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THEOSOPHICAL HISTORY (ISSN 0951497X) is published quarterly in January, April, July and October by the Theosophical History Foundation. The journal's purpose is to publish contributions specifically related to the modern Theosophical Movement, from the time of Madame Helena Blavatsky and others responsible in establishing the original Theosophical Society (1875), to all groups that derive their teachings directly or indirectly, knowingly and unknowingly from her, or her immediate followers. In addition, the journal is also receptive to related movements (including pre-Blavatskyite Theosophy, Spiritualism, Rosicrucianism, and the philosophy of Emanuel Swedenborg to give but a few examples) that have had the influence on or displayed an affinity to modern Theosophy.

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The Editors assume no responsibility for the views expressed by authors in *Theosophical History*.

The Theosophical History Foundation is a non profit public benefit corporation, located at the Department of Religious Studies, California State University, Fullerton, 1800 North State College Boulevard, Fullerton, CA (USA) 92634-9480 (U.S.A.). Its purpose is to publish Theosophical History and to facilitate the study and dissemination of information regarding the Theosophical Movement. The Foundation's Board of Directors consists of the following members: April Hejka-Ekins, Jerry Hejka-Ekins, J. Gordon Melton, and James A. Santucci.

* * * * *

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Brief communications, review articles and book reviews are welcome. They should be submitted double-spaced.

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Contents

April 1990
Volume 3, Number 2

Editorial

James Santucci 36[33]

Articles

- The Hidden Hand, Part I:
The Provocation of the Hydesville Phenomena
Joscelyn Godwin 38[35]
- Lama Dorjjeff and the Esoteric Tradition
Jeffrey Somers 49[44]
- Service to India as Service to the World: Annie Besant's
Work in India for Human Rights (Conclusion)
Catherine Lowman Wessinger 57[51]

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Editorial

The reader's indulgence is requested regarding the disparity between the issue date and published date of *Theosophical History* (April, 1990). It is our hope that issue and publication dates will coincide by April 1991. In order to accomplish this, the next two issues will be double numbers (July-October and January-April) with commensurate size. We hope that this will not cause you any inconvenience.

The present issue contains three articles, two of which are concerned with the periphery of the theosophical movement. The first, "The Provocation of the Hydesville Phenomena," is by an associate editor of *Theosophical History* and past contributor to the journal, Joscelyn Godwin. Dr. Godwin, the author of the Theosophical History Centre pamphlet (*Theosophy in France*), numerous works on the Western esoteric tradition and music, the most recent being *Paul Brunton: Essential Readings* (Wellingborough, Northamptonshire: Crucible, 1990), is a member of the Department of Music at Colgate University in New York.

The second article, "Lama Dorjjeff and the Esoteric Tradition," is again by a past contributor to this journal, Jeffrey Somers. Mr. Somers, a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, has written numerous articles on Asian topics, including "Japanese Buddhism in Great Britain" for London University's *Religion Today*. Lama Dorjjeff has been the object of Mr. Somers' ongoing research for a number of years.

The final article is the conclusion of Catherine Lowman Wessinger's "Service to India as Service to the World: Annie Besant's Work in India for Human Rights." Dr. Wessinger teaches at Loyola-Marymount College in New Orleans, Louisiana and is the author of *Annie Besant and Progressive Messianism (1847-1933)* (Lewiston/ Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1988).

Turning to the topic of history, I mentioned in the last issue that there is no journal exclusively devoted to the history of the theosophical movement. There is, however, one journal, *The Canadian Theosophist*, under the joint editorship of Ted G. and Doris Davy, that deserves recognition for publishing many significant articles devoted to events and individuals within the movement. One author in particular, Michael Gomes, has contributed a steady supply of material to that journal since 1987, including "Beatrice Hastings and the 'Defence of Madame Blavatsky'" (vol. 68/4-5) and "Studies in Early American Theosophical History" (vol. 69/6 - vol. 71/4). Inquiries should be sent to the editors, their address being 2307 Sovereign Crescent S.W., Calgary, Alberta T3C 2M3.

While on the subject of historical material, the Edmonton Theosophical Society is performing a valuable service by reprinting several rare theosophical books and journals. These include the independent Australian journal *Dawn* (1921-1924), *Psychic Notes* (November, 1881 - March, 1882), and *Solovyoff's Fraud* by Beatrice Hastings. Inquiries should be sent to the Edmonton Theosophical Society, P.O. Box 4804, Edmonton, Alberta T6E 5G6.

Correspondence

We invite comments and observations on the articles that have appeared in the journal. It is our hope that such comments will appear in future issues of Theosophical History. Such communications should be addressed to

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Back Issues

There have been many queries on back issues of both the journal and the Theosophical History Centre publications. Mr. Michael Rainger, the Manager of The Theosophical Publishing House Ltd., has recently informed me that he will be in a position to fill all orders. Requests should be sent to the Manager of T.P.H., 12 Bury Place, London WC1 2LE.

Airmail Postage

Although it is our wish to airmail the journal to overseas subscribers, it is simply beyond our means to do so. We ask, therefore, that those who desire airmail postage remit an additional \$12 a year. An increase in postal rates is expected shortly and this sum will barely meet the added expense.

James A. Santucci

THE HIDDEN HAND, PART 1: THE PROVOCATION OF THE HYDESVILLE PHENOMENA

Joscelyn Godwin

It is common knowledge that the movement known as Modern Spiritualism began on 31 March 1848 in the village of Hydesville, near Rochester, New York. The tale has been told, and told again, of how the Fox sisters acted as mediums for the mysterious raps that occurred in their house; how they developed a code for communication with the rapper; how it told them that it was not “Mr. Splitfoot” (the Devil), but the spirit of a pedlar who had been murdered in the house; and how the discovery of human remains in the basement seemed to confirm that the dead were indeed able to communicate with the living. Within months, spiritualist circles were rapping away all over America, and within a few years the phenomenon had spread worldwide.

Occurrences such as the “Rochester knockings” are common enough in the chronicles of hauntings, and the Hydesville house had already witnessed them some years previously. What was different about the 1848 phenomena was the attempt to communicate with the unseen agent, now regarded not as a pestilent spook or demon, but as a conscious and rational being that had once been human.

Once launched, Modern Spiritualism succeeded with astonishing speed in converting hundreds of thousands who had hitherto doubted the immortality of the soul.

Even for those Christians who already believed in immortality, the new faith promised to replace the prospect of unconscious limbo, until the Last Judgement dispatched them to eternal Heaven or Hell, with a grand vista of eternal progress, combined with loving care for those left on earth.

This must suffice as a sketch of the background. I draw attention here to a suggestion that is found in several sources but little discussed, despite its consequences for cultural and religious history, if there be any truth in it. The suggestion is that the Hydesville phenomena were not a spontaneous manifestation, but something provoked by living persons, acting with no lesser intent than that of changing the world-view of Western civilization.

An early witness to the theory of provocation is the anonymous narrative called *Ghost Land*,¹ surely one of the most interesting books of the nineteenth century and as rich in suggestiveness as Bulwer Lytton’s *Zanoni*. The early chapters of *Ghost Land* recount the experiences of Louis, the narrator, as child medium for a Berlin circle of occultists, “the German branch of a very ancient secret society,” around the 1830s. One of their experiments involved the deliberate causing of poltergeist-type disturbances.

On one occasion, the society having thrown me into a profound sleep by the aid of vital magnetism, and the vapors of nitrous oxide gas, they directed my "atmospheric spirit" to proceed, in company with two other lucid subjects, to a certain castle in Bohemia, where friends of theirs resided, and then and there to make disturbances by throwing stones, moving ponderable bodies, shrieking, groaning, and tramping heavily, etc., etc. I here state emphatically, and upon the honor of one devoted only to the interests of truth, that these disturbances were made, and made by the spirits of myself and two other yet living beings, a girl and a boy who were subjects of the society; and though we, in our own individualities, remembered nothing whatever of our performance, we were shortly afterwards shown a long and startling newspaper account of the hauntings in the castle of Baron von L— —, of which we were the authors.

The mechanism of the experiment was apparently as follows: the young mediums were made unconscious through hypnotism and laughing gas, and their "atmospheric spirits," elsewhere called "doubles," were projected to a distance by the controllers, where they were able to work on the physical plane.

The members of the Berlin circle are presented by Louis as dogmatic disbelievers in the immortality of the soul. Motivated solely by scientific curiosity, they were as indifferent to the effects of such experiments on the witnesses as on their young mediums. Whether fact or fiction, the Ghost Land account takes its place within a long tradition of using children in magical practices, especially for clairvoyance or scrying.

Quite a different mechanism for producing a haunting is described by Bulwer Lytton in his short story "The Haunted and the Haunters," first published in Blackwood's Magazine in 1857. The house in the story is haunted by fearful apparitions that are exorcised only when a peculiar apparatus is found in a sealed safe, and dismantled:

Upon a small thin book, or rather tablet, was placed a saucer of crystal; this saucer was filled with a clear liquid on that liquid floated a kind of compass, with a needle shifting rapidly round, but instead of the usual points of the compass were seven strange characters, not very unlike those used by astrologers to denote the planets. . . . Impatient to examine the tablet, I removed the saucer. As I did so the needle of the compass went round and round with exceeding swiftness, and I felt a shock that ran through my whole frame, so that I dropped the saucer on the floor. The liquid was spilt—the saucer was broken the compass rolled to the end of the room and at that instant the walls shook to and fro, as if a giant had swayed and rocked them. . . .

Meanwhile I had opened the tablet: it was bound in plain red leather, with a silver clasp; it contained but one sheet of thick vellum, and on that sheet were inscribed, within a double pentacle, words in old monkish Latin, which are literally to be translated thus: "On all that it can reach within these walls sentient or inanimate, living or dead as moves the needle, so work my will! Accursed be the house, and restless be the dwellers therein."

Lytton presents us with the idea of forces summoned by ceremonial magic, and remaining active so long as the ritual apparatus is intact. Andrew Lang and M.R. James believed that Lytton had based his description of the haunting on a real occurrence at Willington, Northumberland, but the accounts of that haunting do not contain anything to suggest a deliberate human agency, which is the novelty of Lytton's story.

The exact nature of these forces is unclear. If they are the spirits of the dead, compelled by the will of the living, then it is a special case of necromancy. If they are a detached part of the medium, as in the Berlin experiments, it is what the French call *dédoublement* or bilocation. A third alternative is that the spirits are nonhuman entities, such as elementals.

Henry Olcott was of the last opinion. He had entertained conventional Spiritualist views until he witnessed the changes in phenomena that accompanied the presence of Mme. Blavatsky, both at the Eddy's séances in Chittenden, Vermont, and at the Holmes's in Philadelphia. Towards the end of the book in which he describes these, *People from the Other World* (1875),³ Olcott drops a hint, perhaps at Mme. Blavatsky's prompting:

After knowing this remarkable lady ... I am almost tempted to believe that the stories of Eastern fables are but simple narratives of fact; and that this very American outbreak of spiritualistic phenomena is under the control of an Order, which while depending for its results upon unseen agents, has its existence upon Earth among men. (453–54)

Not long after writing this, Olcott would grow quite accustomed to living in an apartment swarming with Mme. Blavatsky's helpful, and not so helpful, elementals (see his *Old Diary Leaves*, vol. I), and would be learning more about the Order to which she belonged.

So far as I know, none of these theories were applied specifically to the Hydesville phenomena until many years later. In a previous article⁴ I drew attention to C.G. Harrison's *The Transcendental Universe*, a book based on lectures given early in 1893, in London, to the Berean Society.⁵ Harrison, an Anglican, was surely aware that his allegations would be unwelcome to Spiritualists and Theosophists alike: the former, by showing that their whole faith is based on a rather cynical machination by living persons; the latter, by his sensational remarks on H.P.B.'s "occult imprisonment."

Harrison explains the origins of Spiritualism as follows. By about 1840, modern Europe had reached the "point of physical intellectuality" in its evolutionary cycle, involving it in gross materialism. Occultists debated as to whether they should counteract this by revealing that there is an unseen world around us, as real as the world of sense; and if so, how it could be done safely. Experiments were made with mediums, first in America, then in France and Britain.⁶ "But the whole thing was a failure. The mediums, one and all, declared that they were controlled by spirits who had departed from the earth."⁷ Realizing that they had created a Frankenstein's monster,

the occultists withdrew from the experiment but the mischief was done. “The door had been opened to extramundane influences, and could not be reclosed.” The mediums were thereupon manipulated by the less scrupulous occultists, the “Brothers of the Left,” for political or temporal advantage, while the more conservative ones strove to throw discredit on the whole movement.

Among those who noticed Harrison’s book was A.E. Waite, who wrote a lengthy review in his periodical *The Unknown World*, summarizing the tale of “occult imprisonment” and the idea of the deliberate launching of Modern Spiritualism.⁸ But Waite wisely adds that until Harrison, or someone else, comes forward with some proof, we are obliged to suspend judgement on the truth of his contentions.

Sure enough, corroboration “of the most desirable kind” came a few months later, with the publication of a lecture given by A.P. Sinnett to the London Lodge,⁹ and Waite, in his report,¹⁰ emphasizes that Sinnett could not have known of Harrison’s lecture before giving his own.¹¹

Sinnett says that he has received information from persons whom he believes in a position to know, to the effect that:

... in the beginning the development of modern spiritualism was earnestly promoted by a school of living occultists, not the school to which the Theosophical development has been due, but a school of which I should never think without great respect. . . .

I am fully prepared to believe that spiritualism has thus had, from the first, a certain amount of Adept support. Without this, Theosophists will feel pretty sure, a great many of its developments in the beginning would have been impossible. Now, however, the whole system has acquired such momentum, that it has, I venture to think, entirely outrun the original design in one way; though in another—in reference to the effort to show mankind at large, that forces independent of the physical plane are at work around us—it has attained a very imperfect success.¹²

When he came to incorporate this lecture into his book of 1896, *Some Fruits of Occult Teaching*, Sinnett explained the status of the school in question as a “subordinate lodge of occultism.” Such lodges, he says,

merge themselves sooner or later into the main stream, but following the bent of their own individual characteristics some people, gravitating upwards, may move for a long time in the almost exclusive companionship of their own original associates, and may in this way attain to positions of influence on the superphysical planes of Nature, from which they will be doing their best to help on the spiritual progress of others by the light of their own convictions. Now the movement which is known as modern spiritualism has been largely fostered and was practically set on foot in the beginning, by just such an independent lodge of occult initiates of the kind I have been describing. Eventually the whole system acquired such momentum that it entirely outran the original design in one way. . . .¹³

This version of Spiritualist origins reached France the same year (1895); it would reach Germany soon afterwards with the translation of Harrison's book as *Das transcendente Weltall* (Munich, 1897), which Rudolf Steiner read with profit and which, if reports are true, was open on his desk at the time of his death in 1925.

Who were these occultists who, according to Harrison, keep watch over the signs of the times? Neither he nor Sinnett divulges their identity. But a certain Jean Léclaireur, writing later in 1895 of the Comte de Saint-Germain,¹⁴ is not so reticent: he says that the enigmatic Count was a disciple of that Fraternity of extraordinarily evolved men who command the forces of nature, and whose goal is ever the material, moral, intellectual and spiritual advancement of the race. This Fraternity was long unknown except through its secondary branches; in Paris, up to the end of Louis-Philippe's reign (1848), they were called "Nobles Etrangers, Boyards, Gospodassvalaques, Nababs indiens, Margraves hongrois." Another secondary fraternity to which some Westerners have belonged is the Druses, though their field of action is limited to Asia Minor, Arabia and Abyssinia. Today in the United States, a fraternity pretends to be affiliated closely with one of the most powerful paternities of the East: the Brotherhood of Luxor. It has long existed, but in secret. Mackenzie's *Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia*¹⁵ makes it descend from the Rosicrucians, but that is an error: it is of Oriental origin.

Then Léclaireur says, in a perfect summary of Harrison's allegation: "It played a capital role in the birth and the propagation of the Spiritualist movement, which, despite its mistakes, arrested the flood of materialism which threatened half a century ago to submerge the West." He adds in conclusion that since the Comte de Saint-Germain's seed was spoiled by the French Revolution, another has been planted in the Anglo-American world by Mme. Blavatsky.

In mentioning the "Brotherhood of Luxor," Léclaireur gives a most pregnant hint. Going under various names," this brotherhood is supposed to have included several of the early British, French, and American Theosophists, among them Emma Hardinge Britten, the editor of *Ghostland* and a founding member of the T.S. in New York. One might think that it was these of whom Sinnett spoke, as we have heard, with distanced respect.

This theory about the origins of Modern Spiritualism was not much discussed after the turn of the century. It is found again in the long series of articles by Narad Mani, published in an anti-Masonic journal during 1911–1912.¹⁷ Mani says:

. . . from 1848 onwards, under an impulse given by an occult Centre, the fact of communication with the Invisible had begun to be studied practically everywhere, most often in private circles and by means of individuals of a peculiar psychical organization called mediums.¹⁸

The last phrase is taken verbatim from Harrison (28). Many of Narad Mani's facts and opinions would be borrowed by René Guénon, a writer of powerful intellect and inside knowledge who, driven by a fierce contempt for both Theosophy and

Spiritualism, wrote the first of his books against these movements immediately after World War I. In *Le Théosophisme, Histoire d'une Pseudoreligion*, Guénon amplifies the provocation theory by naming the group in question as the “H.B. of L.” —the “Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor,” a later offshoot of the Brotherhood of Luxor or of Light. Guénon alludes to the group as having “played an important role in the production of the first phenomena of ‘spiritualism’ in America,” adding that the H.B. of L. is formally opposed to the theories of the Spiritualists, since it teaches that these phenomena are due not to the spirits of the dead, but to certain forces directed by living men.¹⁹

Guénon is more informative in *L’Erreur Spirite* (1923), saying there that the first Spiritualist phenomena were caused by people acting at a distance, by means only known to a few initiates, members of the Inner Circle of the H.B. of L.²⁰ He goes on to give some alternative explanations: either the H.B. of L. provoked the Hydesville phenomena by using the favourable conditions that they found there; or they imparted a certain direction to phenomena which had already begun; or else the H.B. of L., or another agency, profited by what was going on in Hydesville by acting on the inhabitants and visitors through suggestion. Without this minimum contribution, he says, there is no way to explain why Modern Spiritualism began then and there, rather than at the many other places where strange phenomena have manifested.

Guénon adds that since the beginning of the nineteenth century there were secret societies, apart from Freemasonry, which worked with magical evocations and magnetism; as a source, he refers us to none other than *Ghost Land*. He says that the H.B. of L., or whatever preceded it, was in contact with certain of these German organizations.²¹

Guénon scarcely distinguishes between the various groups with similar names, and his very failure to do so is significant, for it shows that he thought of them as a single entity, called for convenience by the its latest name, the “Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor.” Guénon’s theory, more precisely phrased, is that there was a relationship between (1) the German magical societies of the 1830s such as are described in *Ghost Land*, (2) the nameless group that provoked the Hydesville phenomena in 1848, which he calls the “Inner Circle of the H.B. of L.,” and (3) the “Brotherhood of Luxor,” active around the foundation of the Theosophical Society in the mid-1870s (and not distinguished by him from the *Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor* of the mid 1880s).

So far, we may feel that a semi-identifiable brotherhood is beginning to emerge from all these hints. But we now encounter a parallel stream that attributes the responsibility for Modern Spiritualism to a far different agency. The new theory was first announced by the Countess Wachtmeister in 1897, when this stalwart Theosophist gave an address to a Spiritualist camp meeting near San Francisco in which she revealed the origin and purpose of the Spiritualist movement as it had been explained to her:

A group of Atlantean Adepts, who had brought with them the traditions of that older period of time and the knowledge of Occultism, as practiced in those early days, seeing how the world was rushing down into materialism with rapid strides, noticing how, as persons were developing their intellectual powers, the churches gradually lost their hold upon them, and so having nothing to cling to they were drifting down into materialism, the Lodge determined to stop this terrible downward course; and a spiritual influx was thrown down here into America, and then began the Rochester manifestations, these Adepts being living men, great souls from Atlantis incarnated into the bodies of North American Indians. It was they who brought forward this grand movement of Spiritualism.²²

The purpose of Countess Wachtmeister's lecture was not to shock the Spiritualists, so much as to assure them that a superior teaching had come through H.P.B. from the great White Lodge of the Adepts in the Himalayas; and that mediumistic powers should only be sought in order to put oneself in the service of these divine Teachers and Helpers of humanity.

Years later, Annie Besant showed that she concurred with the Countess Wachtmeister's version of the story, in a series of talks given in India during World War I and published in 1921.²³ In a chapter called "The Yucatan Brotherhood," she gives the fullest version yet of the story, of which I extract the most relevant parts:

Many of you may perhaps know that the impulse which originated the Spiritualistic movement came from the White Lodge itself, and was passed through certain Initiates and Disciples of the Fourth Race; and it is that which gave it its peculiar character. Most of you have doubtless heard of the Brotherhood of Yucatan, in Mexico, an exceedingly remarkable group of Occultists, who came down by definite succession in Fourth Race bodies, maintaining the Fourth Race methods of occult progress. . . . (37)

Their methods have always been—as were Fourth Race methods of the past—those which dealt with the advance of mankind through what is now called "the lower psychism"; that is, through a number of occult phenomena connected with the physical plane and tangible, so that, on the physical plane, proofs might be afforded of the reality of the hidden worlds. . . . (38–39)

Hence, when it was seen that the Fifth Race was drifting into materialism in its most advanced members, the scientific world, and that knowledge was progressing much faster than the social conscience and moral evolution, it was thought necessary to start a movement which would appeal to those who were materialistically-minded, and would afford them a certain amount of proof, tangible on the physical plane, of the reality of the super-physical, of the unseen, though not of the spiritual, worlds. Hence the Spiritualist Movement. . . . (39)

The Yucatan Brotherhood, accustomed to the use of that method [of materialization, handed down from ancient days, took up the guidance of this rescue movement (40)

But when [the sensitives], in a time of ignorance of Occultism, came into the world, and were exposed to all its difficulties without any kind of outer protection, they became the ordinary mediums of the last century, who could not protect themselves at all. They were open to every influence which came from the astral world and from the higher regions of the physical world. Hence they were mostly in touch with the less developed human beings who had passed on, the crowds of average people who throng the lower reaches of the astral world. (41)

Annie Besant's account closely resembles the Countess Wachtmeister's, except that the Atlantean agents are now explicitly placed under the direct guidance of the White Lodge itself.

The status accorded to the initiators of Modern Spiritualism could go only one step higher: and this we find when A.P. Sinnett returns, in a lecture of 1920,²⁴ to the old theme of Spiritualist-Theosophical rivalry, urging a fraternal respect and saying that:

Some of us know now, and all should see how reasonably they may believe, that the Masters of the Divine Hierarchy who instituted the Theosophical movement were equally concerned at a previous date, in setting the Spiritualist movement on foot. It was urgently needed at the time to combat Materialism, and did magnificent work in that direction. If all had gone well it would also have proved a broad highway leading up to its sequel the Theosophical movement . . . (4)

... there are various lines of activity in which the great Masters specialize, to use our familiar phrase, and thus, while two of whom readers of Theosophical books have most often heard, do truly concern themselves especially with the progress of Theosophy, another especially watches over and sympathetically promotes the progress of Spiritualism, as he has done from the beginning of that grand development designed to arrest the poisonous growth of disbelief in any future life beyond the delusive finality of physical death. (10–11)

So the entity behind Modern Spiritualism is now a Master to rank with Koot Hoomi and Morya.

What could have been the source for the Atlantean Adepts theory? By a process of elimination, surely Charles W. Leadbeater emerges as the most likely one. His first experiments in reading occult history took place in 1896, in time for their results to have reached prominent Theosophists; and where else, after all, did Annie Besant get such ideas that have no source in H.P.B.'s works? Our witnesses, of both schools, are virtually unanimous on one point: that the beginnings of Modern Spiritualism in Hydesville were deliberately caused, and nurtured thereafter, by living persons. They agree substantially about the motivations for this action, and about the eventual failure or perversion of the original intent. Beyond there, it seems, we have the choice of Theosophical orthodoxy as it would develop in the Besant-Leadbeater era, giving

ultimate responsibility to the White Lodge; or else the intriguing suggestion concerning a less lofty occult order, the “Brotherhood of Luxor,” whoever they may have been in 1848. A third option that there is some truth in both would involve one in the most complex speculations about the hidden influences on history and on esoteric movements, and may in the end be the most fruitful line to pursue.

Notes

¹ *Ghostland, or Researches into the Mysteries of Occultism, illustrated in a series of autobiographical sketches*. Two parts. Trans. and ed. Emma Hardinge Britten. Part I first published in the *Western Star*, 1872; the whole first in published New York, 1876. Reprinted by Health Research, Mokelumne Hill, CA. I quote from the Chicago editions of 1897, 34.

² Harold Armitage, *The Haunted and the Haunters, with an introduction and an account of the Haunted House at Willington* (London: Simpkin, 1925), 67–69.

³ First Published in the New York *Daily Graphic*, 1874; edition enlarged with account of the Philadelphia phenomena, Hartford: American Publishing Co., 1875, (also reprinted by Health Research).

⁴ H.P.B., “Dorjjeff, and the Mongolian Connection” in *Theosophical History*, Vol. 11, No. 7 (July, 1988): 253–60.

⁵ C.G. Harrison, *The Transcendental Universe: Six Lectures on Occult Science, Theosophy, and the Catholic Faith* (London: James Elliott & Co., 1894). I quote and summarize from the second edition (London: George Redway, 1896). The Berean Society, according to Harrison’s preface, “was in association of students of theoretical occultism, and derived its name from Acts 17:11, which was considered appropriate as indicating, not so much the nature, as the direction of their studies.” Harrison was its President for the year at the time of the lectures.

⁶ In France, the reference is probably to the Cideville Parsonage knockings of 1850–1851; see Robert Date Owen, *Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1860), 272f. In Britain, perhaps this campaign began with the visit of the American rapping medium Mrs. Hayden, in 1852; see Emma Hardinge Britten, *Nineteenth Century Miracles* (New York: William Britten, 1884), 128f.

⁷ *The Transcendental Universe*, 289.

⁸ *The Unknown World*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (15 Nov. 1894): 72–74.

⁹ A.P. Sinnett, “The Phenomena of Spiritualism considered in the Light of Theosophical Teachings,” in *Transactions of the London Lodge of the Theosophical Society* 23 (March, 1895), reporting

a lecture of 21 November 1894. I am grateful to Leslie Prince, founder of *Theosophical History*, for drawing my attention to this and to the lectures by the Countess Wachtmeister and Annie Besant.

¹⁰ *The Unknown World*, Vol. I, No. 4 (15 Nov. 1894): 172–74.

¹¹ Waite says that Sinnett had certainly not attended the 1893 lectures, and that Sinnett’s lecture on 21 November 1894 was given “on the eve of publication [of Harrison’s book], and practically before any copies had been issued.” Waite seems to have forgotten that he himself had reviewed and summarized *The Transcendental Universe* on 15 November, having presumably had a prepublication copy from James Elliott, publisher both of the book and of *The Unknown World*. While I believe that Sinnett did not get the idea from Harrison, Waite seems to protest too much that he could not have done so.

¹² Sinnett, “The Phenomena of Spiritualism considered in the Light of Theosophical Teachings,” *Transactions of the London Lodge of the Theosophical Society*: 15–16.

¹³ A.P. Sinnett, *Some Fruits of Occult Teaching* (London: T.P.S., 1896), 437.

¹⁴ Jean Leclairleur [presumably a pseudonym], “Le Secret du Comte de Saint-Germain” in *Le Lotus Bleu* (September 1895): 314f.

¹⁵ *The Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia of History, Rites, Symbolism and Biography*. Edited by Kenneth R. MacKenzie, IX° (1877): title shortened in his dedication to *The Cyclopaedia of Freemasonry*.

¹⁶ See David Board’s groundbreaking article, “The Brotherhood of Luxor and the Brotherhood of Light,” in *Theosophical History*, Vol. II, No. 5 (January, 1988): 149–57.

¹⁷ Swami Narad Mani, Chef de l’ Observatoire secret européen de la ‘True Truth Somaj’ d’Adyar, “Baptême de Lumière; Notes pour servir à l’Histoire de la Société dite Theosophique” in *La France Antimaconique*, various numbers from 25th year no. 43 (26 October 1911), to 26th year, no. 9 (29 February 1912). This history, although hostile and scandalous, contains information and suggestions found nowhere else in the Theosophical literature. The unidentified author seems to have had access to documents later in Papus’s collection of papers, and I suspect Papus himself of having a hand in it.

¹⁸ “Baptême de Lumière; Notes pour servir à l’Histoire de la Société dite Theosophique,” year 25, no. 43 (26 October 1911): 461.

¹⁹ R. Guenon, *Le Theosophisme* (enlarged ed., Paris: Editions Traditionnelles, 1982), 23.

²⁰ R. Guenon, *L’Erreur Spirite* (2nd ad., Paris: Editions Traditionnelles, 1952), 20.

²¹ Guenon, *L’Erreur Spirite*, 27.

²² Countess Constance Wachtmeister, *Spiritualism in the Light of Theosophy* (San Francisco: Mercury Print, 1897), 89. The Lecture was given on 23 July 1897.

²³ Annie Besant, *Talks with a Class* (Madras & London: T.P.H., 1921).

²⁴ A.P. Sinnett, *Spiritualism as related to Theosophy* (London: T.P.H., 1920); a lecture given at the T.S. Convention, 23 May 1920.

LAMA DORJIEFF AND THE ESOTERIC TRADITION

Jeffrey Somers

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Since time immemorial there has been a myth, and that is not to say that it is not true, that in every age there exists a chain of Masters who are linked with one another and pass, as necessary, esoteric knowledge into this world. This idea or something close to it was put forward by Mme. Helen Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891), who also claimed to be in touch with some of those Masters. I do not have either the knowledge or intention to question what she avowed. This theory that there is a chain of Masters of Wisdom has been put forward in connection with several Teachers and can even be found in forms such as the Khwajagan of the Sufi tradition¹ or that of the Zaddik in Judaism.² The latter term can be roughly translated as “a righteous man” or, more usually, as “a just man.”

The concept of the “just man” first appears in as early as Genesis 6:9: “Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God.” It appears again in Proverbs where it states that, “The righteous man is the foundation of the world.” The Talmud, Judaism's most important commentary on the Pentateuch (the first five books in the Hebrew Scriptures) declares that the world only continues to exist on the merits of the Zaddik and that it always contains 36 of them. In another variation of this story the Talmud states that there are 45, of whom 30 are in Palestine and the other 15 elsewhere.³

The Zohar, Judaism's preeminent Cabalistic work, states that there is one outstanding Zaddik in each age who is akin to Moses and who is the potential Messiah, should his generation be found worthy of redemption. As one would expect the Zaddikim are hidden in each age.

It is surely natural that having heard that Mme. Blavatsky was taught by these Masters or, for example, that someone like Gurdjieff (1866?–1949) studied at a Sarmoung Monastery⁴ we should wish to establish who they were and where they existed. Why, to find the address of the Sarmoung Monastery, cannot we just use the Yellow Pages? It seems so difficult for us to accept that these Teachers and their abodes are necessarily ‘above’ us. If they wish to contact us it is their prerogative. If we wish to contact them it is up to them to decide if they wish to be contacted. By all means in the interest of history and scholarship we can try to ascertain who these Masters were and where they were from.

Perhaps the first thing that has to be said is that historians and people in the West in general like things very cut and dried but in the East matters are not quite like that, reality has other dimensions. I am reminded of the Jewish joke where a boy is asked, “What does two and two make?” His reply was, “Am I buying or selling?”

Similarly in traditional Persia they say, "Take a lie, a myth and a fact and we may get near to the truth."

Now I would like to attempt to examine the life and some associates of Lama Dorjjeff (1854–1938) and consider whether or not he might have been such a Master, and might he have had any connection with Mme. Blavatsky.

Lama Dorjjeff was not the name of the individual whose life we will be examining, at least not his name in Tibet. It is a Westernization of his name or rather a Rus-sification of it and even that we can find in many variations. In Tibet he was known as Ngawang Lobsang; his first name was Dorje and it was to this the suffix was added in the West.

Who was this man and in what manner was he remarkable? We will try to answer these questions. Lama Dorjjeff (let us go on using this version of his name for convenience) was born in 1854 in the Transbaikal region of Buriat Mongolia and was therefore a Russian subject.⁵ His given name, "Dorje," might not have been given to him by accident. It has many meanings in Tibetan, the most usual being the name for one of the chief ritual objects, the sceptre. It is a sceptre with both its ends alike indicating balance or harmony. Sometimes it is referred to under its Sanskrit name, "vajra." It has been applied to many things of an exalted religious character which are lasting, immune to destruction, occultly powerful and irresistible. It can also represent a link between heaven and earth.

When Dorjjeff was fourteen years old, he went to the Ganden Monastery in Urga and started his studies to become a monk. In 1873, at age nineteen, he left Mongolia and entered the college of Tashi Gomang, part of the great monastery of Drepung near Lhasa. It was not particularly unusual for inhabitants of Buriat to come to Tibet to study, but it was not common for them to enjoy the success that came to Dorjjeff. He eventually became a Tsanit Khanpo, which could be roughly translated as a Professor of Metaphysical Theology.

It was not long before his exceptional qualities attracted attention. He received two special appointments to the thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso Pelzangpo (1876–1933). The first was as "The Abbot of the Innermost Essence" and the second as "The Work Washing Abbot." In the former, he was responsible for the philosophical studies of the Dalai Lama's education. The latter was a largely ceremonial position of sprinkling water scented with saffron flowers over the Dalai Lama and over the sacred objects kept near to him.⁶ As one can easily imagine these positions brought Dorjjeff considerable influence over the Dalai Lama and therefore over the affairs of Tibet. There was another side to this. Dorjjeff was often able to be present when some of Tibet's foremost lamas would give spiritual instruction to the Dalai Lama, and so he was able to receive important inner teachings.

Nor were these the only appointments that Dorjjeff received. He was also entrusted to collect donations from Mongolian Buddhists as well as from the Kalmucks of the Stavropol and Astrakhan regions of Russia, they too being followers of Tibetan Buddhism. This meant that Dorjjeff was not always at the Dalai Lama's side but sometimes traveling. The result of this was to give Dorjjeff a greater perception of

foreign affairs than perhaps any other of his countrymen. Thus he became something like the Foreign Minister of Tibet. He writes in his autobiography⁷ of his early views of what we would now call superpower politics. He saw Great Britain as wishing to devour Tibet and at that time he thought that Russia might have a similar idea. He preferred the latter. This was the period which is often referred to as “The Great Game.” Russia was expanding her empire to the South and East and the British Empire covered much of the map of the world in pink. Lord Curzon, then Viceroy of India, began to be worried by intelligence reports stating that the Russians were taking an interest in Tibet and her affairs.⁸

Dorjjeff began to advise the Dalai Lama and other important Tibetans that Russia was the natural enemy of Great Britain and might come to the aid of Tibet and prevent her falling into the hands of the British. He put forward a number of arguments in support of his case including the fact that Buddhism was practiced in Russia (meaning of course, Mongolia and the Kalmuck regions). He was also a great advocate for the idea that Shambhala (a sort of promised land⁹ ruled by a king that would protect Tibet from all its enemies) was Russia, and that that king was the Czar. His argument was helped by the fact that the mythical kingdom was traditionally situated to the North. There has always been among the Tibetans a belief that Shambhala existed and that it could be located. Indeed, many texts give detailed descriptions of it. There are other legends which state that it disappeared from the earth many centuries ago. At a certain point, all its inhabitants became enlightened and the entire kingdom vanished to a celestial realm where its kings continue to watch over humanity and one day will return to save mankind from destruction.

In 1898 Dorjjeff went on one of his visits to the Kalmuck regions and from there went on to Paris where, among other things, he performed a Buddhist ceremony at the Musée Guimet.¹⁰ We may well begin to wonder at this point how someone from so remote a place as Tibet or even from a visit to the Astrakhan region of Russia suddenly turned up in Paris. It is at this point that the plot begins to thicken. Dorjjeff was the guest in Paris of Joseph Deniker (1852–1918), a French national but born in Astrakhan and a fluent Russian speaker. He was the librarian in Paris for the Museum of Natural History as well as being Secretary of the Paris Geographical Society. Because of his linguistic ability and interests he was, at the time, the main link between Russian experts on Central Asia and the West, regularly translating their articles for publication.

Now we arrive at a pivotal figure in the person of “prince” Esper Esperovitch Ouktomsky (1861–1921).¹¹ The first thing to point out is that the title “prince” in Romanoff Russia meant much the same as the title “baron” does in England. He was, therefore, a nobleman, not a royal prince, although strongly connected to the imperial family. As such, he accompanied Czar Nicholas II' as aide-de-camp when he was Czarevitch on his tour of the East in 1890-91.¹² It is here we get a definite connection with the Theosophical Society since Nicholas and Ouktomsky visited its headquarters at Adyar, a suburb of Madras, during their tour on February 7, 1891. Ouktomsky was passionate about the East, particularly the Buddhist East, and there were many who suggested that he was a crypto-Buddhist. His family had various

many who suggested that he was a crypto-Buddhist. His family had various interests in Eastern Russia and he himself collected Oriental art, was a Director of the Russo-Chinese Bank, and a member of the Department of Foreign Creeds, which controlled non-Christian religions in the Russian Empire. Nor did his interests end there. He was also the editor of the newspaper, *The Riga Vedomost*, and a member of the Council of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society.

There is no doubt that Ouktomsky knew Mme. Blavatsky. He referred to her as, "Our talented Countrywoman."¹³ He also translated, or perhaps caused to be translated, Colonel Olcott's Buddhist catechism into Mongolian. Ouktomsky's description of the Theosophical Society conforms with his own outlook;

At the insistence of H.P. Blavatsky, a Russian lady who knew and had seen much, the idea sprang up of the possibility, and even the necessity, of founding a society of theosophists, of searchers for the truth in the broadest sense of the word, for the purpose of enlisting adepts of all creeds and races, of penetrating deeper into the most secret doctrines of oriental religions, of drawing Asiatics into true spiritual communion with educated foreigners in the West, of keeping up secret relations with different high priests, ascetics, magicians, and so on.¹⁴

Ouktomsky provides us with our closest link between all the participants in this story. We can liken him to a gateway, a bridge or perhaps even a key. The Russian advance southwards towards Afghanistan and eastwards through Mongolia towards China was phenomenal as the century turned. Ouktomsky was at the centre of this advance, advocating Russian expansion to the East.¹⁵ Did Russia have designs on Tibet as well? Lord Curzon began to have his suspicions.

Let us begin to weigh the evidence which was disturbing him. We have to look more and more at ordinary exoteric history; in doing so we begin to find yet more connections.

The celebrated Count Serguey Yulyevich de Witte (1849–1915), born in Tiflis and later the Russian Minister of Finance who talked of Russia prevailing "from the shores of the Pacific to the heights of the Himalayas,"¹⁶ "was the son of Mme. Blavatsky's aunt and therefore her cousin."¹⁷ He had been instrumental in organising the finances for the development of the Russian railways, which had helped to a great degree in opening the eastern and southern Russian Khanates.

On October 15, 1900, the official column of the *Journal de St. Petersburg* announced that His Majesty the Emperor had received in audience a certain Aharamba-Agvan-Dorjjeff.¹⁸ The British embassy was taken by surprise and could supply no additional information. One year later, Dorjjeff appeared again and received a great deal of attention in the Russian press. This visit was described as extraordinary and its diplomatic nature was emphasized. Its purpose was described as further cementing the already existing good relations between the two countries. One paper argued that Russia was the only power able to counter British intrigues.

This second mission included eight persons with Dorjjeff as leader. It was received not only by the Czar but also by the minister of finance, Count Witte. The foreign minister, Count Lamsdorff, assured Great Britain that the Mission was purely for the purpose of fostering good relations between Tibet and a country (Russia) which had many Buddhist subjects. The British Government was disturbed, but Lord Curzon more so.¹⁹

In the autumn of 1902 there were rumours of a Sino-Russian agreement regarding Tibet. Since 1899 Curzon had been writing to the Dalai Lama to try to enforce a trade agreement with Tibet which had provision for various trading posts to be set up in that country. These letters were not even acknowledged; therefore, against the background of the Dorjjeff Missions Curzon sent in the troops. Two hundred at first went in during May 1902, but in 1903 a force of three thousand under Francis Younghusband (1863–1942) and J.R.L. Macdonald reached Lhasa by 1904. The Dalai Lama fled through Mongolia to Peking accompanied by Dorjjeff.²⁰ The Dalai Lama was not to return to Tibet until 1910, which was by then a country supervised by Britain. Dorjjeff had not such an easy return. The British never forgave him for what they considered his machinations.

Not long after he left Tibet forever he took up residence in Mongolia and later in St. Petersburg at his most remarkable creation, the Tibetan Buddhist Temple.²¹ This was erected with the permission of the Czar no doubt obtained through the good offices of Ouktomsky, with public donations and with a considerable sum from the Dalai Lama. The structure still stands today, and I understand that under the policy of glasnost it is being converted into a museum. One can hardly believe the perniciousness of the Communists under Stalin, however. The temple was then converted into a vivisection research centre, thereby desecrating it, in Buddhist eyes, in one of the worst possible ways.

I do not want to dwell on Dorjjeff's later life. It continues to show how remarkable he was, but I think we rule out any possible connection with Theosophy in this part of his life. A man of such stature, who had already occupied a place in world history, was more than a match for the local Communist bureaucrats in Mongolia. He even stirred them up by propagating a dangerous theory (to them) which alarmed them considerably. He proclaimed that there was no conflict between Soviet theories and Buddhism either on the ideological or on the practical political level. Some of his disciples went even further by saying that the spirit of the Buddha lived in Lenin and even suggested that Buddha, not Lenin, founded Communism!

Dorjjeff was so learned that in public debates he was more than able to hold his own, quoting often from Communist sources to prove his points. By 1934 Stalin had had enough. First of all, Dorjjeff was forced to leave Mongolia and live in Leningrad as an exile. Then in 1937 he was arrested and put in prison in Ulan Ude, where he died the following year. In effect Stalin had him killed. I recently expressed to a professor of Georgian Studies my surprise that anyone would do such a thing to someone of such an advanced age, only to be told that to a Georgian, as was Stalin, 84 was quite young!

Dorjief then was perhaps the one lama of his time who could speak Russian, Tibetan, Mongolian, some French, some English, and the only Lama to be so well travelled, visiting Tibet, France, Italy, India, Russia, China, Japan and much of Central Asia.²² It has not been possible here with relatively little space to go into all the teachings that Lama Dorjief received and to begin to try to attempt to interpret from these teachings an assessment of his spiritual knowledge, but we can take it that it was profound. Nor have we had time to indicate the fact that he had a great sense of humour. Perhaps just to give a sense of the man we could quote directly from the translation from his preface to his autobiography.

The story of one who looks like a monk but really is a beggar deprived of the jewel of the sacred Dharma. In the thrall of the demon of the eight worldly winds who slinks meaninglessly around the world.

OM Svasti!

What other protector of endless world is there but you
Who sees with single-minded mercy
With endless love and compassion
The endless sentient beings as your only child?

This fortunate person who has met you
Feels entirely empowered by that encounter
May all those for whom this has occurred
Always be with you without separation.

That which is called a "spiritual biography"
Should, on account of the great benefits brought to the world

Through the omniscient and tender teachings revealed therein,
Inspire faith and respect upon just being seen.

But this mess of words recounting my confused deeds:
What is it but a scattered way of seeing things?

Notes

¹ Hasan Shushud, *Masters of Wisdom of Central Asia* (Ripon: Coombe Springs Press, 1983).

² Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1955), 344.

- ³ Gershom Scholem, "The Tradition of the Thirty-Six Hidden Just Men," in Gershom Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), 251–56.
- ⁴ G.I. Gurdjieff, *Meetings with Remarkable Men* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), 90, 149–64.
- ⁵ India Office Library & Records. Confidential file. IOR L/P + S/11/198.
- ⁶ Sir C.A. Bell, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* (London: Collins, 1946), 61.
- ⁷ Unpublished manuscript translated by Stephen Batchelor. This manuscript is due to be published in 1991.
- ⁸ Foreign Office Document No. FO 17 1551/39 and India Office Library Political and Secret File No. L/PS/11/195/PI46/8 .
- ⁹ James George, "Searching for Shambhala," in *Search. Journey to the Inner Path*. Edited by Jean Sulzberger (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1979). See also R.A. Rupen, *Mongols of the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Publications, 1964), 106 [*Uralic and Altaic Series*, Vol. 37].
- ¹⁰ J. Deniker, "A Leader of the Tibetans," *The Century Magazine* 69 (1904–1905): 73–74.
- ¹¹ P.L. Mehra, "Tibet and Russian Intrigue." *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XLV/1 (1958): 28f.
- ¹² Prince Esper Ukhtomsky, *Travels in the East of Nicholas II, Emperor of Russia, 1890-91*. Two volumes (London: Constable, 1896 [vol. I] and 1900 [vol. II]). Also, Henry S. Olcott, *Old Diary Leaves*, Series 4 and 6 (Madras: Proprietors of *The Theosophist*, 1910 [vol. 4] and 1935 [series 6]).
- ¹³ James Webb, *The Harmonious Circle* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 58. There is also some evidence that the Prince and Mme. Blavatsky met at Paris in 1884. See Joscelyn Godwin's pamphlet, *The Beginnings of Theosophy in France* (London: Theosophical History Centre, 1989).
- ¹⁴ Webb, *The Harmonious Circle*, 58.
- ¹⁵ G. Drage, *Russian Affairs* (London: John Murray, 1904), 62.
- ¹⁶ P.L. Mehra, "Tibet and Russian Intrigue," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* XLV/1 (1958): 28f.

¹⁷ Jean Overton Fuller, *Blavatsky and her Teachers* (London: East-West Publications, 1988), 19.

¹⁸ Alastair Lamb, *British India and Tibet: 1766–1910* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 205.

¹⁹ Lamb, *British India and Tibet: 1766–1910*, 210.

²⁰ If anyone wishes to read about this disgraceful episode in British history, I recommend Peter Fleming's *Bayonets to Lhasa* (London: Rupert Hart Davis, 1961), a most readable book.

²¹ W.A. Unkrig, "Aus den letzten Jahrzehnten des Lamaismus in Russland," *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus and verwandte Gebiete*, VII/2 (1926): 149.

²² Deniker, "A Leader of the Tibetans": 73.

SERVICE TO INDIA AS SERVICE TO THE WORLD: ANNIE BESANT'S WORK IN INDIA FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCLUSION

By Catherine Lowman Wessinger

Political Work

Besant saw her religious, educational, and social work in India as necessary preparation for the attainment of Indian self-government. Besant entered Indian politics in 1913, and as with her work for social reform, she felt that she had been commanded to enter this new field of endeavor by the Masters. For Besant, Indian self-government was necessary for India to lead the world into the New Civilization. The connection between India and Great Britain had been providential since it had been the cause of the introduction of Indian thought to the West, and it had brought India into the world community with English being the language with which India would present her religious teachings to the world. But Besant was very clear that the imperial connection had outlived its usefulness and had become detrimental to India, so the time for Indian Home Rule had come.⁶⁹ Home Rule was essential for the important role India was to play in Besant's millennial scheme.

To disseminate the demand for Home Rule, Besant operated two newspapers out of Madras. A weekly, *The Commonweal*, was begun in January 1914, and a daily, *New India*, was started in July 1914. Also in 1914, Besant traveled to England to try to form an Indian party in Parliament. This effort failed but she did manage to arouse sympathy through her public addresses on India.⁷⁰

Besant introduced to India the nationwide use of political agitation as she had learned it in her atheist days from her mentor and coworker, Charles Bradlaugh, who during their association became the first atheist member of Parliament. This political methodology included public rallies and speeches, newspaper and pamphlet campaigns, and litigation. Besant formed her all-India Home Rule League in September 1916. By the end of 1917, its membership had grown to 27,000. Besant's League was strongest in Bombay city, Gujarat, Sind, the United Provinces, Bihar, and southern India, those areas where the influence of the Theosophical Society was great. Her League, as well as Tilak's Home Rule League, demonstrated the importance of having an organization based on a network of local political committees. Many young Indian men, such as Jawaharlal Nehru, were given their first experience of performing responsible political tasks in Besant's League.⁷¹

Besant strove to make Indians conscious of the need for Home Rule and willing to struggle to achieve it. Indians have testified to her success in this regard. An Indian National Congress leader, C. Y. Chintamani wrote that “she stirred the country by the spoken as well as the written word as scarcely anyone else could do.” Padmini Sengupta related how Besant’s example inspired Indian women to take part in the freedom movement as well as work for women’s rights. Gandhi stated that “There seems not a cottage in the country where Mrs. Besant’s Home Rule League is unknown.”⁷²

In Besant’s work for Home Rule, she was very conscious of the importance of promoting patriotism in young people. Consequently, in 1914, she founded the Young Men’s Indian Association in Madras to promote devotion to India as Motherland. She revived an earlier organization known as the Sons and Daughters of India. In 1916, since the Baden-Powell organization admitted only Europeans, she started the Indian Boy Scouts’ Association. These organizations were important to Besant not only to promote patriotism in India, but also to promote a sense of brotherhood and connection with other young people in the world. All of these organizations impressed on their young members the importance of service.⁷³

In 1916, Besant was externed from Bombay Presidency, Central Provinces, and Berar.⁷⁴ On June 15, 1917, the Government of Madras interned Besant and two other Theosophists and coworkers on New India, G. S. Arundale and B. P. Wadia. While Besant was in seclusion in Ootacamund and later Coimbatore, the indomitable Besant spirit seemed to be crushed by the enforced inactivity. But Besant expressed her defiance by designing a Home Rule flag that later developed into the flag of the new Indian nation.

With her flair for publicity and her love of symbols, she had devised a Home Rule flag of green and red, to represent the Moslem and Hindu sections of people, respectively. This later turned into the first flag of Congress, when a white section with a spinning wheel was added to symbolise the minorities and the importance of Gandhi’s cottage industries; only a slight modification was finally necessary to turn this into the flag of independent India. One of Mrs Besant’s first actions on reaching Gulistan was to erect a flagpole and fly her flag upon it. When the flag was raised in the morning and lowered at night, the residents lined up and saluted it.⁷⁵

The whole of India was convulsed with indignation at Besant’s internment, and there was criticism in Great Britain and abroad. Protest meetings were held on a nationwide basis, and Besant’s popularity soared, leading to her election as President of the 1917 Session of the Indian National Congress. Congress had begun to plan passive resistance against the Government when E. S. Montagu made his important but ambiguous statement about the British goal being “the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in

India as an integral part of the British Empire.”⁷⁶ Besant, Arundale, and Wadia were released and they were welcomed as heroes in Madras, Calcutta, and Benares.⁷⁷

Besant’s presidency of the December 1917 Congress Session in Calcutta was the high point of her political career in India. The Session drew a record attendance: 4,967 delegates, and about 5,000 visitors including about 400 women. In her Presidential Address, Besant said “that India is demanding her Rights, and is not begging for concessions.” Besant pled for Commonwealth status for India by 1923 or by no later than 1928. The Congress passed a resolution demanding self-government within an unspecified period.” Under Besant’s leadership, the Congress for the first time addressed social issues, and passed a resolution urging “the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom on the Depressed Classes” Not only was Besant the first woman to be elected President of Congress, she was the first person to make that office a yearlong active position as opposed to “a three-day distinction.”⁷⁹

Besant’s political fortunes turned shortly after the 1917 Congress Session. When the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was issued in 1918, the vast majority of delegates to the 1918 Congress voted to reject the proposed Reforms as inadequate. Besant incurred disfavor by her advocacy of the Reforms as a first step toward Home Rule. Many Indians perceived Besant as turning against the cause of Home Rule. Additionally, as Gandhi became more and more active in Indian politics, Besant felt that she had to oppose his nonviolent method known as Satyagraha. She pointed out that despite professions of nonviolence, violence inevitably broke out in connection with his campaigns. She felt that Gandhi’s followers were not sufficiently mature to adhere to the principle of nonviolence. Besant lost much favor with the Indian public for opposing their new hero, and although she condemned the massacre of Indian civilians at the Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar by General Dyer’s troops, she was wrongly perceived as condoning this government action.⁸⁰

Besant wanted to rely upon constitutional reform to achieve Home Rule for India within an Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations. Commonwealth status for India was a crucial part of her millennial scheme. Besant saw evolution as tending toward larger and larger aggregations of humanity and the Indo-British Commonwealth would be a major step toward actualizing the worldwide brotherhood of all nations.⁸¹ Conversely, Besant saw Gandhi’s nonviolent agitation as a revolutionary method that would destroy the connection between India and Great Britain. Stressing the divisive aspect, Besant most often referred to Gandhi’s method as “Non-Co-Operation.” Besant saw Gandhi’s work and his goal of an independent India as opposing the intent of the Divine Plan which would lead to the New Civilization, so she was compelled to oppose Gandhi⁸² despite the adverse effect on her political work in India. During those times when the stated Congress goal was complete independence and when Satyagraha was employed, Besant withdrew from participation in Congress.

Despite Besant’s loss of popularity, she continued to work for her vision of “New India.” From 1923 through 1925, she orchestrated meetings of a National Convention consisting of 231 Members and ex-Members of the Central and Provin-

cial Legislatures and 24 other delegates to frame a constitution for India known as the Commonwealth of India Bill.⁸³ The Bill was presented before Parliament, but it never received widespread British or Indian support. By this time, Besant's political career in India was essentially over, and the number of articles on the World-Teacher found in *New India* from 1925–1927 indicate that she was focusing more and more on that line of work to achieve her millennial goal. Krishnamurti, now a young man, was beginning to teach in his own right, and Besant's hopes rested on his presenting a religious message that would lead the world into the New Civilization.

Conclusion

All of Besant's work for India was motivated by a deep love for India which she regarded as her motherland. Besant felt that she was an Indian at heart, by faith, and by virtue of past incarnations.⁸⁴ Upon her arrival in India, Besant had adopted as nearly as was possible for her the Indian mode of living and dress. In every aspect of her work in India, Besant approached her projects not as an outsider telling Indians how to improve their country, but as a sincere Indian patriot who wanted to see India "take her right place amid the nations, and fitting her to be the spiritual teacher of mankind."⁸⁵ Besant recognized that Indians themselves had to determine the fate of their country and be intimately involved in the movements for education, social reform, and Home Rule. In Besant's educational work, she urged that Indians determine the type of education that was best for their children. Referring to Besant's social reform work, S. Natarajan acknowledged that "the Theosophical Society must rank among Indian organisations that contributed to the reformation of Indian society, and that one thinks of it as Indian is in no small measure due to the leadership of Mrs. Besant."⁸⁶ Besant was particularly proud of the Commonwealth of India Bill as a constitution framed by Indian lawmakers, and she hoped that it would bring self-government to her beloved India.

If Annie Besant were alive today, she would probably be very pleased at the impact Indian philosophy and Theosophy have had on western popular thought. While she would probably be critical of the manner in which India obtained Home Rule and the manner in which the partition of India was effected, she would probably feel that her prediction that India would become the spiritual teacher of the world is being fulfilled.

Besant's service to India was an attempt to implement enlightenment not only of Indians, but of all people. India was to play a key role in the Divine Plan as envisaged by Besant, whereby India as well as the World-Teacher, J. Krishnamurti, were to present to the world the religious teaching that would bring enlightenment first to the sixth sub-race of the Fifth Root Race, then to the Sixth Root Race, and then to all persons, resulting in a New Civilization based on a sense of unity and brotherhood. Thus India played a key role in the progressive messianism of Annie Besant, and her service to India was meant to benefit the whole world in a very ultimate sense.

Notes

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¹ Sanskrit words such as buddhi and karma which have become anglicized, at least in Theosophical terminology, will not be italicized. Nor will words be underlined that have had wide and common usage in scholarly writings, such as dharma and Satyagraha. Otherwise, Sanskrit terms will be italicized.

² Annie Besant, "The Socialist Movement," in *A Selection of the Social and Political Pamphlets of Annie Besant*, ed. John Saville (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Published, 1970), 24.

³ See my chapter "Millenarianism" in *Annie Besant and Progressive Messianism* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1988) for a more extended treatment of the various types of millenarianism as well as a history of millenarianism and the doctrine of progress.

⁴ Norman Cohn, "Medieval Millenarianism: Its Bearing on the Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements" in *Millennial Dreams in Action*, ed. Sylvia L. Thrupp (The Hague: Mouton and Company, 1962), 31; Yonina Talmon, "Millenarian Movements," *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 7 (1966): 159.

Following evidence provided by Margrit Eichlar, I prefer to stipulate superhuman forces rather than supernatural forces as Cohn's definition stipulates. See chapter entitled "Millenarianism" in Wessinger, and Margrit Eichler, "Charismatic and Ideological Leadership in Secular and Religious Millenarian Movements: A Sociological Study" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1971).

⁵ W. H. Oliver, *Prophets and Millennialists: The Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790s to the 1840s* (N.p.: Auckland University Press, 1978), 20-23; J.F.C. Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism 1780-1850* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, 1979), 7.

⁶ See my “Epilogue” in Wessinger 1988.

⁷ For discussions of the typically Victorian belief in progress see J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into Its Origin and Growth* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1921); E.L. Woodward, “1851 and the Visibility of Progress,” in *Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians*, ed. British Broadcasting Corporation (London: Sylvan Press, 1949); Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957); Frederick Copleston, “Herbert Spencer—Progress and Freedom,” in *Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians*.

For discussions of the typically Victorian desire to ameliorate current social conditions, see Humphrey House, “The Mood of Doubt,” in *Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians*; and Warren Sylvester Smith, *The London Heretics 1870-1914* (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1967).

⁸ Annie Besant, “Why You Should Be a Theosophist,” in *Theosophical Essays* (London: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1895), 4–5.

⁹ Prior to its dissolution in 1929 by Krishnamurti, the Order of the Star had 30,000 members. Bruce F. Campbell, *Ancient Wisdom Revived: A History of the Theosophical Movement* (Berkeley: University of California, 1980), 128.

¹⁰ Arthur H. Nethercot. *The Last Four Lives of Annie Besant* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1963), 16, 23.

¹¹ The few instances where there is evidence of chronological progression in Besant’s thought in relation to India, as for example in her thoughts concerning caste and women, are specifically mentioned in the text of this chapter.

¹² K.P.S. Choudhary. *Modern Indian Mysticism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. 1981), 55.

¹³ At that time, modern education in Ceylon could only be obtained in missionary schools where the study of Christianity was compulsory. Christian baptism was a requirement for government employment, and Buddhist marriages were not recognized as legal. Olcott spoke to large crowds of Sinhalese to raise their pride in their Buddhist heritage. Olcott, through the agency of the Theosophical Society, founded schools in Ceylon where a Buddhist education would be available in addition to modern subjects. Sixty schools were organized during the first decade of work of Ceylon and in the 1960s there were as many as 400 schools. Olcott wrote a *Buddhist Catechism* for the use of students and it went through forty editions in his lifetime. Campbell, 83–84; L. A. Wickremeratne, “An American Bodhisattva and an Irish Karmayogin: Reflections on Two European Encounters with Non-Christian Religious Cultures in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*. 50 (June 1982): 237–54.

¹⁴ Annie Besant, *The Religious Problem in India: Four Lectures delivered during the Twenty-sixth Annual Convention of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, Madras, 1901*, 2d ed. (Adyar, Madras: The “Theosophist” Office, 1909), 116–17.

¹⁵ Annie Besant, *The Bhagavad Gita or the Lord's Song*, 9th Adyar Printing (Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1978); Annie Besant, *Hints on the Study of the Bhagavad Gita. Four Lectures delivered at the Theosophical Society at Adyar, Madras*, 6th reprint (Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1973).

Dr. Nancy Fix Anderson of Loyola University in New Orleans tells of meeting an Indian woman in London who credited her rediscovery of Hindu culture and religion to the writings of Annie Besant. This woman was raised in British Guiana by her parents who had converted to Methodism. She was raised to feel ashamed of Hinduism with its backward superstitions. After moving to London, one day she happened to pass a Theosophical bookstore and saw a copy of Annie Besant's translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* in the window. She went in and bought the *Bhagavad Gita*. After reading it as well as many other books by Annie Besant, she gained a sense of pride in her Hindu heritage while remaining a Methodist. She credited Annie Besant with returning her Indian heritage to her.

While it was not Besant's translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* that had such an impact on the young Mohandas Gandhi, he was introduced to Sir Edwin Arnold's translation by two Theosophist friends in London shortly after having attended Besant's 1889 public lecture, "Why I Became a Theosophist." Elizabeth Lorelei Thacker, "Mahatma Gandhi and the Theosophical Movement," Part I, *The Canadian Theosophist* 64 (Nov.–Dec. 1983): 99–100.

¹⁶ Annie Besant, "Hinduism and Nationality," *New India* (Madras) (9 January 1915): 7. Besant was not blind to the existence of other religions in India and she lectured on their greatness as well. She felt that the peaceful coexistence in brotherhood and nationhood of so many different religions would be India's triumph. Besant, *The Religious Problem in India*, 1–2. But she placed a special importance on Hinduism as India's primary indigenous religion, seeing Hinduism as playing a significant role in promoting a sense of unity and nationalism of Indians from different regions who saw India as a sacred land and took pilgrimages to sacred spots all over the subcontinent. Annie Besant, *Lectures on Political Science*, 2d ed. (Adyar, Madras: The Commonwealth Office, 1920), 65–66; Annie Besant, *The Future of Indian Politics* (Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1922), 7. In Besant's defense for not paying more attention to the political ramifications of the other religions in India, especially Islam, it may be said that in her day, Muslim communalism was not as acute as in the final days before independence, and Jinnah, the future father of Pakistan, was still a member of the Indian National Congress and a close coworker of Besant.

¹⁷ Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest* (London: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1910), 29.

¹⁸ Annie Besant, "India and the World." *The Star* 2 (March 1929): 14.

¹⁹ Annie Besant, *Ancient Ideals in Modern Life. Being the four Convention Lectures delivered at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Theosophical Society, at Benares, December, 1900*, 2d ed. (Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1925), 10.

²⁰ Annie Besant, "Education as a National Duty," in *The Birth of New India: A Collection of Writings and Speeches on Indian Affairs* (Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1917), 100–101; Annie Besant, "The Education of Hindu Youth," in *Birth of New India*, 108–109.

²¹ Nethercot, *The Last Four Lives of Annie Besant*, 62–63, 73.

²² Annie Besant, “The Place of Religion in the Life of the Student,” in *The Birth of New India*, 392.

²³ Annie Besant, “The Value of Theosophy in the Raising of India,” in *The Birth of New India*, 374–75.

²⁴ The Theosophical Society currently does not have statistics on the schools founded by Annie Besant. The Theosophical Educational Trust was merged with the Besant Cultural Trust founded by Rukmini Devi Arundale probably in the 1950s. By then there were very few schools left under the Theosophical Educational Trust, the principal one being the school founded by Besant at Madanapalle, Andhra Pradesh. The current president of the Theosophical Society, Radha Burnier, recalls that there were several dozen schools founded by Besant in India, which were called National Schools. Many of these schools continue to exist, but under new names and probably non-Theosophical administration. Felix Layton, who taught in some of these schools, reports that it was Besant’s policy to found a school and then hand it over to Indians as soon as possible. Burnier herself was a student at the National Girls’ High School in Mylapore, Madras (now called the Lady Sivaswamy Ayar Girls’ School) with Miss Helen Veale as Headmistress.

Since 1912, the Central Hindu Girls’ School (founded by Besant and Francesca Arundale) and the Central Hindu College have been administered by the Benares Hindu University. They continue to operate on their original grounds adjacent to the Indian Section of the Theosophical Society in Benares. After handing over the Central Hindu College and the Central Hindu Girls’ School to the Benares Hindu University, Besant founded the Theosophical National School on the compound of the Indian Section. In 1938 this school was shifted to a new location on the banks of the Ganges and was put under the control of the Rishi Valley Trust, which was connected with the work of J. Krishnamurti. In 1939, the Indian Section founded a new school on its compound in memory of Besant known as the Besant Theosophical School. This school is still functioning and is administered by the Besant Education Fellowship. When the Central Hindu Girls’ School was given to the Benares Hindu University, Besant founded the Theosophical National College for Women, which was later known as Vasanta College. This college operated on the Indian Section campus until 1954 when it was shifted to the Krishnamurti Foundation on the banks of the Ganges, where it is still in operation. In 1954, the Vasanta Kenya Mahavidyalaya, a college for girls, was founded by the Indian Section on its campus to replace the Vasanta College. It is still operating and is administered by the Besant Education Fellowship. (Letter from Radha Burnier dated July 8, 1988; Letter from Dr. C. V. Agarwal dated July 11, 1988; Letter from Seethe Neelakantan dated July 14, 1988; personal communication with Felix Layton.)

²⁵ Besant, “Education as a National Duty,” p. 101.

²⁶ Besant, “The Value of Theosophy in the Raising of India,” 375.

²⁷ Besant, “The Place of Religion in the Life of the Student,” 102.

- ²⁸ Nethercot, *The Last Four Lives of Annie Besant*, 68.
- ²⁹ Annie Besant, *Sanatana Dharma: An Advanced Textbook of Hindu Religion and Ethics*, 3d printing (Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1974). p. viii.
- ³⁰ Besant, "Education as a National Duty," 102–103.
- ³¹ Annie Besant, *The Universal Text Book of Religion and Morals*. Part I (Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1962); Annie Besant, *The Universal Text Book of Religion and Morals*, Part II, *Ethics* (Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1967); Annie Besant, *The Universal Text Book of Religion and Morals*, Part III, Vol. I, *Hinduism* (Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1915).
- ³² Nethercot, *The Last Four Lives of Annie Besant*, 69; Annie Besant, *Shri Ramachandra: The Ideal King. Some Lessons from the Rama vane for the Use of Hindu Students in the Schools of India* (Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1969).
- ³³ Annie Besant, *Duties of the Theosophist, Being three Convention Lectures delivered in Lucknow at the Forty-First Anniversary of the Theosophical Society, December, 1916* (Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1917), 60–61; Annie Besant, *India: Bond or Free? A World Problem* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., 1926), 128–29; Annie Besant, "The Indian Nation," in *The Birth of New India*, 31; Annie Besant, "India's Awakening," in *The Birth of New India*, 18–19.
- ³⁴ Nethercot, *The Last Four Lives of Annie Besant*, 62–63.
- ³⁵ Annie Besant, "From Peace to Power," *The Theosophist* 51 (November 1929): 150.
- ³⁶ Annie Besant, "Britain and India," *The Theosophist* 43 (January 1922): 327.
- ³⁷ Annie Besant, *Ancient Ideals in Modern Life. Being the four Convention Lectures delivered at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Theosophical Society, at Benares, December, 1900*, 2d ed. (Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1925), 70, 72.
- ³⁸ Besant, *Ancient Ideals in Modern Life*, 73. The Hindu caste system consists of four main divisions, known as varnas, and innumerable subcastes. Members of the different castes are supposed to follow the traditional occupations of their ancestors, and they should avoid interdining and intermarriage with members of other castes. The lowest varna consists of the Sudras, the laborers; the next caste consists of the Vaisyas, who are supposed to be the merchants and farmers; next the Ksatriyas, the kingly and warrior varna; and the highest, the Brahmanas, the priests and scholars.
- ³⁹ Besant, *Ancient Ideals in Modern Life*, 72–73.
- ⁴⁰ Annie Besant, *Wake Up India: A Plea for Social Reform* (Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1913), 266–67, 270–72, 274–75.

⁴¹ Besant, *Wake Up India: A Plea for Social Reform*, 267–68, 272–73, 275–77, 282–94; Annie Besant, “United India,” *New India* (Madras) (14 August 1915): 11.

⁴² Besant, *Ancient Ideals in Modern Life*, pp. 78-79, 86-90; Besant, “United India,” p. 11.

⁴³ Annie Besant, “Education of the Depressed Classes,” in *The Birth of New India*, 144.

⁴⁴ Besant, “Education of the Depressed Classes,” 144.

⁴⁵ Besant, “Education of the Depressed Classes,” 145.

⁴⁶ Besant, “Education of the Depressed Classes,” 147-48.

⁴⁷ Besant, *Duties of the Theosophist*, p. 36.

⁴⁸ Besant, *Wake Up, India*, 93–106; Besant, “United India,” p. 11; Annie Besant, “Mrs. Annie Besant: Her Address at Allahabad on Training Indian Youth for Citizenship,” *New India* [Madras] (13 December 1915): 18.

The Theosophical Society still operates a free school for over one thousand poor children at Adyar, Madras, known as the Olcott School, since it is the continuation of a “Panchama School” founded by Olcott in 1894. It has classes from the primary level to high school, and many of its students receive free textbooks and school clothes. The nutritious midday meal has been continued, but is now administered by the State Government. See “Good News for Olcott School,” *Adyar Newsletter* (Nov.–Dec. 1987 and Jan. 1988): 2; “The Olcott Memorial School,” *Adyar Newsletter* (Feb.–March-April 1987): 5. In Annie Besant’s day, as many as five Panchama Schools were operated around the city of Madras. Besant, *Wake Up, India*, 95.

⁴⁹ Nancy Fix Anderson. “Annie Besant in India: The Conflict between Anti-Imperialism and Human Rights,” unpublished paper, 1988; John Seville. ed. *A Selection of the Social and Political Pamphlets of Annie Besant*.

⁵⁰ Besant, *Wake Up, India*, 50, 65–66, 71–73.

⁵¹ Annie Besant. “The Necessity for Social Reform, A Lecture at Cawnpore,” *The Commonweal* [Madras] (25 September 1914): 248.

⁵² Annie Besant, “Girls’ Education,” *The Commonweal* [Madras] (16 April 1915): 286.

⁵³ Besant, “The Necessity for Social Reform, A Lecture at Cawnpore,” *The Commonweal* [Madras]: 248. In regard to the education of girls, the Theosophical Society operated girls’ schools in Benares, Delhi, Kumbhakonam, and Madura. Annie Besant, “Education and the T.S.,” *The Commonweal* [Madras] (12 March 1915): 191.

⁵⁴ Besant. “The Necessity for Social Reform, A Lecture at Cawnpore,” *The Commonweal* [Madras]: 248.

- ⁵⁵ Besant, "Girls' Education," *The Commonweal* [Madras]: 285–86.
- ⁵⁶ Annie Besant, "The Education of Indian Girls," in *The Birth of New India*, 155–56.
- ⁵⁷ Annie Besant, "The Part of Women in the Uplift of India," *New India* [Madras] (16 July 1915): 9.
- ⁵⁸ Besant, "The Part of Women in the Uplift of India": 9.
- ⁵⁹ Besant, "The Part of Women in the Uplift of India": 9.
- ⁶⁰ Annie Besant, "An Appeal: Higher Education for Indian Girls," *New India* [Madras] (1 May 1916): 11. Despite Besant's moderate position on the social role of Hindu women, in 1915, a Madrasi, M. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, published a pamphlet entitled "An Open Letter to Mrs. Annie Besant; Being a Reply to Her Attacks on Hinduism" stating that Besant's goal of individual liberty and education for Indian women "would mean ... the status of whoredom and brothel, not the sanctuary of hearth and home." Charles H. Heimsath, *India Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1964), 330n.
- ⁶¹ Margaret Cousins. "The Women's Movement in India Today," *New India* [Madras] (28 August 1926): 9.
- ⁶² Margaret Cousins, "Mrs. Cousins on Women's Problems at the Y.M.C.A., Bangalore City," *New India* [Madras] (25 September 1926): 8.
- ⁶³ Barbara N. Ramusack, "Catalysts or Helpers? British Feminists, India, Women's Rights, and Indian Independence," in *The Extended Family: Women and Political Participation in India and Pakistan*, ed. Gail Minault (Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1981): 126.
- ⁶⁴ Ramusack, "Catalysts or Helpers? British Feminists, India, Women's Rights, and Indian Independence," 130.
- ⁶⁵ Ramusack, "Catalysts or Helpers? British Feminists, India, Women's Rights, and Indian Independence," 130. Joanna Liddle and Rams Joshi, *Daughters of Independence: Gender, Caste and Class in India* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1986), 21, 35; Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, *Towards Equality: Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India* (New Delhi: Department of Social Welfare, 1974), 299–300; Geraldine H. Forbes, "Caged Tigers: 'First Wave' Feminists in India," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 5, no. 6: 529–32.
- ⁶⁶ James H. Cousins and Margaret E. Cousins, *We Two Together* (Madras: Ganesh, 1950), 331, as quoted in Ramusack, "Catalysts or Helpers? British Feminists, India, Women's Rights, and Indian Independence," 128.

- ⁶⁶ James H. Cousins and Margaret E. Cousins, *We Two Together* (Madras: Ganesh, 1950), 331, as quoted in Ramusack, "Catalysts or Helpers? British Feminists, India, Women's Rights, and Indian Independence," 128.
- ⁶⁷ Margaret Cousins, "Margaret E. Cousins, B. Mus., J.P." in *Annie Besant: Servant of Humanity. Tributes to Dr. Annie Besant, D.L., P.T.S., Servant of Humanity from Representative Indians and Europeans, Special Jubilee Number* (Madras: New India, 1924), 35.
- ⁶⁸ Margaret Cousins, "Margaret E. Cousins, B. Mus., J.P." in *Annie Besant: Servant of Humanity*, 34.
- ⁶⁹ Annie Besant, *India: A Nation*, rev. ed. (London: Home Rule for India League, 1917); Besant, *The Future of Indian Politics*; Besant, *India: Bond or Free?*
- ⁷⁰ R.C. Majumdar, *The History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1963), 361.
- ⁷¹ H. F. Owen, "Towards Nation-Wide Agitation and Organisation: The Home Rule Leagues, 1915–18," in *Soundings in South Asian History*, ed. D. A. Low (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).
- ⁷² Majumdar, *The History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, 363; Padmini Sengupta, *Sarojini Naidu: A Biography* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1966), 148; Thacker, "Mahatma Gandhi and the Theosophical Movement," Part I: 106.
- ⁷³ Nethercot, *The Last Four Lives of Annie Besant*, 232, 237, 255–56; Annie Besant, "The Order of the Sons of India," *New India* [Madras] (30 August 1915): 3; Annie Besant, "The League of Young Nations," *New India* [Madras] (21 February 1921): 6; Annie Besant, "Unification of the Scout Movement," *New India* [Madras] (14 March 1921): 6; Annie Besant, "The Call to Youth: Dr. Besant's Lecture at the Y.M.C.A. Madras," *New India* [Madras] (14 November 1923): 3.
- ⁷⁴ Owen, "Towards Nation-Wide Agitation and Organisation: The Home Rule Leagues, 1915–18," in *Soundings in South Asian History*, 174.
- ⁷⁵ Nethercot, *The Last Four Lives of Annie Besant*, 263.
- ⁷⁶ Majumdar, *The History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, 371, 498.
- ⁷⁷ Nethercot, *The Last Four Lives of Annie Besant*, 265–66.
- ⁷⁸ Majumdar, *The History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, 376, 378, 506–507.
- ⁷⁹ S. Natarajan, *A Century of Social Reform in India*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1962), 81, 148.

⁸⁰ Nethercot, *The Last Four Lives of Annie Besant*, 282–90, 301–302, Annie Besant, “Steps to Revolution,” *New India* [Madras] (26 January 1922): 67; Annie Besant, “The Political Situation,” *New India* [Madras] (20 January 1922): 3.

⁸¹ Besant, *The Future of Indian Politics*, 310–316.

⁸² Annie Besant, “Dr. Besant and Mr. Gandhi,” *New India* [Madras] (21 March 1922): 3.

⁸³ Annie Besant, *The Besant Spirit*, Vol. 3, *Indian Problems* (Adyar, Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1939), 137–55.

⁸⁴ Besant, *Ancient Ideals in Modern Life*, 3; Besant, *Duties of the Theosophist*, 45.

⁸⁵ Besant, *Ancient Ideals in Modern Life*, 3.

⁸⁶ Natarajan, *A Century of Social Reform in India*, 81.