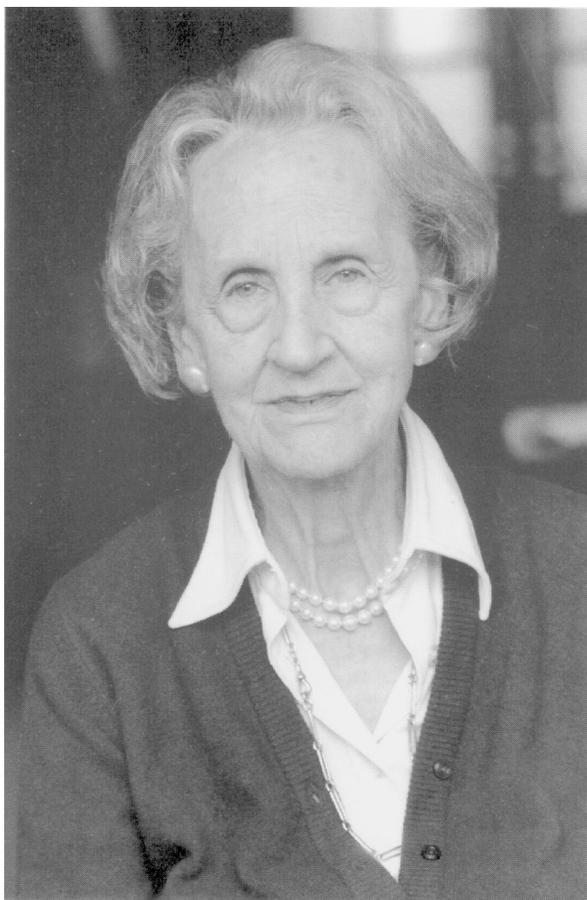


Theosophical History



A Quarterly Journal of Research

Volume VII, No. 7 July 1999
ISSN 0951-497X

THEOSOPHICAL HISTORY

A Quarterly Journal of Research

Founded by Leslie Price, 1985

Volume VII, No. 7

July 1999

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Theosophical History (ISSN 0951-497X) is published quarterly in January, April, July, and October by James A. Santucci (Department of Comparative Religion, California State University, P.O. Box 6868, Fullerton, CA 92834-6868 U.S.A.) The journal consists of eight issues *per* volume: one volume covering a period of two years. The journal's purpose is to publish contributions specifically related to the modern Theosophical Movement, from the time of Madame Helena Blavatsky and others who were responsible in establishing the original Theosophical Society (1875), to all groups that derive their teachings—directly or indirectly, knowingly or 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 an influence on or displayed an affinity to modern Theosophy.

The subscription rate for residents in the U.S., Mexico, and Canada is \$21.00 (one year) or \$38.00 (two years). California residents, please add \$1.62 (7.75%) sales tax onto the \$21 rate or \$2.94 onto the \$38 rate. For residents outside North America, the subscription rate is \$25.00 (one year) or \$45.00 (two years). Air mail is \$35.00 (one year) or \$65.00 (two years). Single issues are \$6.00. Subscriptions may also be paid in British sterling. All inquiries should be sent to **James Santucci**, *Department of Comparative Religion, California State University, P.O. Box 6868, Fullerton, CA 92834-6868 (U.S.A.)*. Periodicals postage paid at Fullerton, California 92631-9998. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Theosophical History (c/o James Santucci), Department of Comparative Religion, California State University, P.O. Box 6868, Fullerton, CA 92834-6868.

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* * * * *

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There is no limitation on the length of manuscripts. In general, articles of 30 pages or less will be published in full; articles in excess of 30 pages may be published serially.

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

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Printed on acid-free paper

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Cover photo: Mary Lutyens. Printed with the permission of Mrs. Amanda Pallant (London)

Editor's Comments

In This Issue

This issue marks the passing of the biographer of J. Krishnamurti, Mary Links (*née* Lutyens), whose death was noted in some detail in the April 13 editions of *The Times* and *The Independent*. Born to a notable family that included her great-grandfather Bulwer-Lytton (Edward George Earle Bulwer-Lytton, First Baron of Lytton [1803-1873]), her grandfather Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton (the First Earl of Lytton [1831-1891], a poet and Viceroy of India from 1876 to 1880), his son and Mary's father, Sir Edwin Lutyens, the architect involved in the planning of New Delhi and for designing the Viceroy's House (1869-1944), her mother, Lady Emily Lutyens (1874-1964), the author of *Candles in the Sun*, and her sister, the composer Elizabeth Lutyens. Although she is best known among Theosophists and those familiar with Jiddu Krishnamurti and his teachings for her numerous books on the philosopher, she was also a novelist in her earlier years, autobiographer, and biographer of her grandfather and father. According to *The Independent*, Mary Links also wrote under the pseudonym Esther Wyndham.

To honor this gifted and gentle woman, two contributions are included in this issue: one from my colleagues at California State University, Martha and Albert Vogeler, who for many years kept up an ongoing friendship with Mary and her husband Joe Links, and by Jean Overton Fuller, who came to know Mary through their respective biogra-

phies of Krishnamurti and Blavatsky. Their portraits introduce Mary more as she appeared in her private rather than public *persona*. The Vogelers also provide an opportunity to celebrate the life and accomplishments of her husband Joe, whose death, sad to say, was ignored by the American press.

The sole article that appears in this issue is John Hamill's "Additional Light on William Stainton Moses and The Theosophical Society," which is based on the existence of eighteen letters written by Moses (1839-1892) to Major F.G. Irwin (1828-1893). From these letters comes information on the reasons why Moses became disillusioned with the T.S. and Olcott. For background material, the article should be read in conjunction with Olcott's *Old Diary Leaves I*, 59-61, 300-303, 310-329 and *The Mabatma Letters* (numbers 9, 27, and 45). The author, Mr. Hamill, is Librarian and Curator of the Library and Museum of the United Grand Lodge of England (London).

Four book reviews are included, including one Internet book, Ananda Guruge's *Free at Last in Paradise*. Internet publishing is a fairly recent development in the publishing world. Much like Internet newspapers and journals, Internet books will most likely become much more popular in the future because of the economics involved. The author of this review,

Dr. Leslie Grey, is a psychiatrist from Denver, Colorado. He has served as Medical Attaché to U.S. Embassies in New Delhi and Kabul. He is the author of *A Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories* (London: Pali Text Society, 1990, 1994, and *Supplement*, 1998). The other reviewers are well known to readers of *Theosophical History*. Dr. Godwin is a frequent contributor to *Theosophical History* and the co-author of *Johann Friedrich Hugo von Dalberg (1760-1812): Schriftsteller, Musiker, Domberr* (1998) and *The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor*. He is also the author of *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (1994), and *The Beginnings of Theosophy in France* (1989) among many other works. Jean-Louis Siémons is the author of *Ammonius Saccas and His Eclectic Philosophy as Presented by Alexander Wilder* (Theosophical History Occasional Paper, Vol. 3), *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian literature (2nd to 6th century A.D.* (Theosophical History Center), and *Mourir pour renaître : l'alchimie de la mort et les promesses de l'après-vie* (1987).

Three contributions by Leslie Price also appear in this issue. The first is an interesting note on Olga Novikov (alternate spelling: Novikoff) and her relationship with the journalist W.T. Stead and H.P.B. Mention too of some Novikov papers suggest another avenue of research for enterprising scholars.

Mr. Price's second contribution is a review of the book, *Light for the New Millennium: Rudolf Steiner's Association with Helmuth and Eliza van Moltke*, edited by T.H. Meyer. This book is of considerable interest because of the relationship of Theosophy with war and the mention of two very important characters in the story: Dr.

Steiner and German chief of staff during World War I, Helmuth von Moltke.

The third contribution confirms Mad. Blavatsky's claim that pagans were persecuted in the latter days of the Roman Empire. As Mr. Price makes clear, it is supported by a recent book by Ramsay MacMullen.

* * *

The Making of America Web Site

A massive web-site that is rapidly becoming an invaluable resource tool for historians of the United States is the University of Michigan's "Making of America" site. This is a digital library consisting of some 1,600 books and 50,000 journal articles (a total of 5,000 volumes) published from 1850 to 1877. All the material has been scanned in through Optical Character Recognition (OCR), making it possible for the viewer to access both images and texts. Phase II of the project is under way and is scheduled for completion in 2000. Over 2,000,000 pages will be added, primarily from the University of Michigan Library's Buhr storage facility. The subject matter of these sources include education, psychology, American history, sociology, science and technology, and religion.

The importance of this website was immediately evident because of the accessibility of numerous forms of search strategies. Both "Search" and "Advanced Search" modes are present. Of the two, the Advanced Search mode is far more effective. One can use a number of search mechanisms: Boolean, Proximity, Fre-

quency, or Bibliographic. There is every promise that new and even unexpectedly valuable material will be located. As a test, I checked to see if there were any entries under George Henry Felt, Henry Olcott, H.P. Blavatsky, Theosophy (Theosophical):

- *George H. Felt*, the subject of my article appearing in the July 1997 issue of *Theosophical History*, turns up in *Appleton's Journal*, which adds one more morsel of information about his work on the "Kaballah." I had mentioned in the *TH* article that Felt's book, "The Lost Canon of Proportion of the Egyptians," which was scheduled to be published by J.W. Bouton sometime in 1876 or 1877 and which so excited Col. Olcott that he suggested the formation of a society that was later to become the Theosophical Society, was actually known and commented on as early as 1872. What was *not* mentioned or known was an announcement that "The Lost Canon of Proportion of the Egyptians" was to be published by James R. Osgood & Co., probably in 1873. This discovery appeared in "Literary Notes" of *Appleton's Journal* 8/8 (Oct. 26, 1872): 471. This announcement confirms the title of the work, it proves that it was well-known in selected circles, and it discloses that it was scheduled to be published at least three years prior to the Bouton announcement. The mystery remains, however, as to why it was never published and whether a manuscript or remnants of the manuscript still exists or ever existed.
- *Ernst Haeckel*, the well-known zoologist and evolutionist, is mentioned in Merwin-Marie

Snell's "Parseeism and Buddhism," *The Catholic World* (Jan 1888): 451-457 in an unexpected way. The article, which was located while searching for references to Henry S. Olcott, quoted Haeckel as stating that the Buddhist theory of eternity of matter and force agrees with the latest inductions of science (*circa* 1888). Olcott, incidentally, is the focus of the article because of *The Buddhist Catechism*. This agreement between science and Buddhism also raises the name of Elliot Coues, a former member of the T.S.

- *H.P. Blavatsky* and *Theosophy* (appearing in A.A. McGinley's "Theosophy: Its Leaders and its Leadings," *The Catholic World* 66/391 (Oct 1897): 34-51) are both discussed in an entirely expected negative manner. Blavatsky is called an "unwieldy and ill-tempered Russian mystic." Mention of the teachers of the Ancient Wisdom as described in "[m]odern" or "reincarnated Theosophy" is criticized, especially since Christ and Buddha are given equal status.

Obviously, this is a source that cannot be ignored. The web-site address <http://www.umdl.umich.edu/moa>.

* * * * *

"Religioni e Movimenti"

Readers of Italian might be interested in an excellent series of short books on religions (primarily new religious) and quasi-religious movements. The series is under the supervision

of Massimo Introvigne, the Director of CESNUR (Center for Studies on New Religions, Turin) and edited by ELLEDICI (10096 Leumann, Torino). Its mission is to offer an overview of the origin, history and doctrines and whatever else may be of value in the individual movements. As of this writing, seventeen titles have been published:

1. Massimo Introvigne, **Il satanismo**
2. PierLuigi Zoccatelli, **Il New Age**
3. Jean-François Mayer, **Il Tempio Solare**
4. Massimo Introvigne, **Heaven's Gate. Il paradiso non può attendere**
5. Massimo Introvigne, **La Chiesa dell'Unificazione del reverendo Moon**
6. J. Gordon Melton, **Dai Bambini di Dio a The Family**
7. Massimo Introvigne, **La massoneria**
8. Pietro Cantoni, **Cristianesimo e reincarnazione**
9. Luigi Berzano, **Damanhur. Popolo e comunità**
10. Massimo Introvigne, **I protestanti**
11. Silvia Scaranari Introvigne, **L'Islam**
12. J. Gordon Melton, **La Chiesa di Scientology**
13. Karel Dobbelaere, **La Soka Gakkai. Un movimento di laici diventa una religione**
14. Régis Dericquebourg, **La Christian Science**
15. Michael Homer, **Lo spiritismo**

16. Antoine Faivre, **Esoterismo e tradizione**
17. James Santucci, **La Società Teosofica**

Future titles will include **Sûkyô Mahikari, Il sufismo, Rajneesh e il suo movimento, I raeliani, I culti dei dischi volanti, I baha'i, Gli Hare Krishna, and La Chiesa ortodossa.**

There is good news for English readers. Negotiations are now under way to print the series in English. If successful, there will be nine titles appearing as early as next year. The whole concept of publishing accessible (both monetarily and lengthwise) works on the above subjects makes this a truly unique and valuable series. It will be especially useful for university classes on this topic; it will also offer non-specialists an informative introduction into subjects that are generally not discussed in a fair-minded and academic manner.

* * *

Le dottrine segrete

The Center for Studies on New Religions (Turin), the Program of the Sociology of Religion (in Political Science) at the University of Turin, together with support from the Region of Piedmont sponsored a half-day conference, entitled "Le dottrine segrete—Esoterismo, Teosofia, New Age," in the Circolo degli Artisti in Turin on May 7. The purpose of the conference was to introduce two new publications of the "Religioni e movimenti" series mentioned above: *Esoterismo*

e tradizione by Antoine Faivre (Sorbonne) and *La Società Teosofica* by the editor. The program consisted of presentations by the authors on their respective subjects (“Esoterismo e tradizione” and “La Società Teosofica ieri e oggi”) and of two additional presentations by PierLuigi Zoccatelli (CESNUR) and Luigi Berzano (University of Turin), respectively “Il paradigma esoterico e il New Age” and “Il terziario esoterico in Piemonte.” In addition to these presentations, the General Secretary of the Italian Theosophical Society and editor of *Rivista Italiana di Teosofia*, Dr. Antonio Girardi, offered comments on my book.

It was a most enjoyable conference for the participants. My gratitude to the Director of CESNUR, Massimo Introvigne, for his efforts in arranging the conference and for translating my talk into Italian. Also, my special thanks to PierLuigi Zoccatelli for translating the text of *La Società Teosofica* into Italian and for his many suggestions in helping to improve the work.

* * *

CESNUR: 13th International Conference

CESNUR (The Center for Studies on New Religions) held its annual international conference at Bryn Athyn College of the New Church in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania from June 2 to June 5. The general theme was “Religious & Spiritual Minorities in the 20th Century: Globalization and Localization.” A number of well-known scholars presented papers on various topics, including J. Gordon Melton (“The Rise of the

Study of New Religions”), Eileen Barker (“Multinational Communities”), Jean-François Mayer (“New Religious Movements: Facing the Challenges of the Internet”), Philip Jenkins (“The Great Anti-Cult Scare 1925-1945”), and James Richardson (“European Parliamentary Reports on Cults and the Brainwashing Argument”). Michael Homer introduced the film “Fairy Tale: A True Story” with an overview of the events that took place in the English village of Cottingley in 1917 and 1920. Readers may wish to consult *Theosophical History* VI/2 (April 1996) and VII/2 (April 1998) for Mr. Homer’s synopsis of the episode and the movie.

The next CESNUR conference will be held in Riga, Latvia on August 29-31, 2000.

* * * * *

Associate Editor's Comments

Leslie Price

Another Russian Agent?

It may be recalled that Madame Blavatsky produced bell sounds in London in 1884.¹ Among the possible witnesses I cited was Madame Novikoff, a Russian lady who had settled in London. The link between her and H.P.B. would be worth exploring, and I hope there may be relevant papers in U.K. public records.

Meanwhile, let us welcome a discussion of Olga Novikoff, including a cover photograph, in the Newsletter of a journal devoted to the journalist W.T. Stead.² It seems, incidentally, that some remnants of the Novikoff papers are now in the possession of Gladstone's biographer, Professor H.G.C. Matthew at Oxford, while Grace Eckley tells me in a letter of May 24, 1998 that there are more at the Spencer Research Library, the University of Kansas. Anne Taylor quotes from the letters from Stead to Novikoff in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Madame Novikoff (1840-1925), who came to London in 1868, was influential in shaping British policy towards Turkey and Russia, especially through Gladstone, the Liberal Party leader, and through Stead, whose career she greatly advanced.³

As Ms Eckley shows, historians have not always given her the prominence she deserves, having been diverted in part by scurrilous suggestions of impropriety with Gladstone.

Both Novikoff and Blavatsky were accused of espionage.⁴

Novikoff appears to have decisively affected the development of the Theosophical Society. In 1888 she invited Stead to accompany her to meet H.P.B., who was dying to meet him. Because of his pro-Russian sympathies, Stead eventually complied, and they got on well. Stead subsequently gave the review copy of *The Secret Doctrine* to Annie Besant.⁵

* * *

Light for the New Millennium: Rudolf Steiner's Association with Helmuth and Eliza von Moltke. Edited by T.H. Meyer. London: Rudolf Steiner Press, 1997. Pp. xlii +338. ISBN 1-85584-051-0. £22.50.

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 was a pivotal point in world history, and Dr. Rudolf Steiner was a friend of a central participant, Helmuth von Moltke, German chief of staff, who was dismissed after the German western offensive faltered. In the fraught atmosphere of German recriminations, it was later suggested in Germany that Dr. Steiner had adversely influenced the attack. In 1919, Dr. Steiner attempted to have published some reflections by von Moltke on war blame (together with his own comments), but the German

military successfully pressured him not to.

This English edition of a German original presents in edited form the contents of two volumes of documents by and about von Moltke and his wife Eliza and their relationship with Dr. Steiner, including some post-mortem communications from von Moltke, who died in 1916. It is, therefore, of considerable historical importance, and it is difficult to recall another case of a person with Theosophical connections being involved so closely with world-wide exoteric history.

We are, I think, meant to feel some sympathy with von Moltke as a sensitive soul, caught up in tragic events. However, he is undoubtedly lacking in any sense of national guilt. "Never before has a more righteous war been waged by any state and never has it affected a people more strongly moved by ideal aspirations," wrote von Moltke in November 1914 (102).

Perhaps because of the horrors of the Second World War, we forget the shock to the civilized world of German behavior in August 1914, when it invaded a neutral country, visiting unprecedented destruction on it. Let me use a source conveniently available on both sides of the Atlantic. On August 5, 1914, the Germans executed a number of Belgian priests who had encouraged resistance to the invasion. After Belgian snipers began shooting German soldiers, the invading forces began rounding up and shooting groups of villagers: men, women, and children. The Germans set fire to the university library at Louvain. "We will teach them to respect Germany," declared a German officer.⁶

Britain declared war on Germany, as it had warned as early as 1870, because Belgian neutrality, guaranteed by treaty, had been violated by the German invasion. Von Moltke, however,

speaks of brutal English interests determined to be hostile to Germany, and self-seeking actions using this merely as a pretext (105). He does not seem to have any sense of the wickedness of invading a neutral country, nor of the very heavy price paid by the countries such as Britain who came to the defence of Belgium. War memorials with hundreds of names in every town in Britain are a reminder of this.

Dr. Steiner's views are more nuanced. He was in 1919 very critical of German politics as they were in 1914 and argues that the German people had not intended war. It is tragic that his analysis on p. 93f. of how the military was wrongly allowed to determine German policy in 1914 was suppressed under pressure from that military.

The publication of this material is an important contribution not only to our understanding of the life of Dr. Steiner but to the continuing theme of Theosophy's relationship to war.⁷

* * *

Ancient Pagans Persecuted

In her Introduction to *The Secret Doctrine*, Madame Blavatsky wrote with some force about the days of the Roman Emperor Constantine, in which pagans began to be persecuted by the newly Christian empire.⁸

Was HPB exaggerating? The reader of a new account of the persecution will find her account supported in chilling detail.⁹

Macmulllen regrets (2) that until recently historians had tended to treat the capture of the Roman Empire by the Christians as a single event. In fact it was a struggle over centuries. Christians perhaps formed only ten percent of the population at first.

But the effect on literature was enormous. Sometimes non-Christian writings were destroyed in bonfires in town squares. Copyists were discouraged from replacing them by the threat of having their hands cut off” (4).

The effect on history writing was pernicious. Following the church historian Eusebius “all sorts of details were bent out of shape or passed over, events were entirely suppressed, church councils deliberately forgotten until in recent times even the wrong saint and pope might vanish from the record” (5).

Although the intensity of the persecution varied according to place and time, pagan believers in the Eastern Empire were actually crucified in several places, including Baalbek.

There can be no doubt that the difficulties we encounter in discovering the origins of Theosophy can be found in that era.¹⁰

Notes

¹Leslie Price, “SPR Archives: Astral Bells in Notting Hill,” *Theosophical History*, 1/2 (April 1985): 25-35. The Novikoff quotation was from F. Arundale, *My Guest—H.P. Blavatsky* (Adyar, Madras: Theosophical Publishing House, 1932), 35-38.

²Grace Eckley (editor), “Missing Motivations in the Gladstone Biographies,” *NewsStead (sic): a Journal of History and Literature*, 12 (Spring 1998): 4-7. This journal is sponsored by the William T. Stead Memorial Society. The links between Stead and Theosophy were many, and may be conveniently approached through W.T. Stead, *Annie Besant: a Character Sketch 1891* (Adyar:TPH, 1946), which has a foreword by C. Jinarajadasa. Anne Taylor’s recent biography *Annie Besant* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) cites letters suggesting Mrs. Besant was for a time infatuated with Stead.

³Documented in W.T. Stead, *The M.P. for Russia: Reminiscences and Correspondence of Madame Novikoff*, 2 vols.

(London: A. Melrose, 1909). Stead’s secretary, Edith Harper, sorted this correspondence; see her personal reminiscences, *Stead the Man* (London: Rider, 1914), 78. Eckley also cites Joseph O. Baylen, “Madame Olga Novikov, Propagandist,” *American Slavic and East European Review*, 10 (Dec. 1951): 255-71.

⁴Paul Johnson, *The Masters Revealed* (Albany, New York: SUNY Press, 1994), 232 has noted H.P.B.’s response, in her “Are all Russian Ladies Russian Agents?” *Pall Mall Gazette* (3 January 1889), also in the *Blavatsky Collected Writings*, vol. X, 291-95. H.P.B.’s denial of political interests is somewhat overdone.

⁵Stead’s account is quoted in Estelle W. Stead, *My Father: Personal and Spiritual Reminiscences* (London: Heinemann, 1913), 154-56. This is probably an attempted extract from Stead, *The M.P. for Russia*, 130-33 cited in note 3, which had extra detail of Novikoff’s attempt to help H.P.B. with the Governor of Madras. W. T. Stead had printed the full text of a sarcastic reply to N. about H.P.B. from Grant Duff.

⁶Jay Winter and Blaine Baggett “1914-18,” 65f (BBC Books, 1996: to accompany the TV series co-produced with KCET, Los Angeles).

⁷Robert S. Ellwood, “Theosophy on War and Peace,” *Theosophical History*, VI/1 (January 1996): 21-36.

⁸H.P. Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine* (Los Angeles: The Theosophy Company, 1974, rept. of the original 1888 edition), xl - xlv. The implications of this were considered by J.H. Dubbink, “Presidential Address (to the Theosophical History Centre, 1988),” *Theosophical History* III/1 (January 1989): 15-26.

⁹Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997).

¹⁰Jean-Louis Siémons, *Theosophia in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature* (London: Theosophical History Centre, 1988).

* * * * *

Communications

Mary Lutyens: Reminiscences

Jean Overton Fuller

In the death of Mary Lutyens (London, 9 April 1999) is the loss of a friend to truth. Born in London, 31 July 1908, she was the daughter of Sir Edwin Lutyens, the architect, and Lady Emily, the daughter of Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton, the first Earl of Lytton, Viceroy of India from 1876 to 1880.

Though her background was somewhat grand, I found myself received in her London home by as simple, open, and unpretentious a human being as I have ever met. Though she and her mother had followed Krishnamurti in leaving the Theosophical Society, she had not become its enemy, and I was struck by the extreme care she took to be accurate and not to go beyond her own knowledge. She did not feel in Leadbeater the positive goodness she had felt in Mrs. Besant, but knew nothing to support the grosser charges against him. He told her she had passed her probation and was—she could not remember the term used and said, “He can’t get rid of you!” and we both laughed, and I said, “Accepted.”

She was a trifle concerned as to her own deserts. “There is the feeling that one was given a lot and didn’t do much with it.” Seeing on film a black woman with a half-starved baby on her back, she wondered if she would come back as one of those, “a piccaninny.” How would she like that? I thought it would be more likely she

would come back amongst the people who had been important to her in this life.

It was 18 August 1988. I had been in correspondence with her since February 1983, when I wrote to her concerning something she had said in *The Years of Fulfilment*, but now my *Blavatsky* was out, and she had done me the honor to buy and read it. She said a biography of Krishnamurti was needed. I protested that she had written one, in three volumes. She felt they were rather a tissue of Lutyens family reminiscences. I said, that was what gave them their value, of personal testimony. She felt there was room for another book yet to written on him. “A Biography! *You* write it.” (I had been researching for a general survey of the post-Blavatskyan scene, admittedly with Krishnamurti as the principal character, but it was partly this direct exhortation from her which later decided me to scrap the chapters on the lesser personages and do just that.)

She had, she told me, been greatly restricted by the libel laws, which made it impossible to treat the relations between Krishnamurti and Rajagopal and the latter’s ex-wife, Rosalind, during their life-times. She had set it all down, but it could not be published till after they were both dead. I said, “But if you go first. . . .” She assured me she had left instructions for its posthumous publication. If it came out after her

death but before theirs, “they could come against my daughter,” her lawyer had told her.

A knock on the door heralded the entry of Joe, to ask if our conversation had reached a point at which we could break off for lunch. Joe—Joseph Links—was her husband. We rose and followed him into the dining-room, where he ladled onto our plates the vegetarian dish he had cooked for us. On the walls of the dining-room were some small pictures that looked to me like Canalettos. I made some comment on them and asked if he had seen the Canalettos in the Soane Museum. He said it was a building rather dark inside, and to be appreciated they needed to be seen in a better light. (It was only afterwards that Timothy d’Arch Smith told me that Joseph Links was an expert on Canaletto, the author of the authoritative catalogue of his works.) He talked a bit about Venice. He and Mary had stayed at all the places Ruskin and Effie stayed—her pre-Krishnamurti books included *Effie in Venice* and other studies of the Ruskins, and they went to Venice regularly. Was it (it was Timothy d’Arch Smith who suggested this to me) mere accident that the part of London in which they had bought this house was, because of its proximity to the canal, known locally—to taxi-drivers and the like—as “Little Venice?” Had they, I wondered, a link with the Venetian Chohan?

It was Joe who drove me afterwards to my coach. He said they both had had strange lives. “Especially Mary.” About Krishnamurti, he said—in an almost mystical voice that seemed to belie the words—“I do *not* understand the teaching—and I don’t think Mary does—but I got on well with him at a personal level.”

Mary had said to me earlier that if one felt sometimes that one didn’t know what his teach-

ing was, “One knows very well what he would reject.” This, actually, seemed to me a right way of understanding Krishnamurti, who does work so much upon the principle of negating the false rather than attempting to define the true.

We kept in touch, by letter and telephone. She was furious with Peter Washington over his portrayal of Krishnamurti in *Madame Blavatsky’s Baboon* and thanked goodness that when he asked her for photographs of him she had asked to see his book in manuscript before deciding—after doing which she had of course refused him. She had written to the press, and written also a very long personal letter to him.

But far deeper was her concern—one could say her anguish—over Radha Rajagopal Sloss’ *Lives in the Shadow with J. Krishnamurti*. I happened to see a trailer for this in *The Observer*. Immediately, I rang Mary. Should I write to the Editor or to the *Times* or other organ, or would she prefer to be the person to do that. “You are the person who was close to Krishnamurti. I’ll be guided by you in this. I’ll do what you want. Write or keep quiet.” She said she had been in touch with Brockwood about it. Their feeling was for not making any response. Controversy would increase publicity “Don’t give it oxygen.” I just wanted from her factual information on one or two points, so that I could know the ground we would be defending on.

But the amount of attention the book received began to make it desirable that the voice of Krishnamurti’s friends should be heard. Rajagopal and Rosalind both died, so it was possible for Mary to get her book *Krishnamurti and the Rajagopals* into print. It was published by the Krishnamurti Foundation of America, in

Ojai, in 1996. I wrote a review of it, and whilst doing so rang Mary to ask further information on one point. She began answering the phone but then the receiver was taken by Joe, who said, for her, "If she hasn't put it in the book, she doesn't know." She was, he explained, in bed and so weak that to hold the telephone strained her. She was, however, very relieved that I liked the book, as from another person she has received "a nasty letter."

My review appeared in *The Theosophical Journal* (London) in the November-December issue of 1997. I sent her a copy but hardly expected a reply to it, for a grave blow had just fallen upon her. When I found myself reading the obituary of Joe Links (died 1 October 1997) I did not know how she would survive the loss of his support. Yet I received, for the review as for my note of condolence, a brief letter saying "Thank you."

I think the chief concern of her last years was that truth should be on record. She was a very loyal person.

* * * * *

Communications

Mary Lutyens and J.G. Links: An Appreciation

Martha S. Vogeler with Albert R. Vogeler

My husband Albert and I counted Mary and her husband J. G. Links as friends, though that was due to their warmth and kindness rather than to the intimacy of our acquaintance. A high point of our trips to London was calling to see them in their book and art-filled top-floor flat on Hyde Park Street, and, in later years, in their garden flat in St. John's Wood. Our first meeting, however, occurred in 1970 at Blackdown Cottage, their idyllic country retreat in an isolated corner on the Surrey-Sussex border. I had addressed a letter to the "occupant" of the cottage, not aware of who that might be. I wished to ask if anything was known about the tenancy there of the Victorian Positivist Frederic Harrison, whose biography I was writing. In reply, J. R. Links, the "occupant," explained on a postcard that the cottage was owned by his wife, Mary Lutyens, whose work on John Ruskin he thought might be familiar to me since I had mentioned my interest in Victorian literature.

I was indeed familiar with *Effie in Venice* (1965), Mary Lutyens' edition of unpublished letters written by Ruskin's wife early in their marriage, and *Millais and the Ruskins* (1968), about the Pre-Raphaelite painter whom Ruskin befriended and Effie married after their divorce; and I would soon read *The Ruskins and the Grays* (1972), depicting the marriage and fami-

lies of that mismatched couple. (When we accepted Mary and Joe's invitation to call on them at Blackdown Cottage, Al noted with some surprise the original Ruskin drawings hanging in the guest washroom.) Mary's graceful use of manuscript material is also evident in her edition of the correspondence of Millais and Holman Hunt for the Walpole Society (1974); her introduction to John Everett Millais' illustrated edition to *The Parables of Our Lord* (1975); and her fine press edition with Malcolm Warner of Millais' *Highland Sketchbooks* (1983).

Mary told the story of her own parents' troubled marriage in *To Be Young* (1959), which includes an intimate portrait of Krishnamurti in his youth. Her father, Sir Edwin Lutyens, the greatest British architect of the first half of this century, was often away from home, especially in the 1920s, when he was the leading architect of the New Delhi government buildings. But when he was with the family he raised its level of gaiety exponentially! I think his wit and love of fun left their mark on Mary. She liked to laugh. The photograph with her obituary in *The Daily Telegraph* (13 April 1999) displays the wonderful grin that in earlier years must have lit up her face in response to her father's impromptu humorous sketches and whimsical comments, some of which enliven the text of her *Edwin Lutyens, by His Daughter* (1980). She



Mary Lutyens

was, however, closer to her mother, Lady Emily Lutyens, daughter of the First Earl of Lytton, poet and Viceroy of India from 1876 to 1880. Mary would tell his story in *The Lyttons in India* (1979), and that of his widow's later years in *Lady Lytton's Court Diary, 1895-99* (1961). The final exemplar of Mary's genius for family history was *Edward and Elizabeth* (1996), written in her late 80s about Lady Lytton's sister, Mrs. C.W. Earle, author of *Pot-Pourri from a Surrey Garden* and *Memoirs and Memories*, once ubiquitous in English second-hand book shops. Meanwhile, Mary's elder sister Elisabeth added her own luster to the family name as an avant-garde composer.

As readers of *Theosophical History* know, Mary's mother became a convert to Theosophy in 1910. The next year she was among Annie Besant's English followers who welcomed her and fifteen-year-old Jiddu Krishnamurti, or Krishna as he was then called, whom Mrs. Besant had brought to London to be educated. He had been discovered in India by Theosophists who believed he would become the Lord Maitreya and enlighten mankind. In *To Be Young* Mary relates that she was not yet three when she became aware of his presence. His appearance in the nursery of their Bloomsbury Square house, she recalls, prompted her and her sisters to shout: "Cowardly, cowardly custard, your face is the colour of mustard; your hair is black and greasy too; cowardly, cowardly, custard." There was something of her father's irreverent humor in that childish refrain, but fortunately, Krishna took no offense. A subdued and dreamy lad, he was treated as a son by Emily Lutyens. To Mary, his younger brother Nitya seemed more intelligent, and sometime after her sixth birthday she began to harbor a secret love for him. It fostered her interest in Theosophy, which did not survive Nitya's death in 1925. Five years later she married a worldly stockbroker, had a daughter, and in the 1930s wrote the first of some dozen novels, mostly dealing with romance and marriage.

When the romance of Mary's own marriage ended in divorce in 1945, she married J.G. Links—always "Joe" to his friends—who was four years older than she, and, she once said, "all a man should be." Born Joseph Gluckstein Links, the son of a Jewish refugee from Hungary, he had turned his father's modest fur business into the prestigious firm of Calman Links of Knightsbridge, and would become

Furrier to the Queen, a director of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the author of *The Book of Fur* (1956). It pleased him some years ago that one of his coats kept Mary from freezing at a reception in the newly renovated British Medical Association building in Tavistock Square—they had been invited because her father had designed the structure for the Theosophists, who had sold it unfinished in 1924 when funds ran out. In his youth Joe's business success had supported his fondness for fast cars and fine German wines. The latter interest led to his friendship with Dennis Wheatley, a wine dealer and writer whom Joe convinced that the ordinary mystery genre was played out. They collaborated on the innovative *Murder off Miami* (1936), which contained representations of clues such as fingerprints, bits of hair, and police reports, and left the reader to solve the crime before opening a sealed envelope for the authors' solution. The book sold over a quarter of a million copies and prompted several further "dossiers of crime." In World War II Joe was a Wing Commander in the RAF, and received the OBE.

After his marriage to Mary, Joe's literary interests took new forms. His abridged version of Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1960) and his book *The Ruskins in Normandy: A Tour in 1848 with Murray's Hand-Book* (1968) complemented her studies. Their fascination with Venice had begun when they had visited it on their second honeymoon (their first, on a troopship going to New York, Mary thought unsuitable for that designation). Thereafter for nearly four decades they made fortnightly visits two or three times a year, always staying at the Danieli, as had Ruskin. Joe gained such intimate familiarity

with the city that his *Venice for Pleasure* (1966 and 1995, its 5th edition) has been called "not only the best guide-book to that city ever written but the best guide-book to *any city* ever written" by Bernard Levin in *The Times*. But Joe had another, more serious interest that dominated the last three decades of his life. Without any training in art history, he made himself into the pre-eminent authority on Venice's greatest painter, Canaletto. Joe's many articles on Venetian art, his *Townscape Painting and Drawing* (1972), revision of W. G. Constable's *Catalogue raisonné* of Canaletto (1976, 1989), and *Canaletto and his Patrons* (1977), culminated in his magnificent Phaidon Press *Canaletto* (1982, revised 1994). In 1989 he was the obvious choice to organize the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art's major Canaletto exhibition and to co-author its superb catalogue. At age 85 he hugely enjoyed the challenge.

During their years of literary fulfillment together, Mary and Joe kept in touch with Krishnamurti. In 1929 he had resigned from Mrs. Besant's Order of the Star, announcing that henceforth his only concern was to set men unconditionally free of constraints imposed by any teacher or organization. Later he resigned from the Theosophical Society as well. Mary understood his decisions, and followed closely his evolution as an independent teacher of wisdom. In her youth she and her mother had occasionally traveled with him. After she married Joe, they together would meet Krishnamurti's plane when he came to England from his worldwide lecture tours. His customary request to be immediately driven to his tailor in Savile Row and then to Fortnum and Mason's for a good lunch delighted Joe, who looked askance

at asceticism and claimed he could never comprehend Krishnamurti's teachings, much as he liked the man. Mary was always reticent about her views of Krishnamurti's teaching. Both were pleased to learn that Al and I had gone to Ojai to hear him speak to hundreds of quietly attentive people in the beautiful Oak Grove owned by the Krishnamurti Foundation of America. Mary and Joe went there themselves in February 1986, upon learning that he had arrived desperately ill some days earlier. It was their last reunion with their old friend.

Long before his death, Mary had been demonstrating her loyalty to Krishnamurti in the way she knew best, with her pen. To set the record straight about the man and his works as only she could do, she compiled *The Krishnamurti Reader* (1970) and wrote his fullest and finest biography: *Krishnamurti: The Years of Awakening* (1975), *The Open Door* (1988), and *The Years of Fulfillment* (1982), as well as a composite of these volumes, *The Life and Death of Krishnamurti* (1990). When Radha Rajagopal Sloss published her *Life in the Shadow with J. Krishnamurti* (1991) with its hurtful account of Krishnamurti's secret affair with the author's mother, Mary overcame the limitations of her advanced age to correct the book's factual errors and misinterpretations in *Krishnamurti and the Rajagopals* (1996). This was a final testimony of her faith in the integrity of the exceptional man she had known almost her entire life. As in her Ruskin scholarship and family histories, she was able to draw upon unique manuscript material.

The devotion of Mary and Joe to their individual projects in their last years is nicely illustrated in a note he sent us at the end of 1993.

Reporting that they had enjoyed Christmas, "head down in work," he added, "Indeed, our sequestered life suits us very well, & it is appropriate to our joint 175 years. Mary is preparing a talk on Annie Besant & I am rewriting my Phaidon *Canaletto* for a full colour edition as well as [revising] my ridiculous Venice guide." They had ceased by then to visit Venice, but most appropriately were living in a quiet enclave of St. John's Wood called Little Venice, whose single canal was a minute's walk from their door. Al and I had observed the gradual decline in Mary's strength, and on our last visit, two years ago, she was in too much pain from dental surgery to see us. Joe, with his customary graciousness, gave us tea and as always questioned us about where we had traveled and what we were writing. He too seemed to have aged markedly. But because of his undiminished enthusiasms, it was a shock when we learned from Mary's letter of his death on October 1, 1997, at age 92. His life was expansively celebrated in many English obituaries. The *Guardian's* included a photograph that caught them happily talking across a table in a Venetian restaurant. American newspapers failed completely to report his death, an unaccountable lapse I sought to overcome by writing an obituary for *The New York Times*. The paper's failure to answer my letter saddened (and astonished) Mary. Her own death on April 9th, 1999, at age 90 was prominently reported in England, but only minimally in America. Al and I are therefore extremely grateful to *Theosophical History* for publishing this tribute to them both.

* * * * *

Additional Light On William Stainton Moses And The Theosophical Society

John Hamill¹

There has survived in the Library of the United Grand Lodge of England at Freemasons' Hall a collection of eighteen letters written by W. Stainton Moses to Major F.G. Irwin² of Bristol between 1877 and 1881. How or when they were introduced is not known but their mutual fascination with Freemasonry, Spiritualism and the esoteric in general led to a mutual respect and friendship enabling Stainton Moses to write with a frankness he would not have used with a casual correspondent. Above all else Stainton Moses was motivated by his belief in Spiritualism and the desire to form those who wished to explore Spiritualism and other esoteric matters into a secret society whose members were to be bound by an obligation of fidelity and secrecy. Initially he thought that orthodox Freemasonry would be the ideal vehicle for his ideas but soon realized that the heterogenous nature of the membership of most lodges, Freemasonry being open to men of all faiths, and the total ban on the discussion of religion within Masonic meetings all militated against this desire.

Through Irwin he turned to the less orthodox by-ways of Freemasonry and became a member of the Swedenborgian Rite.³ Again he was frustrated, for the Swedenborgian Rite never really got off the ground. He then turned

to Theosophy and, with great enthusiasm, wrote to Irwin on 23rd May 1877, "The Theosoph. Society has at last become what it ought to have been at first, a *secret* society. The aliens are gradually being eliminated; and then results *may* be expected." WSM returned to his central theme in a letter to Irwin on 11th August 1877:

I have long wanted to get a Society in London bounded together by some form of OB [i.e. obligation] for the purpose of deepening the Spiritual life, and taking counsel together on points of difficulty and distress. I [illegible] for this purpose something very different from the ordinary Lodge which meets 4 times a year to work a stereotyped ritual and to eat a heavy dinner. I want a Lodge of Spiritualists, Theosophists, or whatever you like to call them: men who have passed the alphabet and desire to discuss in Conclave the deeper mysteries of Theosophy. I want papers read, discussions taken, fraternal consultation, all that Brotherhood shd. mean. I want regular meetings and *no* dinners. How shall I best obtain that? Either by establishing a Theosophical Lodge in the Swedenborgian Rite and devoting it exclusively to Sp'sts, or by establishing a branch of the Theosophical Society in London. Or by means of the Sat b'hai⁴ or by organizing a special lodge or Society for Spiritual communion. The first commended itself to me but there wd. be

difficulties about a suff. number of brethren, a room, a tyler, & so on. The Theosoph. Society does not promise much. And I am at sea about the rest.

Writing again to Irwin on 14th August WSM expanded his views on why the Theosophical Society showed no promise as his “desired vehicle”:

I am glad to find that we are at one in all preliminaries. Now as to details. I have this to say against a branch of Theos. Soc. as affording what we want. I think it probable that a branch will be established in London, & I sometime ago represented you as a worthy ‘Fellow’—I am glad to learn that the advice has been acted upon.⁵ But the Theosoph. Soc. will not meet what we want for several reasons. Prominent among them is the fact that women are admitted to membership, & that there is at least one in London. There is no ritual associated with the Soc. nor any means of raising the meetings above the ordinary discussion meetings of a Literary or Scientific Society. It might be possible to remedy this. But my most serious objections are that the purposes and aims of the NY Th. Soc. are not ours: & the very erratic proceedings of the President have not conduced to elevate it in the eyes of calm thinking men. We shd. not find it easy to obtain such meetings as wd. meet our wants.

We might do so. But I think we shd. find aid from a Masonic Ritual & from the necessity of conducting our meetings with some solemnity. I shd like to meet (say at Ayr Street or Golden Square, or some suitably furnished Lodge Room) with some regularity, use a Ritual, & devote the time to communications or papers to be read and discussed. I shd. hope to have personal difficulties discussed:

all that bears upon the deepening of the higher Spiritual life treated: & I should like to have esoteric phenomenal experiences communicated & preserved in the records. All this could best be done in a regularly constituted Masonic lodge.⁶

I hoped for it from the Sw[edenborgian] Rite but hope no longer: nor from the Apex.⁷ Fr[at]re Little⁸ told me long since that he was about to establish a new Rosicrucian College for especial object of work: but that wd. be too mixed I presume. Esotericism is a *sina qua non*.

On the whole I do not see my way. Perhaps the T.S. is best: but we must meet in private, not in either of the Sp. Institutions. And if we must dine, let us be sure to subordinate the dinner to our real object.⁹

WSM’s belief that a branch of the TS was to be set up in London was soon substantiated for he wrote to Irwin on 29th December 1877:

Since I last wrote to you I have received word from the Pres. T.S. that he considers the time come for the organization of a branch in London. As a preliminary he sent over letters of instruction to the Treasurer who is now in this country, instructing him as to the platform which was to be taken up, and bidding him confer with the two original members of the parent Society, Mr. C.C. Massey and myself, as to the Constitution, etc. He also intimated that, while the choice of President would rest with the English Fellows, he and the Parent Society would prefer to see Mr. Massey in that position. In that recommendation alone I cordially agree, but neither I nor my two colleagues could accept the instructions and OB sent, and we accordingly made certain modifications and have sent them

over to the Pres. for his acceptance. If he agrees to these the Society will be constituted forthwith. If not, I cannot have any part of it.

As soon as I hear from America I will write to you as to what is proposed. Mr. Massey is quite prepared, I think, to carry out the best plan for making the society really useful & I should hope that we might have a meeting of Fellows of whom there are not many; or, failing that, I should propose that all the papers be sent to each Fellow for his opinion in writing. At any rate we must thoroughly understand what we wish to do.

The alterations suggested by the English Fellows do not appear to have met with approval in America for on 1st February 1878 WSM writes to Irwin:

You will see from later correspondence in the Sp[iritualist] that the platform of Theosophy has fallen in for some criticism. I find myself unable, after most anxious consideration, to accept the platform & still less to take the OB and obey the instructions sent to the new Pres. of the London Branch. I shall probably resign altogether my connexion with the Parent Society which has totally changed its front & I certainly cannot accept membership in the English Branch which would involve taking the OB. I have some doubt whether the Branch will be organized. . . .

Three days later he returned to the matter stating, "My Theosoph. friends are a little hurt at my arraignments but, tho' sorry I can't help that. I must go for truth as I see it."

Olcott's insistence on his "instructions and OB" being accepted by the English Branch appears to have turned WSM against both

Olcott and Theosophy. In a letter to Irwin of 6th August 1878 he states:

The Theosophical Society is as worthless as Freemasonry as a vehicle for his ideas. Before Olcott's vagaries it seem to promise much. But it is 'sounding brass & a tinkling cymbal'. Madame Blavatsky is as great a problem as ever. But she solves none. . . .

From the next letter, 21st December 1878, it is clear that WSM has become totally soured with both the T.S. and Col. Olcott:

I hear Olcott is coming to London in January. But it has been so rumoured before. However Massey told me that he and Madame B. are going to India & that O. called here en route. I shall be glad to see him & tell him I have no faith in his Society. The English Branch is worse. I do not belong to it, & have resigned my Fellowship in the NY Order. This however they refuse to accept. . . .

The last word on the subject comes in a letter dated 29th December 1878 in which WSM simply states, "H.P. Blavatsky, as I learn, goes straight to India. Olcott is to be in London in January but their plans change so often that I don't know what they will do"

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Notes

¹John Hamill is the author or co-author of eight books on Freemasonry. A graduate of the University of London in

history, Mr. Hamill was centenary Master of Quartuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the premier Lodge of Masonic Research. He is a frequent contributor to its Transaction as well as other Masonic research groups. Currently, Mr. Hamill is Librarian and Curator of the Library and Museum of the United Grand Lodge of England (London).

²Francis George Irwin (1828-1893). Served in the ranks of the Royal Sappers and Miners. Settled in Bristol in 1866 as Adjutant of the 1st Gloucestershire Volunteer Engineer Corps with the rank of Captain. Initiated in 1858 he was a member of every Masonic degree and Order available by the time of his death. Also interested in the Occult. Formed a large collection of MS. and printed volumes on the subjects of Freemasonry and the Occult.

³The Swedenborgian Rite, or Rite of Primitive Phremasonry, of six degrees had been formed in the U.S.A., c. 1859, and exported to Canada whence John Yarker imported it to England in 1876. The Rite has nothing to do with Emmanuel Swedenborg or his religious views. Although eleven lodges were formed in the British Isles the majority of them existed only on paper. WSM became its Supreme Grand Chaplain in 1877 but failing to form his "Spiritualist Lodge" resigned from it in April 1879.

⁴The Royal Oriental order of the Sikha (Apex) and the Sat B'hai was formed by Capt. James Henry Lawrence-Archer. A conglomeration of Indian religion and mysticism complete with 'Secret Chiefs' the original was turned into a complex pseudo-Masonic order by K.R.H. MacKenzie. It is doubtful if it was ever worked by its progenitors. It later came under the control of John Yarker.

⁵Irwin was an Hon. Fellow of the New York T.S.

⁶WSM is wrong here and would have come into conflict with the Masonic authorities had he attempted to introduce practical Spiritualism into lodge workings.

⁷Apex was a short form for the Royal Oriental Order of the Sikha and the Sat B'hai.

⁸Robert Wentworth Little (1793-1878). Founder and first Supreme Magus (1866) of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia.

⁹Masonic meetings in the 19th century were usually followed by dinners of six to ten courses. WSM, like Yarker, W.Wynn Westcott and A.E. Waite, appears to have believed that too many Freemasons were more interested in the dinner than the proceedings at lodge meetings.

Book Reviews

Cyril Scott and A Hidden School: Towards the Peeling of an Onion. By Jean Overton Fuller. Fullerton, CA: Theosophical History, 1998 [Theosophical History Occasional Paper, Vol. VII.] Pp. 53. ISBN 1 883279 07 0. \$23.00/£15.00.

Jean Overton Fuller, as readers of her other books know, has the acute and inquisitive mind of a detective. Whether she is on the spoor of Victor Neuburg, Blavatsky's Masters, or Mr. and Mrs. Cyril Scott, she relentlessly pursues her quarry until she can exclaim triumphantly: "So there we have it!"

While issue may be taken with the conclusions of her books *The Comte de Saint-Germain* and *Blavatsky and Her Teachers* (both London: East-West Publications, 1988), there is little doubt that she has captured here the elusive "Initiate" of Scott's anonymous series (*The Initiate*, By His Pupil, 1920; *The Initiate in the New World*, 1927; *The Initiate in the Dark Cycle*, 1932) and revealed him to be a fictional compound of—admittedly wise—men with whom Scott and his wife were intimate, enhanced by Scott's own deep Theosophical knowledge. But this is not a demoting or discrediting exercise. The layer of the Initiate's identity is peripheral to the "peeling of an onion" that causes more smiles than tears. The denser layers are the multiple identities of Scott and his wife Rose Allatini, and the books that they wrote under various pseudonyms. Luck, friendship, and the

ministrations of the Library Angel have conspired with Miss Fuller to reveal a series of *romans à clef* based on the Scotts' lives, and especially on their occultist and sexological preoccupations. She gradually uncovers the network of their circle of healers and Theosophists and their own complex relationship, to the surprise and delight of those who enjoy watching half-glimpsed characters take on flesh and blood. A few readers of this review will appreciate the comparison to that masterpiece of literary detection, A. J. A. Symons's *The Quest for Corvo*.

Long ago I met the name of Cyril Scott as the author of *Apple Cider Vinegar*, and adopted that dietary therapy to annoy and impress my schoolfellows. Recognizing his name from *The Oxford Companion to Music* did not stimulate my curiosity at the time. Much later I read *Music: Its Secret Influence throughout the Ages* and thought it naïve and musicologically unsound. Scott's autobiography, *Bone of Contention*, seemed egotistic and whining as he deplored the conspiracy of neglect of his works by the musical establishment and the BBC, despite the fact that his music had been inspired by Koot Hoomi! Later still, I read Ellen Crystall's unpublished NYU dissertation, *The Significance of Esoteric Tradition in Early 20th Century Music* and, at her behest, listened to Scott's recently recorded Piano Sonata. With that, I realized that I had done Scott an injustice: his was a musical mind of a very high order, not inferior to that of Scriabin.

Among Scott's many achievements was to have one of his books, *The Autobiography of a Child* (1921) banned for obscenity; and this on the initiative of Lord Alfred Douglas, forever atoning by priggishness for the stain of his association with Oscar Wilde. Rose Scott, too, had a book banned (*Despised and Rejected*, 1918), but because of its pacifist content rather than for its "advanced" treatment of homo- and bisexuality, which merited a reprint by a specialist house in 1988. Miss Fuller deals with these issues with the ease and candor with which her readers are familiar.

The occult business is another matter. Cyril Scott apparently believed that he and Rose were reincarnations of Frédéric Chopin and George Sand, and Miss Fuller takes this seriously enough to devote several pages to the parallels. She then surmises that Scott had formerly been the composer Christoph Willibald von Gluck. This is one of many authorial asides that air Miss Fuller's own convictions—first, and most inappropriately, on pages 1-2 with a sermonette on what Krishnamurti really meant. The voice of an author of a scholarly work—for so this is, for the most part—is of course welcome to enliven the text with opinions that her expertise has given her the right to hold. But when these opinions come not from the consensus of informed readers but from doctrinaire belief, such as that in reincarnational chains of the Leadbeater type, it needlessly saps the confidence of those who do not share these religious persuasions.

There are a number of small errors. Ian Parrott's *Cyril Scott and His Piano Music* was published in 1991, not 1922. Chopin visited England in 1848, not 1858. On page 31, Dr. Bonnier confusingly appears as "Dr. Bonnard."

Various names are misspelt: Eugene Goossens, Calmann-Lévy, the Moravian Brethren and the Herrnhuter.

Against these must be set the great contribution of Miss Fuller's book to the history of the second generation of Theosophists, and the way in which she has cleared up so many details. Who knew, for instance, that Cyril Scott almost certainly also wrote *The Boy Who Saw True*, or that Rose lived after her separation from Cyril with a Mrs. Mills, aka H. K. Challoner, author of *Watchers* [later eds.: *Regents*] of *the Seven Spheres* with its wonderful paintings of devas?

Finally there is the contact made by Miss Fuller with the Scotts' daughter, Vivien Stafford, who provided a photograph of her mother taken in 1928. And, to continue the story there is the April 1999 issue of *Theosophical History* (VII/6), its cover graced by Rose Scott's smiling and intelligent face, and inside a memoir by her son Desmond Scott, who reveals that all Cyril's papers have now come into his and his sister's possession. "Towards the Peeling of an Onion" was right, for it promises to reveal many more layers as time goes on.

Joscelyn Godwin

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Hypatia of Alexandria. By Maria Dzielska. Translated by F. Lyra. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1995. Pp. viii + 157. ISBN 0-674-43776-4 (pbk.). \$14.00.

Readers of Mme Blavatsky's books remember the name of Hypatia, the young "virgin-philosopher, the martyr and victim of the infamous Cyril of Alexandria, torn to pieces by the Christian mob," on a fatal day of 415 A.D. when, "with her death, fell the Neo-Platonic School." Such, at least, went the legend constructed over the years, by a number of authors who claimed the youthful pagan philosopher as an emblem in the spreading of their own theses. In spite of her avowed prudence in handling the matter,¹ Blavatsky took for granted what could pass as historical facts, to denounce the extension by violence of the dogmatic Christian Church, after the days of Constantine.

Now, with the advance of modern scholarly research, the romantic legend of Hypatia leaves room for a more plausible account of her life and death. Truth-lovers will be thankful to Maria Dzielska for her persuasive reconstruction in her book, *Hypatia of Alexandria*. Here may be found an academic detective work, collecting information from all available sources, to re-build the flow of facts in the tumultuous climate of the 4th-5th century Alexandria. An uneasy task indeed, in view of the scarcity of reliable texts, contemporary historians being mostly Christian, while pagan writers (like Damascius) were not entirely unbiased.

In the more likely picture drawn by Dzielska, Hypatia, who had remained a virgin all her life, was no longer a beauty, "with a body worthy

of Aphrodite," when she died: she was around 60 years old in 415; but, with the information accumulated, she appears as a truly fascinating woman, for the impressive breadth of her scientific knowledge, her deep command of philosophy, her contagious spiritual charisma and the respect in which she was held by the cultured classes—both pagan and Christian. People would throng at her public lectures, and many influential functionaries would pay her occasional visits as a tribute to her high repute, also to receive her advice on social or political problems. But her kingdom was not of this world; she would take no part in pagan cults, nor in theurgic rites, as she derived her knowledge and wisdom from "divine" Plato and his successor Plotinus. To the private circle of a kind of esoteric Group, she served as a "guide in the mysteries of philosophy," helping her disciples to awaken the "eye buried within," to reach a state of deep, universal contemplation (*theoria*). Allusions made by her favorite pupil, Synesius, to the ineffable levels unravelled through Hypatia's initiatory rites are tantalizing for mystically-inclined readers. With Synesius (an ardent disciple from the early 390s, who remained her life-long devotee even after he became a Christian bishop), we learn the names of some of his best companions (*betairoi*), strongly linked together, around the female master, by deep ties of fraternal love. All well-born and influential in the society, they formed, with the "blessed lady," an aristocratic nucleus, widely separated from the Alexandrian masses.

As to Hypatia's father, Theon, he was a member of the Museion, teaching mathematics and astronomy and publishing scientific treatises, helped in that work by his daughter who,

in her maturity, proved herself “by nature more refined and talented” than he. As an astronomer, Theon was more interested in astrology, Orphism, and Hermeticism than in mere Platonic philosophy. His inclination to the Occult would in time be turned against Hypatia in a calumnious campaign circulated for her destruction, under the head of “witchcraft.”

The causes of Hypatia’s murder, very finely analyzed, reveal its nature as a *political* crime, not an attempt against pagan philosophy. She was on friendly terms with the Christian imperial prefect, Orestes; she had not risen against bishop Theophilus in his actions to eliminate pagan cults and transfer the Serapeum to the Church. But with his ambitious successor, Cyril, the situation worsened: helped by large crowds, or bands of desert monks, ready to all *coups de main*, he managed to expel the Jewish community from the city. Eventually, a strong political opposition resulted between the religious leader and the civil power; surely supported by Hypatia and other influential personalities, Orestes remained intractable. Then the rumor was started among the people that the philosopher stood in the way of reconciliation: being a “witch,” she forced by magic spells the prefect out of his faith, against the Christian cause. Her doom was sealed. In March 415, a band of fanatics let loose their rage on her in a most shameful manner. There was no material evidence that Cyril ordered her death, but the criminals were identified as *parabolans*,² belonging to the bishop’s “guard,” occasionally serving to carry out violent actions against his adversaries.

Cyril’s moral responsibility is inescapable. The crime served his political plans—Orestes quickly left Alexandria—and the criminals went

unpunished. Nevertheless, Neoplatonism survived in the city until the Arab invasion.

Now, what would remain of Mme Blavatsky’s accusations? No doubt, Theophilus and Cyril made no scruple about using violence, insulting the pagans in their most sacred feelings, and extending their authority beyond their province, but were they not executing, with mercenary zeal, the emperor Theodosius I’s edict of June 391, prohibiting cult practices? Pagan philosophy was not yet a target to hit: Justinian would close the Athenian Academy only in 529. Nevertheless, it is suggested in *Isis Unveiled* (ii, 52) that the end the two bishops had in view was “the dispersion of the Eclectic School”³: “it had been looked for and contemplated with intense anxiety.” Theophilus having had the best of the philosophers in 389 A.D.,⁴ “there remained to eliminate Hypatia,” a dangerous rival who “impeded the progress of Christian proselytism” and who could, with her perfect mastery of theurgy, “divulge the natural causes” of so-called *divine* miracles (*Isis*, ii, 252-53). Hence “the fiendish conspiracy” of both bishops against the “girl-philosopher”: “she was foully murdered by their order” (*Theosophical Glossary*, 146-47).

Most probably, being jealous of her high renown and influence among the intelligentsia, Cyril was but too glad of her timely disparition, but one cannot affirm that “there remained no possibility for the Neo-Platonists to continue their School at Alexandria” (*Isis*, ii, 52), seeing that it flourished again with Hierocles, Ammonius, Olympiodorus and others. To conclude with Dzielska’s words on the lasting image left by Hypatia:

The intellectual circle created by her in the fourth century, consisting of the inspired teacher and her disciples had in common the same fundamental goal that guided the “holy men” of Alexandrian Neoplatonism in the next century: the consistent aspiration . . . to achieve religious experience as the essential ideal of philosophy.

Jean-Louis Siémons

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Notes

¹See her footnote (*Isis Unveiled*, ii 53) concerning “the historical romance of Canon Kingsley, *Hypatia*, and the highly picturesque account of her tragic fate.”

²Latin: *parabolani*, from the Greek *parabolōi*: the daring, who “expose themselves.” In Alexandria, they formed a corps of 800 young men, recruited by the bishop to do sanitary and charitable service.

³The term *Eclectic* was erroneously attributed to the Neoplatonic School by a contemporary of Mme Blavatsky, who circulated another legend about the famous Alexandrian founder of that School. See *Ammonius Saccas and his “Eclectic Philosophy” as presented by Alexander Wilder*, Jean-Louis Siémons, *Theosophical History, Occasional Papers*, vol. III, 1994.

⁴*Isis*, ii 28. This probably concerns the active defense of the Serapeum (more exactly in 391/392) against the Christians by a number of pagans headed by the Neoplatonist Olympius—a master of all the cult rites—with two grammarians of minor importance. After the fall of the temple, these “philosophers” left Alexandria.

The Secret Doctrine: Index. Prepared by John P. Van Mater. Pasadena, CA: Theosophical University Press. Pp. viii + 433. ISBN 1-55700-004-2 (Paper); 1-55700-003-4 (cloth). \$12.00 (paper), \$18.00 (cloth).

After many years of careful and persistent referencing, the Theosophical University Press has published the definitive index to the *Secret Doctrine*. This has been primarily the undertaking of the former librarian of the Theosophical Library in Pasadena, John P. Van Mater, with the aid of a number of his colleagues who aided in checking and editing the work. Because of my many visits to the Library from the late 1980s, I came to appreciate their focused attentiveness to the project. It was clearly a labor of love, and the final product is clear evidence of this. While other indices have been consulted, including the unpublished *SD* index compiled by Gertrude W. van Pelt, this index is not a derivative work but rather a fresh product that arose from the original instructions (presumably by the Leader, Miss Grace Knoche) given to Mr. Van Mater: “Start by making your own index. Don’t try to coalesce or combine the existing indices.” The result is an index 419 pages long (3-422), with an appendix of foreign phrases translated and traced also included (425-433). Compared to the U.L.T. *Index to The Secret Doctrine* (Los Angeles: The Theosophy Company, 1939), itself an essential research tool from the time of its publication, the T.U.P. *Index* is well over twice the length of the earlier publication (419 pages compared to 172 pages).

An advantage of the T.U.P. *Index* is the use of diacritics, not important perhaps to the non-

scholar but certainly important to language scholars. Some random examples of this are the Sanskrit terms *ākāśa*, *kriyāśakti*, *Dānava(s)*, *jīva*, *kumāra*, *Ḍākinī*, *Virāj*. Also included are terms from other languages, such as Hebrew (*Qabbālāb*, *Qādīm*, *Temūrā*, *Hokhmāb*, *Bînāb*, *Sepbîrāb*) and Norse (*Hönir*). The one notable occurrence where this is especially important appears in the listing of Sanskrit *Brahma*. In the U.L.T. index, *Brahma* appears twice: the first reference (21) to the neuter (= Brahman), the second to the masculine without any explanatory note (other references such as “Brahm,” “Brahma” as one of the seven lokas, “Brahman(s) or Brahmin(s)” also appear without explanation). Unless one has some knowledge of Sanskrit, the differences of *brahma*, *brahman*, and *brahmā* is confusing in the U.L.T. *Index*. The T.U.P. *Index*, on the other hand, does make a distinction between “Brahmā” and “Brahman,” with the latter listing also including “Brahma” and the Blavatskyan form “Brahm.” This is an important distinction that is noted and is often the source of confusion by students of South Asian philosophy. *Brahman*, a neuter noun, is the stem or “dictionary” form; it appears as *brahma* in the subject (nominative) or object (accusative) case. *Brahmā* is the nominative, masculine form of the same stem. Technically, in the earlier Vedic language, the genders were demarcated by the position of the accent. *Brābman*, with raised (*udātta*) accent on the first syllable, refers to the neuter form; *brahmān*, with raised accent on the second syllable, refers to the masculine form.

Not all entries are explained fully, however. “Chela” is identified as a Hindi term in the *Index*, but the spelling remains in its Anglicized form.

The term should be spelled *celā* (as a masculine noun) or *celī* (feminine). *Celā* appears in Bengali, Panjabi, and Marathi; minor changes in its spelling also appear in other northern Indo-Āryan languages. In addition, *celā* should not be confused with the Sanskrit and Hindi *cela* (neuter) “garment, clothes.”

What is especially important to those who use this *Index*, however, is its accessibility and completeness. There is a description of each entry accompanying the pages listed, and the descriptions are very specific to the passage listed. This leads to a more precise listing of the topic. A good example is the comparison between the U.L.T. *Index* entry of “Christian Church(es)” and the T.U.P. entries “Christian(s)” and “Christian Church.” For instance, *SD* I, xl and xli are listed as entries that discuss the “Karma of” the Christian Church in the U.L.T. entry. This is based on Blavatsky’s observation and analysis (xli) of the action described on pages xl and xli but does not actually describe the passage on which the analysis is made. The T.U.P. entry appearing under “Christian(s),” on the other hand, describes the passage as “destroyed Egyptian lore,” a more direct and accurate description of the passage.

Yet, one should not ignore the U.L.T. *Index*; it is best to consider it as complementary to the later work. One such example is a passage in *SD* I, 570 that reads as follows: “The monad—a truly ‘indivisible thing’, as defined by Good. . . is here rendered as the *Atma* in conjunction with *Buddhi* and the higher *Manas*.” The U.L.T. *Index* will list this passage in the entry “Manas” under the sub-heading “Dual.” A general reference also appears under “Monad,” with the description “as defined by Initiates 569-73”

(100). No listing is given under the description “and Manas” (100) a few lines above. The T.U.P. *Index*, however, lists this passage not under “Manas” but rather under “Monad(s)” and describes the monad as “indivisible (Good)” (243). Although two entries are listed for the “higher manas” in the T.U.P. *Index* (225), this passage is not cited, probably because it is only mentioned and not discussed in the *SD*.

Finally, where the T.U.P. excels is the complete listing of major topics. The U.L.T. *Index* include entries on “Race” and “Races,” but the T.U.P. *Index* contains entries “Root-Race(s)” as a general category *and* under the specific “Root-Race”—first to seventh. Because of this, a more complete listing is provided. For instance, the Sixth Root Race, mentioned in *SD* I, 537, is noted on page 324 of the *Index* with the description “parallels 2nd race”; it does not appear in the U.L.T. *Index* under the sub-heading “Sixth (Race)” (128).

Although no study is perfect or is expected to be perfect for that matter, the *Secret Doctrine Index* comes as close to perfection as one expects any human product to be. The *Index* is an important and major contribution to the study of the *Secret Doctrine*. Mr. Van Mater, and the unnamed assistants mentioned in the Introduction, are to be congratulated for producing such an outstanding work.

James Santucci

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Free at Last in Paradise. By Ananda W. P. Guruge. Published on the Internet by First Books to be downloaded from www.1stbooks.com (\$8.95) and by www.buybooksontheweb.com or telephone (1-800-BUY BOOKS) in bound book form (\$25.95).

Free at Last in Paradise is a fictitious autobiography of Tiny Banda (T.B.) Valour Lion, a remarkable person. He is a real hero—unselfish, self-sacrificing, devoted to raising a new generation of leaders from the downtrodden outcasts. The scenario is Ceylon, now Sri Lanka, a place which became the cradle of Buddhism after its expulsion from its Indian birthplace and an island conquered, subdued, and exploited by Portuguese and Dutch overlords, suffering from centuries, dormant but not dead.

In 1795, the British took over and entrusted the national education system to the Anglican Church. Missionaries attracted the villagers to their schools, while Buddhist community schools were closed. A few exceptional British teachers realized the unfairness of the British policy, however, and objected to forceful conversions. To quote one enlightened head of a British school, Rev. Kenneth Saunders: “What do they (the church authorities in England) want me to do? To placate my colleagues the Christian missionaries. . .to alienate the up and coming generation from [their] national culture and heritage. This cannot be any worse crime than lowering the self-esteem of the young in any nation. When I point this out, they question my patriotism. . . . What they want me to do is to ensure that generation after generation of this country become docile, submissive subjects of the Great Empire.”

Buddhist monks challenged the Christians to defend their faith in public controversies. With their limited resources, the Buddhists tried to assert their spiritual and cultural identity. But they needed inspiration from a foreign leader with experience in liberation from overlords. Against this background emerged a couple: an American Colonel and his collaborator, Henry Steel Olcott and the Russian-born Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. He had participated in the Civil War in America and together they founded the Theosophical Society. Spreading their ideas, they arrived in Asia, where they established branches of the Society in India, their aim being to bridge over doctrinal differences, to prevent internecine conflicts, and to unite the population for the common welfare.

Olcott and Blavatsky arrived in Ceylon in 1880. During their first trip of six weeks, they galvanized the populace in public meetings for national and religious revival. They established branches of the Theosophical Society for the lay people and involved them in issues of Buddhism, which used to be the exclusive prerogative of the monks. They opened schools to teach secular skills and technology with the purpose of enabling them to rise above the level of menial labor, to prepare them to govern their own country instead of being exploited and drained by the occupants, and to use the national income for developing public infrastructure. Olcott kept coming back to check on their progress. He worked with, sometimes against, his best allies, the Buddhist monks led by Sumangala. He mentored two of the greatest leaders of the country, Dharmapala (the Sri Lankan version of Gandhi) and Sir D.B. Jayatilaka (the Sri

Lankan version of Nehru).

The author, Ananda Guruge, is a recognized authority on this period of the country's history. No article or book has been written in recent years without reference to his well-documented scholarly works. In this novel, however, he portrays the life and career of Olcott and Blavatsky and their national protégés with graphic details of their interaction with the people. His pen brings them to life along with their ideals and foibles, vanities and achievements. This was an exciting era—a century of social, political, religious upheavals—and Guruge presents it in dramatic color and action.

It was in this national fermenting era also that our hero T.B. played a most active role. The youngest child of a modest family in a Buddhist village, he was born under inauspicious circumstances: a landslide, which impoverished the struggling family. Nevertheless, T.B. was endowed with exceptional mental energy, endurance and perseverance. This was recognized by his teachers, and he was fortunate to meet enlightened school-heads who encouraged him to go on to higher education. First in his class, he got awards and recognition. As the pride of the family, they hoped that he would be an outstanding abbot or chief monk in their monastery. As an adolescent, he met Slim Jewel, the sister of his sister-in-law and fell madly in love with her at first sight. He wanted to marry her, and his family did not object. As tradition required, the family consulted the horoscope reader. After reading the pair's horoscopes, however, the reader concluded that they did not match; it was a forbidden union. The young pair was devastated; such superstitious obstacles could not be overcome. In desperation, T.B.

took the vows of monkhood. Slim Jewel got married to T.B.'s brother. The brother was not like our hero, however. After his marriage, he resumed his love with a beautiful outcaste girl, abandoning his wife, who was then pregnant with child. Years later, when the struggling widow had to cope with imminent blindness, T.B. felt overwhelming social responsibility plus his undying love, gave up his monkhood and married his first and only love. The rest of the story we leave to the reader. The main point is that he raised that child and two more adopted outcaste children, thus giving them a chance to become respectful and socially outstanding citizens. The whole family was deeply involved in the struggle pioneered by Col. Olcott, which ultimately led to the independence of Sri Lanka. T.B. fermented, organized and agitated the population to reclaim their place in the sun. It was a long and difficult but non-violent struggle, resulting in "Freedom at last" in 1948.

This book is a *magnum opus*. It is a masterpiece from any angle you look at it. Elegant style and language, relentless tempo, exciting and almost galloping, never boring, and most educational. Most of the dramatic *personae* appearing in the book are actual historical figures, as are the dates. Thanks and congratulations to Professor Guruge for providing such a great intellectual and emotional reading experience. It is a great contribution to the country and the civilization.

Leslie Grey M.D.

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