pseudo-Swedenborgianism that reigned in France beginning with the famous article by the Marquis de Thomé, published in the September issue 1785 of the *Journal Encyclopédique*, which formulated a dangerous mixture of Swedenborgianism and animal magnetism, until the seances of somnambulism organized in Lawyer Gobert’s house in Paris during the eighteen-twenties.

Swedenborg’s profound philosophy has nothing to do with “the new way of life for mankind” imagined by the author of the *Comédie Humaine*. Neither is the science of correspondences revealed by Swedenborg for the interpretation of the Holy Bible the basis of Baudelaire’s theory of analogies-correspondences, as I have stated.

At least Balzac had the excuse of having invented his “religion of John,” with the “Buddha from the North” as its leader before Le Boys des Guays put an end to previous aberrations. Baudelaire could have had recourse to the sources before creating his new poetry, as did George Sand. The fact that Baudelaire’s poetry has met with never ending success is another story.

The essential thing is not to confuse the religion of the New Jerusalem adopted by deeply religious people, like Le Boys des Guays, with the aesthetic doctrine of some writers who used Swedenborg’s famous name.

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New version by Le Boys des Guays: *Continuation sur le Jugement Dernier*. 
to “add a feather to their cap,” as Eugène Rollet stated concerning Balzac’s Livre Mystique. It is evident that compared to the circle of readers of these writers, the approximately one hundred followers of the New Church in France in the XIXth century formed only a marginal group, even though they formed an active minority through their policy of translation and publication in French of Swedenborg’s religious works. On the other hand we can understand why Le Boys des Guays wanted to have George Sand on his side as a source of strength.

As the founder of worship in the New Jerusalem (in November 1837), the editor of the journal La Nouvelle-Jérusalem (1838-1847), the translator of Swedenborg’s religious works (strongly aided in this task by his precursor Moët—I must add), Le Boys des Guays is the central figure in French Swedenborgianism. And yet Le Boys des Guays did not start from scratch. He was much too intelligent not to take advantage of a double asset: the core of Captain Bernard’s friends representing a practical side, and the intellectual analysis of the New Jerusalem done by Edouard Richer representing a theoretical side. Le Boys des Guays did not agree either with Bernard’s spiritism nor with Richer’s religious, philosophical and cultural ecumenical ideas, although he needed Captain Bernard’s friends and Richer.

Le Boys des Guays’ merit consists, however, in his return to the primary sources and his exclusion of all of the pseudo-Swedenborgianism that had reigned in France for over half a century.

Swedenborg had lived and worked abroad, but it was in Göteborg that Dr. Beyer handed on the torch to Augustus Nordenskjöld, who immediately began organizing the work of translation into French and publication of Swedenborg’s religious work with the support of:

— the Abbé Pernety in Berlin,
— Bénédict Chastanier in London,
— the Marquis de Thomé in Paris, and
— Daillant Delatouche in Strasbourg with the Abrégé.

But the “Swedenborgianism gone astray,” to use an old term for the regret of the lack of “orthodoxy” on the part of many “Swedenborgians” is older than the actual creation of the New Church in 1789:
— Augustus Nordenskjöld’s alchemy,
— the animal magnetism of his brother Charles-Frederick, the founder of the *Exegetic and Philanthropic Society* at the end of 1786,
— Pernety’s spiritism,
— Chastanier’s freemasonry, leading half a century later to:
— Bernard’s Martinism,
— Balzac’s “unintelligible mysticism,” not to mention Emile Broussais’ and the Abbé œgger’s pathetic efforts to make Swedenborgianism the State religion in all of France.

With Hartel and Auguste Harlé, Le Boys des Guays found two faithful and solid collaborators in Paris. Unfortunately, other members of the Paris group, particularly Dr. Poirson, with his mania for attempting to introduce homeopathy into the doctrines of the New Jerusalem, brought about a return of the past to the epoch of Bernard and his friends.

However, the American Miss Holmes, having become Madame Charles Humann, took things in hand by:

— giving to the New Church in France a legal existence,
— installing the chapel on Rue Thouin,
— publishing together with her husband, the revue *L’Eglise de l’Avenir*, as well as new editions of Le Boys des Guays’ translations,
— working together with three pastors and many faithful parishioners.

Concerning this, I must remind you of the major role played by foreign Swedenborgians in the New Church in France. The Revolution had swept away the ambiguous work of the *Illuminati in Avignon*, but as early as 1802, the translators Moët, Chastanier, Parraud and Daillant Delatouche were preparing the future of Swedenborgianism in France together with the Englishman Ralph Mather, (who had returned from the USA), the German Heinrich von Bülow, and the Swede Gustavus Knös.

Some fifteen years later, the Englishman Augustus Tulk purchased from Mme. Moët the manuscripts of her late husband in order to have them published so that Captain Bernard and his converts could have access to Swedenborg’s religious writings, complete with Hindmarsh’s
Summary, in the same way that, forty years before, the Abrégé published in Strasbourg had completed Pernety’s and Chastanier’s translations.

Emile Broussais obtained grants from the Swedenborg Society. Louis-François de Tollenaere made contact with Swedenborgians in London, which benefited Le Boys des Guays who, without knowing any English, received considerable aid from the USA and England. As a consequence, the number of foreign subscribers to his Journal exceeded even that of the French subscribers.

The Paris group of the New Church developed as the result of meetings organized during the eighteen thirties in Versailles by Lady Thibault, an English baroness converted to the New Church by the Abbé Œgger, and who in turn converted the Countess De la Taille des Essarts. The service in English directed by the Reverend Bayley brought together about twenty people “representing 14 different citizenships.” Twenty years later, this worship still existed when the American Chauncey Giles arrived to assist Miss Homes in establishing the chapel on Rue Thouin. Edmond Chevrier, who was on bad terms with Madame Humann and her group, became member of a New Church society in London and deposited Le Boys des Guays’ manuscripts with the Swedenborg Society, where I found them in 1964.

The interest that foreign Swedenborgians take in the New Church in France continues to manifest itself. The best proof of this is the publication of the translation of this book into English.

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*See Note 6 in the chapter on “The New Church in Paris.”*