


Spring 2014

Alternative Histories: Observing Theosophical 'Truths' in Hindu Nationalism

Celia Garrity

SIT Study Abroad, cegarrity@vassar.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection

 Part of the [History of Religions of Eastern Origins Commons](#), and the [Religious Thought, Theology and Philosophy of Religion Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Garrity, Celia, "Alternative Histories: Observing Theosophical 'Truths' in Hindu Nationalism" (2014). *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*. Paper 1817.

http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/1817

This Unpublished Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the SIT Study Abroad at SIT Digital Collections. It has been accepted for inclusion in Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection by an authorized administrator of SIT Digital Collections. For more information, please contact digitalcollections@sit.edu.

**Alternative Histories:
Observing Theosophical ‘Truths’ in Hindu Nationalism**

*“If Truth is individual, eternal and unique, any organization
born of time can only imprison and distort Truth.”
- J. Krishnamurti (1895-1986)¹*

Celia Garrity
Independent Study Project
India: National Identity and the Arts
Dr. Mary Storm
April 29, 2014

¹ “Eminent Theosophists”. Theosophical Society of Adyar website. <http://www.ts-adyar.org/content/j-krishnamurti-1895-1986>

Table of Contents

Dedication and Acknowledgements p. 3-4

Abstract p. 4-5

An Introduction

Defining Theosophy p. 5

The Formation of the Theosophical Society p. 5-8

Objectives p. 9-10

Alternative Histories: Theosophical Truths and Hindu Nationalism

1. *Conceptualizing Indian Nationalism* p. 10-12

2. *Theosophy Makes its Way to Adyar* p. 12-15

3. *Politicized Theosophy and the Origins of the Indian National Congress* p. 15-18

4. *Besant's Defense of India: Strengthening India's Inherent Unity* p. 18- 22

5. *The Rise of the Hindutva Movement* p. 22-25

6. *The Narrative of the Invader* p. 25- 28

7. *'The Past in the Present'* p. 29-31

Conclusion

Insights and Reflections p. 31-32

Potential Further Research

Appendix p. 33

Glossary p. 34-37

Dedications

This paper is dedicated to my family, for their love and encouragement— who despite some personal concerns, unconditionally supported my decision to study abroad in India this past semester.

This paper is also dedicated to my dear friends from home, and to the incredible friends I have made while on this program.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Mary Storm for her guidance as my Academic Director, and as my Advisor for this Independent Study Project. Storm-Ji provided me with invaluable perspective, as well as enough engaging research ideas to spark my interest for the next four years or so.

I would like to thank the Theosophical Society of Adyar for granting me the privilege of staying and researching at their Adyar Campus. I would especially like to thank the many Adyar theosophists that not just inspired my work during over the course of the Independent Study Project, but also welcomed me into their homes and hearts.

I would lastly like to thank the SIT India: National Identity and the Arts staff for the time and tireless dedication they've put into making this semester amazing.

Abstract

Though the Theosophical Society promotes the universal wisdom found at the core of all religions, the Society locates India, particularly Hindu India, as the unwavering source of spiritual wisdom valuable worldwide. As a result, the Theosophical Society has reconfigured its own Hindu ‘truths’ within its teachings. This Independent Study Project observes the influence of the Theosophical Society’s reconfiguration of Hindu values on Indian national identity. During the struggle for Indian Home Rule, the Theosophical Society’s use and defense of Hinduism became a tool of the Home Rule movement. Relying predominantly on archival research conducted at the Theosophical Society of Adyar’s Library and Research Center, and the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, this ISP finds that elements of the Theosophical Society’s defense of Hinduism have also been indigenized by right-wing Hindu nationalists. This ISP traces the trajectory of Theosophy’s influence on Hindu nationalism from the origins of the Indian National Congress to today.

An Introduction

Defining Theosophy

Theosophy is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as, “Wisdom concerning God or things divine”². In the first volume of its publication *The Theosophist* (1879), the Theosophical Society similarly defines theosophy first by its root— *theosophia*. The Society’s founder Madame Blavatsky writes, “The term *theosophia* is composed of two Greek words — *theos*, “god, ” and *sophos*, “wise”³. Though, more than simply wisdom concerning God or things divine, “[Theosophy] is the wisdom underlying all religions when they are stripped of accretions and superstitions. It offers a philosophy which renders life intelligible and demonstrates that justice and love guide the cosmos. Its teachings aid the unfoldment of the latent spiritual nature in the human being, without dependence”⁴. The Theosophical Society sees theosophy as the archaic ‘Wisdom-Religion’; an esoteric doctrine underlying the research and contemplation of the ‘one Absolute truth’ in every civilization.

The Formation of the Theosophical Society

The Theosophical Society was officially founded in New York on November 17, 1875. The Society’s founder, H.P. Blavatsky, is said to have brought the Society’s teachings to America, when she returned from India in 1871 under instructions from Adept-Teachers, known as the

² “Theosophy”. The Oxford English Dictionary Online. www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/theosophy

³ H.P. Blavatsky. *What is theosophy?* The Theosophist. Vol. 1, no. 1. October 1879. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

⁴ “Home”. Theosophical Society of Adyar Website. <http://www.ts-adyar.org>

Himalayan ‘Masters’⁵. Shortly after returning to America from India, Blavatsky met Colonel H.S. Olcott, a Civil War veteran, who was investigating mediumistic phenomena in Vermont. After Blavatsky demonstrated that she could produce occult phenomena herself, the duo paired up to investigate phenomena in Vermont and elsewhere; simultaneously publishing many articles defending ‘true spiritualism’ as accessed through the Occult⁶. Soon, both Blavatsky and Olcott occupied prominent places in the American spiritualist movement. Madame Blavatsky’s popularity derived in part from the active role she claimed in occult communication with her Masters, in the form of a two-way relationship, allowing her to surpass the passive role of prominent spiritual mediums⁷.

Madame Blavatsky was a distinctive authority on occult phenomena, sciences, and the spiritual realm, in the midst of the Victorian crisis of faith. While mediums functioned predominantly as a one-way spiritual channel, Blavatsky’s direct psychic communication with the Masters granted her a greater spiritual agency— and greater accessibility to the vast spiritual knowledge of the Masters⁸. Blavatsky also gained authority through insisting that the occult not only embraced, but anticipated modern scientific discoveries⁹. Consequently, friends and fellow scholars were drawn to Blavatsky and Olcott’s neighboring New York apartments to discuss

⁵ The Masters are also known as ‘the Great White Brotherhood of Mahatmas’. “Early History”. Theosophical Society of Adyar Website. <http://www.ts-adyar.org/content/early-history>

⁶ Bevir, Mark. *Theosophy and the Origins of the Indian National Congress*. International Journal of Hindu Studies, Vol. 7, No. 1/3. pp. 99-115. Springer. www.jstor.org/stable/20106850

⁷ This communication took the form of letters written through automatic writing, and other occult transfigurations of victorian technologies. While in India, Blavatsky had spent seven years under initiation with the Masters. Washington, Peter. *Madame Blavatsky’s Baboon: A History of the Mystics, Mediums, and Misfits Who Brought Spiritualism to America*. Shoken Books, Inc. 1993.

⁸ Bevir, Mark. *Theosophy and the Origins*. p. 101. Ibid.

⁹ Blavatsky, H.P. *The Secret Doctrine*. Vol. I. The Theosophical Publishing Company. Adelphi, W.C. 1888

phenomena and various theories, forming casual meetings. At one such meeting, the idea for an official Society was proposed and unanimously agreed upon. Though Olcott became the Society's president, Blavatsky remained the Society's inspiration and the true seat of the Society's power. Blavatsky's doctrine for the Society derived from this Western occult tradition.

Using the occult, the Society would together seek out the Truth behind unexplained occurrences and spiritual power¹⁰. Blavatsky saw occultism as “the infinite to the finite” of spiritualism, and wanted to shift Western attention, “from the spiritualist movement to the occult with its cosmologies, magicians and mystics”¹¹. As aforementioned, Blavatsky put greater power in the occult; attesting that those possessing occult ability hold the power to affect and influence the spiritual realm. Moreover, in the face of modern science Blavatsky's “cosmology” accommodates the history of the universe as an evolutionary process. Theosophy's occult doctrines provide “the only possible key to the Absolute in science and theology”¹².

Though, Blavatsky made a crucial change to the Occult doctrine. After a failed attempt to establish a Theosophical Society in Egypt, Blavatsky located Occult ancient wisdom not in Egypt, as was traditional, but in India. Theosophy's assertion that the occult's wisdom teachings derived from India, posited Theosophy both as a defender of India's spiritual traditions, and Blavatsky as a special authority for the wisdom teachings— through her direct connection to the the Masters. The Society's unique access to the great ‘Truth’ held by a romanticized, mystic India enhanced the Society's validity and appeal to Western members, “At a time when people

¹⁰ Washington, Peter. *Madame Blavatsky's Baboon*. Ibid.

¹¹ Blavatsky, H.P. *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*. 2 volumes. Wheaton: Theosophical Publishing House. 1977 [1877].

¹² Blavatsky, H.P. *The Secret Doctrine*. Ibid.

experienced cultural and geographic distances as long enough for the Great White Brotherhood to sound plausible but short enough for this plausibility to be alluring”¹³. This appeal led to the founding of the Theosophical Society’s International Headquarters in Adyar, Chennai. The Theosophical Society of Adyar was incorporated in Adyar on April 3, 1882. Blavatsky represented India as possessing a lost antiquity of genuine spiritual wisdom alive in the present, embodied by her Masters. And, withstanding controversies, Blavatsky’s Masters have stayed the Society’s timeless beacons of universal Truth.

In conjunction with the Society’s aim of universal brotherhood, the Society’s principal aim is this search for truth, as indicated by the motto of the Society: “There is no Religion higher than Truth”¹⁴. Though, although the Society defends that it derives its Truth from the Masters’ stripped interpretation of the wisdom found at the core of “all” religions, the impact of the spiritual values of Hindu texts and traditions are outstandingly fundamental to the Society’s teachings. In fact, the society’s motto ‘There is no Religion higher than Truth’ was itself found by Olcott on the palace of a Hindu prince, and translated by Olcott from its original Sanskrit¹⁵. Hindu values permeate theosophy to such an extent that some scholars have labeled Theosophy a ‘Neo-Hinduism’¹⁶.

¹³ Bevir, Mark. *Theosophy and the Origins*. p. 102. Ibid.

¹⁴ Burnier, Radha. *The Theosophist*. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar. January 2014. p. 15.

¹⁵ Olcott, Henry S. *Old Diary Leaves*. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar. Vol, I. 1895

¹⁶ Bevir, Mark. *Theosophy and the Origins*. p. 101. Ibid.

Objectives

This Independent Study Project will explore how the Theosophical Society's defense of Hinduism, and the Society's reconfiguration of Hinduism within its teachings, contributed to the formation of the Indian National Congress. The Society's teachings are built around the foundation that India holds an unwavering source of spiritual wisdom valuable worldwide. Theosophy's understanding of Hinduism as an international religion, and of Hindu values as universal, legitimized the political aspirations of the Indian nationalists that formed the Congress. The Congress provided organizational experience and confidence to the Indian masses; mobilizing the masses to eventually achieve independence from Britain in 1947. Though officially 'unconcerned with politics', Theosophy has had both direct and indirect influence on Indian national identity¹⁷.

Theosophical Society President Annie Besant was one of many Theosophists heavily involved in the Home Rule movement, and in 1917 Besant became the first woman president of the Indian National Congress. More indirectly, the Theosophical Society's interpretation of a universal Hindu consciousness has also been indigenized by the Hindu right wing, the Hindutva movement, to assert that India's 'true' identity is a Hindu identity. This ISP will assess how cries to return to a united Hindu India, are catalyzed by a narrative of the invader in India's history and today. The ideology of Hindu Unity, or Hindu cultural nationalism, harkens back to a golden age of a spiritually unified (pre-invasion) Hindu India— an idealization fed by the Theosophical Society's original defense of Hinduism, and of India as a spiritual Motherland¹⁸.

¹⁷ Blavatsky, H.P. "What are the Theosophists?" *The Theosophist*. Vol I., No. I. 1879. p.13.

¹⁸ Bevir, Mark. *Theosophy as a Political Movement*. Gurus and their Followers: New Religious Movements in Colonial India. Oxford University Press, Delhi. 2000. p. 1-20.

Paradoxical to the Theosophical Society's intent of Universal Brotherhood, the Hindutva's 'formulation and prescription' of Hindu Unity is used to enflame regional issues, while simultaneously masking caste issues¹⁹. Benedict Anderson designates the nation as an 'imagined' community "commanding profound emotional legitimacy"²⁰. Others agree that often, "The bonds of nationhood are better felt than described; a people that feel oneness constitute a nation and are members, tied to one another, a national personality"²¹. The central goal of this ISP is to observe the place of the Theosophical Society's values in Hindu nationalist imaginations of India, historically and today; as well as the trajectory of these nationalist imaginations. India's 'true' identity is currently a major point of leverage and contention in the ongoing election of India's next prime minister. Ultimately this ISP seeks to answer the question: Does the influence of the Theosophical Society on Hindu nationalisms extend beyond the Society's role in the origins of the Indian National Congress?

Alternative Histories: Theosophical 'Truths' in Hindu Nationalisms

Conceptualizing Indian Nationalism

India's religious and spiritual traditions are innumerable, and they represent the vast diversity of identities present in the Indus valley region throughout the course of the nation's history, and today. For millennia, India had been a home for Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains, various tribal traditions, and more: The Vedas, commonly believed to have paved the way

¹⁹ Aloysius G. "Trajectory of Hindutva". *Economic & Political Weekly*. Vol. 29, No. 24 (Jun. 11, 1994), pp. 1450-1452. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4401329>

²⁰ Anderson, Benedict. "The Origins of Nationalism". *Imagined Communities*. Verso, 2006. pp. 48-59.

²¹ Gandhu, Rajmohan. *Does India Have a Future?* Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar. 2004 [1994]. p. 7

for Hinduism, date “at least as far back” as the middle of the second millennium BCE; Buddhism and Jainism both emerged in India by the sixth century BCE; Jews came to India as early as 175 BCE; there were large Christian populations in India by 400 CE; and, well before the Mughal ‘invaders’, there were Muslim Arab traders working on the west coast of India by 800 CE²². These religious communities represent just a handful of the countless religious identities that have thrived and are thriving in India. During the struggle for Indian home rule, India’s rich social and religious diversity was often used by the British as a means of claiming the impossibility of India’s independently forming a cohesive, national ‘personality’. The British further posed that any unity visible in India was a result of its colonial occupation.

The British first came to India once Queen Elizabeth I chartered the British East India Company in 1600 CE. At the time the British East India Company was chartered, the Mughal empire still reigned in India under Shah Jahan. British Imperial rule began in India 1757, when the British East India Company defeated Mughal rule in Bengal²³. The British rationalized their subjugation of the Indian people as providing cohesion for the subcontinent’s otherwise disparate religious and social identities, and histories²⁴. Western conceptualizations of India discredited India’s ability to represent a unified nation and rule itself, “The first and most essential thing to learn about India is that there is not and never was an India”²⁵. In particular, the “Hindu-Muslim problem” was manipulated by the British as the face and focal point of a divided people. In the

²² Sen, Amartya. *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture, and Identity*. Allen Lane. 2005. p. 121

²³ Doniger, Wendy. *The Hindus: An Alternative History*. Penguin/Viking. 2009. p.50-64.

²⁴ Bevir, Mark. *Theosophy as Political*. Ibid.

²⁵ Sir Strachey, John. 1888. Cited in Bevir, Mark. “Theosophy as Political”. Ibid.

case of the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, the British Raj's attempts to further catalyze polarity between the Hindu-Muslim divide back-fired.

In addition to emphasizing the degree of difference permeating Indian society, the British negated the worth of Indian religions; denouncing Hinduism as superstitious²⁶. Hinduism, with its many "idols", was depicted as incapable of accommodating the Post-Enlightenment scientific and ethical rationalism of the West. In turn, many religious reform movements took root in India such as the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Sabha, the Theosophical movement, and more. These reform movements, both "native" and foreign, formed in discourse with traditional forms of Hinduism to challenge a modified "modern" Hindu identity. The Theosophical Society is remarkable as an Indian religious reform movement, because of its obvious beginnings in the 'West'. The Society's Western encouragement of Hinduism and the Home Rule cause, provided exceptional 'Western' support that India was not simply, "A chaos of absolutism, invasion, misery and turmoil, rescued from ruin by England in the eighteenth century"²⁷.

Theosophy Makes its Way to India

Blavatsky and Olcott left America for India on December 17, 1878, landing first in Bombay before touring India and eventually settling the Society's International Headquarters permanently in Adyar. Before landing in Bombay, the pair reached out to interested spiritualist and newspaper editor A.P. Sinnett, and with Sinnett's aid they gained entry into the local British

²⁶ Bevir, Mark. "Theosophy as Political". Ibid.

²⁷ Besant, Annie. Lectures on Political Science. Delivered at the National College of Commerce, Madras. Published by The Commonweal Office; Adyar, Madras, India 1920. TPH Reference Library.

community²⁸. The British community in India had not escaped the Victorian crisis of faith, and theosophy provided a compromise to the threatening divergence of science and faith. As a result, the Society quickly attracted future members such as A.O. Hume. Hume was a member of the East India Company, and eventually occupied a high position in the Indian Civil Service. Hume joined the Theosophical Society in 1880, and would in due course become a key component of the Society's role in the Indian National Congress.

By the time the Theosophical Society made its way to Adyar in 1882, the Society had acquired both support and suspicion from the British power in India. Though Blavatsky and Olcott were championed by some figures of British authority in India, like Hume, they were equally regarded with equal distrust. While trying to determine the resting spot of the Society's international headquarters, wherever Blavatsky and Olcott went they had a British police officer, Major P.D. Henderson, "dogging [their] footsteps"²⁹. While stopped in Bombay, Olcott wrote a formal protest to the government's surveillance. The Under-Secretary to the Government of India replied, "... So long as members of the Society confine themselves to the prosecution of philosophical and scientific studies wholly unconnected with politics, which you have explained to be their sole object, they need apprehend no annoyance of the part of the Police authorities"³⁰. This was not a promise to end surveillance, only a reminder that if the Society wanted to stay out of conflict with the British government, the Society would need to steer its focus away from a political trajectory.

²⁸ Bevir, Mark. *Theosophy and the Origins*. p.102. Ibid.

²⁹ Olcott, Henry, S. *Old Diary Leaves*.. Theosophical Publishing House. p.73. Ibid.

³⁰ Johnson, Paul K. *The Masters Revealed: Madame Blavatsky and the Myth of the Great White Lodge*. SUNY Press. 1994.

The constant gaze of the Bombay government disquieted Olcott and Blavatsky, and in part motivated the Society's move to Adyar. Though, the Government of India continued to closely watch the activities of the Theosophical Society even after the Society's relocation— no matter that in the first issue of the *Theosophist* Olcott declared the society as officially refraining from politics³¹. The Government sensed a growing unease among the Indian masses, and the Society became a threat as it attracted more and more members of the Indian community; particularly members of the Western-educated Indian elite. In the mid-1880's the Society suffered the “malevolent person Madame Coulomb's” endeavors to reveal the fraudulent ways of Blavatsky and her phenomena³². Madame Coulomb called into question the very existence of Blavatsky's masters— causing fractures between the Society's nearly 124 lodges worldwide.

Nonetheless, even in the midst of the Society's Coulomb Scandal, the Society continued rising in popularity among Indians. In contrast to the “dogmatic” Arya Samaj and Brahmo Sabha, the Society's universality offered Indians a ‘neutral’ voice and place of agreement on religious reform; in hand with a blossoming support of Indian home rule³³. Blavatsky assumed India's ancient wisdom, while asserting that India must be returned to its ancient [spiritual] glory, “None is older than she in esoteric wisdom and civilization, however fallen may be her poor shadow— modern India”³⁴. Because certain aspects of contemporary Hinduism proved problematic to Theosophy's conceptualization of Hinduism, Blavatsky resolved that the pure ways of the Vedas had been corrupted by invaders and exoteric teachings and practices.

³¹ *The Theosophist*. 1879. Ibid.

³² Washington, Peter. *Madame Blavatsky's Baboon*. Ibid.

³³ Bevir, Mark. *Theosophy as Political*. Ibid. p.15

³⁴ Blavatsky, H.P. *The Theosophist* (1879). p. 5. Ibid.

Blavatsky saw Modern India as needing religious reform, so that it could return to its original glory. Moreover, because the unique wisdom of the Theosophical Society relied on its association with and the esteem of India's ancient teachings, the Society invested confidence in India's ancient teachings, as well as the intention of revitalizing these 'lost teachings'. Together, Indian support of the Society and the Society's support of the Home Rule cause, formed a mutually beneficial relationship— abetting the Society's survival during its crisis of legitimacy.

Politicized Theosophy and the Origins of the Indian National Congress

As mentioned, like many other 'Neo-Hindu' religious reform groups and thinkers, the Theosophical Society tried to instill in Indian citizens the value and history of "their own civilization, to pride in their past, creating self-respect in the present, and self confidence in the future"³⁵. The Theosophical Society's idealization of Hindu values, formed in conversation with the ideas of other Indian nationalist thinkers such as Swami Vivekenanda, famous for his defense of Hinduism at the 1893 Parliament of World Religions in Chicago. Some argue even that the 'Vedanticization' of the Theosophical Society was largely influence by Vivekenanda³⁶. Vivekenanda and the Theosophical Society were both essential players in shaping the West's view of India, as well as India's view of itself.

Vivekenanda, like the Theosophical Society, emphasized a 'fountain' of greatness and a unity of consciousness primordial in India, "Children of India... out of the past is built the future. Look back, therefore, as far as you can, drink deep of the eternal fountains that are behind, and after that, look forward, march forward, and make India brighter, greater, much higher than she

³⁵ Besant, Annie. *The Case for India*. Speech given to the Indian National Congress, 1917. p.27

³⁶ Doniger, Wendy. *The Hindus*. p.639. Ibid.

ever was. Our ancestors were great. We must recall that. We must learn the elements of our being, the blood that courses in our veins; we must have faith in the blood, and what it did in the past: and out of that faith, and consciousness of past greatness, we must build an India yet greater than what she has been”³⁷. Vivekenanda glorified India’s perennial wealth and brilliance—subverting the construction of India as lesser to the West, and arguing that this wealth and brilliance still pulses through the blood and soil of her people.

Similarly, the Western Theosophical Society worked to destroy India’s sense of inadequacy in relation to the West. Blavatsky unpacked Indian cultural heritage in such a way that she both assured the worth of that heritage, and soothed anxiety over the loss of their cultural heritage in the face of Western ideas. Blavatsky elicited a ‘true’ Hinduism that accommodated the conflict between Eastern ‘spirituality’ and Western ‘rationalism’. Because the Theosophical Society was itself a Western institution, the Theosophical Society contributed a unique validity to the defense of India. Theosophy is ‘Western’ both because of its physical founding of the ‘West’ and because of its allegiance to the traditionally ‘Western’ occult doctrine. Theosophy’s original contribution to Indian nationalism is in large part a result of the way it brought Indians together with Britons, and merged post-Enlightenment rationalism within ancient ‘Indian’ spiritualism.

Though A.O. Hume’s relationship with Blavatsky had become strained during the Coulomb scandal, he came to physically embody the Theosophical Society’s bringing together of Indians and Britons. Hume was apparently inspired to join the home rule cause, as a result of letters he received from the Masters revealing the widespread discontent of the Indian people (Bevir, p. 100). With Hume, a British member of the Indian Civil Service, Western support of the Home

³⁷ Swami Vivekenanda cited in *The Case for India*. Besant, Annie. *The Case for India*. p. 28. Ibid.

Rule cause gained an actual face and means of action. Hume actively tried to influence the British government in two ways, “First he tried to convince [the Viceroy] to reform the administration of India so as to make it more responsive to the Indian people. Second, he tried to promote an all-India organization so as to give voice to the concerns and aspirations of the Indians themselves”³⁸. Because Hume was a member of the British government, he had the social position necessary for the Home Rule movement to be allowed new momentum. Hume’s principal goal was to create an all-India body. Gradually, Hume worked to gather the support of local leaders and the reluctant ‘apolitical’ Theosophical Society. Despite the Society’s refusal to become directly involved in the all-India body, the Society’s diverse membership “made it possible for someone like Hume to work in the way he did alongside Indian nationalists”. Finally, by December 1885, the Indian National Union convened in Bombay. Those present immediately renamed themselves the Indian National Congress³⁹.

At a time when the British had destroyed India’s religious moral and argued that India could not be united and independent, Theosophy’s Western perspective catalyzed the notion that “India had been a nation in a past golden age but also that it rapidly was becoming one once again. They could point to objective factors that promoted a sense of national identity: there was British rule over the whole of the subcontinent and a growth of economic links between the regions. And they could point to the emergence of a subjective awareness of a national identity: there was the sense of a common past and a common predicament, as well as the growth of various all-

³⁸ Hanes, Travis W. III. “On the Origins of the Indian National Congress”. *Journal of World History*. Vol. 4. No. 1. 1993. pp.69-98.

³⁹ Bevir, Mark. *Theosophy as Political*. p. 108. Ibid

India organizations for reform. The Indian nation, they could say, was waking up from its long slumber”⁴⁰.

Besant’s Defense of India: Strengthening India’s Inherent Unity

Beyond the origins of the Indian National Congress, Theosophical Society President Annie Besant worked tirelessly to fortify this awakening of India’s independent national identity. Besant was an outspoken advocate of Indian Nationalism, and in 1917 she became the first and only Western female president of the Indian National Congress⁴¹. Though Besant blatantly defied Theosophy’s ‘unconcern’ with politics, ideals of the universality and innate unity of man (inspired by the esoteric doctrines of Theosophy) inform Besant’s contributions to the defense of India home rule. Besant exerted herself toward religious, social, and educational reform in India. As part of her work towards reform, Besant founded the Central Hindu College of Benares and gave many speeches on the subject of reform.

Besant’s ‘countless’ speeches and lectures paralleled the nationalist ideas used by earlier theosophists, “She stressed the wisdom and morality of Hindu ideals, the splendid past of India, and the need for the Indians to regain the pride in themselves and their civilization which they had lost during the period of British domination”⁴². In addition to matching earlier theosophists’ justifications of India’s right to independence, Besant contributed greater depth to the defense. Besant’s defense of India evoked the origin story of a common Indian Family, reasoned the

⁴⁰ Bevir, Mark. *Theosophy as Political*. p. 109. Ibid.

⁴¹ Hanes, Travis W. III. “On the Origins”. pp.69. Ibid.

⁴² Mortimer, Joanne Strattofrd. “Annie Besant and India 1913-1917”. *The Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 18, No. 1. 1983. www.jstor.org/stable/260481 p. 61

invaluable role of Hindu *dharma* in the success of any modern nation state, and pinpointed the inextricable relationship between the common Indian Family and *dharma*⁴³.

In her narration of India's origin story (a story derived from Hindu traditions), Besant heightens a *feeling* of common Indian ancestry through the trope of Family. Furthermore, Besant imbues in the primeval narrative clear seedlings of a modern, democratic nation, "[Indian] tradition tells of... a superhuman Legislator... Manu, literally the Father of his people. Thus the race began in his Family, multiplied and spread for unknown periods... branches from the same Patriarchal Family went westwards in successive waves, reaching, and spreading over and settling in Europe, carrying with them the early simple Aryan polity of self-governing village communities... and the genius for democratic institutions so characteristic of the Aryan race"⁴⁴. Besant illustrated the earliest Indians not as primitive, but as already anticipating "modern" democracy.

Under this logic, the history of India's perennially-united 'Aryan' race is also inseparable from Western, European democracy. Besant's logic provided a tool through which the West could not negate India's capacity for unity. Under Besant's logic of Aryan migration, denying India's Aryan 'family' and Aryan migration, meant denying Europe's resultant 'genius for democratic institutions so characteristic of the Aryan race'. Ergo, the (democratic) principles of truly modern nationhood cannot reasonably be expounded without simultaneously defending India's right to independent nation-hood. Importantly, Besant complicated this definition of

⁴³ Besant, Annie. *Hindu Ideals*. From Notes of Lectures originally delivered at the Central Hindu College, Varanasi. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar 1965. TPH Reference Library.

⁴⁴ Besant, Annie. *Lectures on Political Science. Delivered at the National College of Commerce, Madras. Published by The Commonweal Office; Adyar, Madras, India 1920. TPH Reference Library.* p.25

India's Aryan ancestry, depicting the common Ancestor as growing to a larger "river of National Life"— in order to allow a unity among the Indian masses not exclusive to Hindu Aryans, "Primarily a Nation descends from a common Ancestor, but into this main stream of descent flow... many other contributory streams, which swell the river of National Life"⁴⁵. Though the "contributory streams" of other cultures may have tampered with the purity of Hinduism⁴⁶ the merging of these streams enriched Indian national life. According to Besant, the formation of a universal river enriched the character of Indian national unity.

All the more, Besant advocated the Hindu interpretation of *dharma* as both the evidence of fundamental unity in India, and as behind the rational, post-Enlightenment formulation of a truly united nation, "In the West a profound change of attitude has come over the modern mind, and this change is largely due to the influence of scientific thought... the whole tendency of modern science is towards unity". Besant uses 'scientific' reason to destabilize the privileging of Western conceptions of nationhood. The Western notion that "Man is born free", is crucial to most Western conceptions of nationhood... but given scientific reason, man is born dependent on others (the care of a mother) and into certain 'conditions' (Besant, p.20). Besant provides that unity, not individualism is defended by science, "The idea of evolution has shown humanity as springing from a common stock, and has caused society to be regarded as an organic growth and not as the result of an artificial contract... Men can only exist by virtue of the protection

⁴⁵ Besant, Annie. *Political Science*. Ibid. p. 25.

⁴⁶ HPB. *The Secret Doctrine*. Ibid.

extended to them by others”⁴⁷. The ‘underlying’ Indian value of dharma has always informed a strong unity of mutual duty and protection in India.

In formulating a modern and ‘scientific’ model of the state as a model of duty above rights, Besant proved that India already modeled a modern nation-state, “[Duty] is the recognition that man is a social, not an isolated being, and that the State should be moulded in accordance with this natural law”⁴⁸. While most Westerners used the individualism of Western nations as a measuring stick for India’s potential for national success, Besant implied that Western nations should model themselves off of India’s more evolved model of unity. The model of unity is seen as more evolved because only in the ‘mutual sacrifice’ and ‘mutual service’ of a Family based nation, can a nation successfully adapt over time. In a nation of individualism, group (national) adaptation appears impossible.

Besant’s fortification of particular threads of ‘Indian’ identity further catalyzed the social, religious, and political context leading up to Gandhi’s entry onto India’s national stage⁴⁹. Besant saw the spirit of Hindu unity as non-aggressive, inspired by Krishna’s words in the Gita, “‘Mankind comes to me along many roads. By whatever road a man comes to me, on that road do I welcome him, for all roads are mine.’ She wrote that Hinduism ‘makes no converts, it assails no beliefs, it is as tolerant and as patient as the earth’”⁵⁰. Because of Besant’s imagination of Hindu unity as ‘non-aggressive’ she utilized Hindu values to defend India as a monolithic,

⁴⁷ Besant, Annie. *Hindu Values*. p. 15. Ibid.

⁴⁸ Besant, Annie. *Political Science*. p. 33. Ibid.

⁴⁹ Bevir, Mark. *Theosophy as Political*. p. 110. Ibid.

⁵⁰ Herzberger, Radhika. “Education and Indian Nationalism”. *Journal of the Krishnamurti Schools*. Issue 3. March 1999. p. 2

modern nation state. Though, Besant's romanticization of Hindu unity was indigenized by more aggressive forms of Hindu 'unity' too. Besant's 'inclusive' view of a Hindu India (particularly her examination of Aryan ancestry and dharma) became manipulated as a tool of exclusive, right-wing cultural nationalism.

The Rise of the Hindutva Movement

Besant's involvement in the Indian National Congress set the scene for the rise of the right-wing Hindu movement, Hindutva. Hindutva came to prominence in Indian politics in the late 1980s, but it has existed since the early 20th century⁵¹. Hindutva urges India's return to a 'true' Hindu identity, however in many ways it interprets Hinduism using theosophy's Western, esoteric perspective. The ideology of Hindutva was spread principally through V.D. Savarkar's 1923 pamphlet *What is a Hindu?* In this pamphlet Savarkar called forth the same Aryan father substantiated by Besant, "We Hindus are bound together not only by the tie of the love we bear to a common fatherland and by the common blood that courses through our veins and keeps our hearts throbbing and our affections warm, but also by the tie of the common homage we pay to our great civilization— our Hindu culture"⁵². Though the narrative of ancient India's Aryan 'Father' is in no way creditable to Besant, the pamphlet was able to invoke the origin myth with confidence because Besant had already backed up the ancient Hindu 'myth' as veritable history, and as evidence of the need for Hindu unity for India to be a truly modern power.

⁵¹ Aloysius, G. *Trajectory of Hindutva*. Ibid.

⁵² The pamphlet was later renamed 'The Essentials of Hindutva'. Savarkar, V.D. *Essentials of Hindutva*. p.1-55. 1923. p. 4

All the more, though the 1923 pamphlet denied religious or cultural Hindu ‘converts’ as possessing only one of three essentials, Savarkar goes so far as to thank Annie Besant for her ardent defense of India’s ‘Hindu unity’, “So deep our feeling of gratitude is towards a Sister Nivedita or an Annie Besant for the services they rendered to the cause of our Motherland and our culture, so soft-hearted and sensitive to the touch of love as a race we Hindus are, that [Annie Besant] who so completely identifies his or her being with the Being of our [Hindu] people, is almost unconsciously received in the Hindu fold”⁵³. Besant’s profound sensitivity of Hindu values garnered her the status of a Hindu convert, however this consideration is an “exception to the rule” of Hindutva’s qualifications for who is a true Hindu. Unlike Besant’s reverie of Hinduism pure inclusivity, the *Hindutvavadis* call for the exclusive reality of Hindu cultural nationalism.

Still, evidence of the indigenization of Besant’s Aryan modernity is clear in the Hindutva’s first pamphlet. As described earlier, Besant synthesized Enlightenment rationality and Hindu spirituality to illustrate Hindu dharma as crucial to any modern nation state, “The idea of evolution has shown humanity as springing from a common stock, and has caused society to be regarded as an *organic growth* and not as the result of an artificial contract...”⁵⁴. In the Hindutva pamphlet’s promotion of the need to centralize Hindu doctrines, Savarkar uses precisely Besant’s language. Savarkar urged the need to return a uniformity of Hindu identity, in order to reinvigorate India’s original unity. On followers of contradictory Hindu traditions Savarkar challenges, “Will they disown their seed, forswear their fathers and sell their birthright for a mess

⁵³ Savarkar. *Essentials of Hindutva*. p. 50. Ibid.

⁵⁴ Besant, Annie. *Hindu Values*. Ibid. p. 20

of pottage? God forbid! Let our minorities remember that if strength lies in union, then in Hindutva lies the firmest and the dearest bond that can effect a real, lasting and powerful union of our people... This minority of the Hindus as well as the major communities of them did not fall from the skies as separate creations. They are an *organic growth* that has its roots embedded deep in a common land and in a common culture”⁵⁵.

The “seed” of India’s fathers in need of preservation is Hindu cultural unity. Hindutva’s conception of the Hindu ‘cultural unit’ is one of religious, racial, and national Hindu unity. The push to ‘restore’ a uniform Hindu culture to India is fundamentally marginalizing because it erases the histories and lived traditions that don’t fit the narrow doctrine of “true” (Brahmanical) Hindu ideals. The ideology of Hindutva permeates the division of (Hindu) Indian national identity into ‘internal’ and ‘external’ realms, “The actual existence of social divisions is then explained by identifying certain divisions as *the boundaries* of ‘society’ itself. Outside those borders lie ‘external’ entities, which produce ‘disharmony within ‘society’”⁵⁶. To Hindutva, the ‘foreign’ creates this disharmony antithetic to the united and independent Indian nation.

To Hindutva, the foreign is embodied both by ‘corrupted’ forms of Hinduism, and India’s outside invaders— anyone who defies the narrow bounds of the Hindu cultural unit. Hindutva offers both a formulation and prescription of this “corruption”, “‘Outsiders’ have a clear choice: they can swear allegiance to Hindutva and thus join ‘society’, or they can retain their beliefs, thereby confirming their ‘foreignness’ and making them fit for destruction”⁵⁷. At the time of

⁵⁵ Sarvarkar. *Essentials of Hindutva*. Ibid. p.48-49.

⁵⁶ Gopalakrishan, Shankar. “Defining, Constructing and Policing a ‘New India’. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol., 41, No.26. p. 2803-2813. (2006). p. 2805.

⁵⁷ Gopalakrishan, Shankar. “Defining New India”. p.2805. Ibid.

Hindutva's advent, the movement could intimidate in the Indian masses their duty to pledge allegiance to Hindu cultural unity, while explicitly labeling freedom from the British invader's colonial rule as the cause for this strict unity.

The Narrative of the Invader

In the early 20th century, as the force of cultural unity began dominating the vocabulary of Indian national politics, British Imperial rule was frequently characterized as that of the 'invader'. However, the archetype of the 'foreign' invader is nothing new in India. India has long been a country of religious plurality, and India's religious identities have each experienced shifting degrees of national dominance. For example, though Buddhists now represent less than 1% of India's population, Buddhism was once the dominant religion of the country for nearly a thousand years (*Sen; 2001 census*). Though Muslims now represent 13.4% of India's population, Islam too experienced incredible dominance in India. Perhaps most famous of India's Muslim rulers, the Mughals ruled from 1399 until the first wave of the British Raj in 1757⁵⁸. Though exactly who constitutes a 'foreigner' at any given moment in India is subjective, "[In pre-Independence India] you [could] find a number of thinking men, filled with an honest but vague longing for the emancipation of the country, ready to follow any plausible leader, whom, in their heart of hearts, they believe to be wholly against the foreigner"⁵⁹.

India's Hindu-Muslim dichotomy has also satisfied the narrative of the common 'foreign' enemy, both before and since India's 1947 Independence and Partition. India's 'Hindu-Muslim

⁵⁸ Doniger Wendy. *The Hindus*. Ibid. p. 527

⁵⁹ Herzberger, Radhika. "Education and Indian Nationalism". Ibid. p.1

problem'⁶⁰ is both a real and imagined division of the Indian peoples. In the Hindu right-wings employment of this division, "The Muslims of India are sought to be set up as a challenge and menace to the overwhelming majority of 'Hindus' constituting more than eighty percent of the population, in a country which has been the cradle of diverse Hindu religio-cultural traditions for millennia and whose cultural ethos informs and permeates the civic life even in modern India". Hindu unity in the cause of recovering from Islam's threat to a pure Hindu India, sets up two religious monoliths, "To cover up and suppress the growth of class-like formations that have threatened the traditional elite's solidarity time and again in modern history"⁶¹. The amalgamation of Hindus and Muslims within class structure (and class structure's elimination of caste structure), would destroy the functionality of the caste system. As class divisions present a threat to the hierarchy of caste divisions, this anti-hierarchy is subdued by the high-caste Hindutva's furtherance of India's Muslim peoples as invader and enemy.

The narrative of the invasive religious 'threat', hides and suppresses the threat to caste hierarchy, "Mechanical understanding and application of uniformity and equity for all Hindus is a veiled attempt to prevent the minimal change that is taking place, to strengthen the upper caste dominance within the traditional ideological framework, and to undercut the upward thrust (however crude and distorted) of the hitherto underprivileged. And this is sought to be done under the principle of Hindu unity"⁶². Under the the mask of the call for Hindu unity (against the British and Muslim invaders), Hindutva ideals cover the movement's continual subjugation of

⁶⁰ Devi, Savitri. *The Non-Hindu Indians and Indian Unity*. The Savitri Devi Archive. Second Edition. 2013.

⁶¹ Aloysius, G. "Trajectory of Hindutva". Ibid. p. 1450

⁶² Aloysius, G. "Trajectory of Hindutva". Ibid. p.1452.

lower castes. The heightening of monolithic religious difference appeals to the nostalgic emotion of India's Hindu majority, hindering the social restructuring possible through the acceptance of 'difference'.

As a more contemporary example, the Hindutva rhetoric of exclusive Hindu unity is often identified in the ideological positions of India's Bharatiya Janata Party and its former avatar, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, "The [BJP] is pledged to build up India as a strong and prosperous nation, which is modern, progressive and enlightened in outlook and which proudly draws inspiration from India's ancient culture and values and thus is able to emerge as great world power playing an effective role in the comity of Nations for the establishment of world peace and a just international order..."⁶³. The BJP can be considered a cultural nationalist movement because of the fact that it primarily 'draws inspiration from India's *ancient culture*'— implicitly, India's ancient Hindu culture. Article II of the BJP's ideological doctrine states, "The party aims at establishing a democratic state which guarantees to all citizens irrespective of caste, creed or sex, political, social and economic justice, equality of opportunity and liberty of faith and expression.... The party shall bear true faith and allegiance to the principles of socialism, secularism, and democracy and would uphold the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India"⁶⁴. Though the BJP professes opportunity and liberty to all of its citizens, at a closer glance the 'mechanical understanding and application of uniformity and equity' in its policies carry the same cultural ethos and societal boundaries as the Hindutva.

⁶³ Elst, Koenraad. "Anything but a 'Hindu' party". The Koenraad Elst site. <http://koenraadelst.bharatvani.org>

⁶⁴ Elst, Koenraad. "Anything but". Ibid.

Recalling the words of Hindutva, in the official philosophy of the party's most recent campaign, the BJP advocates, "The word Hindu is not to be understood in terms of narrow-minded religion, as Hindutva, Hinduism are just cultural, territorial, historical concepts referring to a broad-minded, tolerant, catholic, inclusive tradition... Hinduism is merely that compendium of virtues"⁶⁵. The BJP's integral Indian unity suggests Hindu cultural unity. The BJP also plainly promotes Hindu cultural unity and references India's Muslim population as a menace to this unity⁶⁶. The promotion of this 'cultural' nationalism is potentially dangerous as a tool through which to silence minorities and orchestrate regional violence⁶⁷. Theosophy's interpretation of the common Indian Family and Hindu dharma, was and is indigenized by cultural-nationalism as a tool for the sustainment of India's social hierarchy—a hierarchy that posits the leaders of Hindu cultural nationalism firmly at its top. The BJP's official ideology, 'integral humanism', claims to be a social doctrine based chiefly on Hindu instead of Western thought. Though, the BJP's ancient 'Hindu' social doctrine is undoubtedly informed by the Western (theosophical) reconfiguration of Hindu values. Hindutva as a unified cultural "history" subtly denies the validity of the alternative Indian histories lived by lower castes and non-Hindus.

⁶⁵ "Philosophy". Bharatiya Janata Party Website. p.5. www.bjp.org/about-the-party/philosophy

⁶⁶ "Hindutva: The Great Nationalist Ideology". Bharatiya Janata Party Website. http://www.bjp.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=369:hindutva-the-greatnationalist-ideology&catid=92&Itemid=501

⁶⁷ Appendix 1.

'The Past in the Present'

The explicit repression of alternative Hindu histories can be seen today in the banning of Wendy Doniger's book *The Hindus*. After years of lawsuits and outrage from the Hindu right wing over the book's self-labeled 'alternative histories' of Hindu traditions, the book was banned because its histories have been tagged as harming "national culture". Doniger's histories have been accused of attacking Hinduism and 'sexualizing Hindus'. In February 2014, Penguin India decided to recall and destroy all remaining copies of *The Hindus*⁶⁸. The banning of books is the active censorship of history, and a censorship that carries with it the "stench of fascism". In India's current political climate, "[It has become] painfully apparent from the lessons of everyday life that what you read in history books is true. That fascism is indeed as much about the people as about governments.... Talk of amending cable laws to ban networks 'harming national culture' (*The Indian Express*, July 3). Of churches being struck off the list of religious places because 'wine is served' (announced and retracted, *The Indian Express*, July 3, *The Times of India*, July 4). Artists, writers, actors, and singers are being harassed, threatened (and succumbing to the threats). Not just by goon squads, but by instruments of the government"⁶⁹. The dangers of this 'fascism' are systemically perpetuated through the complacency of a nation's people with the actions of its government.

Through complacency, the masses become instruments of the government. This complacency is fed now not by the "vague longing for the emancipation [of India]", but by the 'vague longing' for the formation of a New Order with India as a major global power. Today, there seems to be a

⁶⁸ Biswas, Soutik. "Why did Penguin recall a book on Hindus?" BBC News India. 12 February 2014 Last updated at 17:31

⁶⁹ Roy, Arundhati. *The End of Imagination*. dc books. 1998. p. 25- 28.

readiness among the Indian masses to follow any “plausible leader, whom, in their heart of hearts, they believe to be wholly ‘against the foreigner’”⁷⁰. In India’s current political climate, the masses are against the ‘foreigner’ in the spirit of establishing India’s rightful place in the world order⁷¹. The BJP has sought and seeks to arouse in the Indian masses the party’s capability to bring about this New Order for India. The BJP assumes India’s New Order through Hindu unity, “In the history of the world, the Hindu awakening of the late twentieth century will go down as one of the most monumental events in the history of the world. Never before has such demand for change come from so many people. Never before has Bharat, the ancient word for the motherland of Hindus - India, been confronted with such an impulse for change. This movement... is changing the very foundations of Bharat and Hindu society the world over”⁷². This promise of New Order is realized in the BJP’s current candidate for Prime Minister, Narendra Modi⁷³.

The concept of New Order, and its subsequent conception of the nation-state, presents its own share of perils— for India and the world⁷⁴. In a lecture on political science, Besant acknowledged the very danger of ‘this conception of the State’ as seen through the example of the German state (1917). Besant spoke, “We have seen [that in the Germany of to-day the] State becomes the highest entity recognized by the People and Power becomes its chief characteristic. Whether the Power be embodied in a Person... or in the Government of a Republic, or of a

⁷⁰ Herzberger, Radhika. “Education and Indian Nationalism”. Ibid. p.1

⁷¹ Puniyani, Ram. *Religion, Power and Violence*. Sage Publications. 2005

⁷² “The Great Nationalist Ideology”. BJP Website. Ibid.

⁷³ Appendix 2.

⁷⁴ Appendix 3.

Parliament, it matters very little. For safety, we must resort to the Indian view... there is Dharma, the Law, establishing Righteousness, Justice, and Liberty, and the fundamental principles on which the stability of the State itself is based.... Brahman is free, righteous and just, and these qualities inhere in the Self, the Spirit, in man”⁷⁵. According to Besant, an Indian nation-state motivated principally by Power (New Order) contradicts the fundamental principles of Indian national identity. Under Besant’s conception of the true Indian view, an Indian nation-state motivated principally by Power contradicts the righteous unity of dharma that was her primary defense of India’s independence. Paradoxically, Besant’s conception of dharma is the very view that has been manipulated and indigenized to defend India’s motivation of New Order.

Conclusion

Insights and Reflections

In the words of late Theosophical Society President Radha Burnier, “What India owes to [Annie Besant] cannot be measured. If today the conscience of India is awake to any extent, if India’s soul still animates the people’s consciousness, it is no small measure due to the endeavor of Dr Besant and her colleagues” ⁷⁶. India’s soul still animates the people’s consciousness. Though, the ways in which India’s soul is and has been animated must be complicated. Theosophy’s awakening of the Indian consciousness aided the virtuous cause of India’s independence from Britain. Nevertheless, theosophy’s awakening of the Indian consciousness has also contributed to dangerous forms of cultural nationalism. This research hopes to

⁷⁵ Besant, Annie. *Political Science*. Ibid. p. 20

⁷⁶ Burnier, Radha. *The Theosophist*. February 17, 1994. The Publishing House Adyar.

illuminate the complexities of the Theosophical Society's role in Indian nationalism. Theosophy and its place in Indian identity is not simply "Hinduism at its Best"⁷⁷.

Though the Society seeks "... [To] burst asunder the irk fetters of creeds and dogmas, of social and caste prejudices; [to] break down racial and national antipathies and barriers, and [to] open the way to the practical realization of the Brotherhood of all men", ideas of unity occasionally leads to the oppression of uniformity⁷⁸. The collective identity and memory of any nation resists uniformity, "[India's] collective memory is divided when assessing key figures from the past. Your hero is my villain, my hero is your villain. Luckily this is only a partial truth... [but] Indians do not agree about the past, on the order of events and even on the truth of some events"⁷⁹. The living alternative histories of India are undeniable and a crucial unit of India's rich national identity.

Potential Future Research

It would be valuable to investigate the relationship of the Theosophical Society's impression of the Aryan "race", on other forms of cultural nationalism— i.e. Naziism's manipulation of the concept of the Aryan race. It would also be valuable to research how the Theosophical Society sees itself in the political landscape of India today, and India's national identity.

⁷⁷ Mahatma Gandhi quoted in 1947, cited by Hanes III. *Indian National Congress*. Ibid p. 97

⁷⁸ HPB quoted in a digitized version of *The Canadian Theosophist*, Vol. 31, No. 9, Nov. 15, 1950.

⁷⁹ Gandhi, Rajmohan. *Does India Have a Future?* Ibid. p.10

Appendix

1. The dangers of heightening cultural nationalism can be seen through the example of the 2002 violence in the Indian state of Gujarat, “In the Gujarati town of Godhra, on 27 February 2002, a Muslim mob set on fire a train wagon carrying passengers returning from a Hindu pilgrimage to Ayodhya, killing 58. This incident ignited a cycle of communal violence affecting much of the state of Gujarat, which remained in a state of crisis or at least unease for six months. More than a thousand people (about 800 Muslims and 250 Hindus) were killed in riots, and many more rendered homeless and forced to seek shelter in refugee camps. Strangely, the effective cut-off date for this period of tension was another violent incident: on 24 September 2002, two Muslim terrorists entering the Hindu Swaminarayan shrine of Akshardham in Gandhinagar”⁸⁰.
2. The Gujarat administration, of which Modi is a part of, has been criticized and called into question for the regions 2002 violence⁸¹.
3. India’s possession of the atomic bomb is used as an identifying factor of India’s place in the New Order.⁸²

⁸⁰ Elst & Rao, “Gujarat After Godhra: Real Violence, Selective Outrage”. 2002, . <http://koenraadelst.bharatvani.org>

⁸¹ Elst & Rao, “Gujarat After Godhra: Real Violence, Selective Outrage,” 2002. Ibid.

⁸² Roy, Arundhati. *The End of Imagination*. ibid.

Glossary

Aryan- Primarily denotes an ancient people speaking an Indo-European language who invaded northern India in the 2nd millennium BC, displacing aboriginal peoples. The idea of an Aryan “race” corresponding to the speakers of the Indo-European language was put forward by various 19th century writers.

Dharma- In Hinduism, the principle of cosmic order actualized through duty. In Buddhism, the teachings of the Buddha.

Enlightenment- The (late 17th-18th century) Western intellectual movement that promoted reason, scientific methodology, and individualism over religious superstitions.

Esoteric- A knowledge held and agreed-upon only by a small group of people.

Fascism- A right-wing system of government that is nationalistic and authoritarian.

Hindu- The people of the Indus Valley region.

Hindutva- A 20th century movement calling for an India united by its Hindu religious, racial, and national identity.

(Hindutvavadis)- People who identify with and support Hindutva.

Medium (Spirit)- A clairvoyant or channeler of spiritual beings.

Neo-Hinduism- A term used by modern scholars to classify 19th century configurations of Hinduism that formed in response to Western orientalism and colonialism.

Occult- Beliefs, practices, and phenomena related to mystical, supernatural, or magical occurrences.

‘Other’- A concept popularized by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979, p. 1.) To project difference onto a figure outside of the self; making the figure outside of the ‘self’ exotic and romanticized.

Victorian Crisis of Faith- Anxiety concerning the authority of religion following the promulgation of Enlightenment values.

Viceroy- From the archaic French, *vice* (in place of) - *roi* (king). A colonial ruler acting and providing authority as an extension of a king or sovereign figure.

Bibliography

Aloysius G. "Trajectory of Hindutva". *Economic & Political Weekly*. Vol. 29, No. 24 (Jun. 11, 1994), pp. 1450-1452. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4401329>

Anderson, Benedict. "The Origins of Nationalism". *Imagined Communities*. Verso, 2006. pp. 48-59.

Besant, Annie. *Lectures on Political Science*. Delivered at the National College of Commerce, Madras. Published by The Commonweal Office; Adyar, Madras, India 1920. TPH Reference Library.

Besant, Annie. *Hindu Ideals*. From Notes of Lectures originally delivered at the Central Hindu College, Varanasi 1920. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar 1965. TPH Reference Library.

Besant, Annie. *The Case for India*. Speech given to the Indian National Congress, 1917. p.27

Bevir, Mark. "Theosophy and the Origins of the Indian National Congress". *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1/3. pp. 99-115. Springer. www.jstor.org/stable/20106850

Bevir, Mark. "Theosophy as a Political Movement". *Gurus and their Followers: New Religious Movements in Colonial India*. Oxford University Press, Delhi. 2000. p. 1-20.

Biswas, Soutik. "Why did Penguin recall a book on Hindus?" BBC News India. 12 February 2014 Last updated at 17:31

Blavatsky, H.P. *The Secret Doctrine*. Vol. I. The Theosophical Publishing Company. Adelphi, W.C. 1888

Blavatsky, H.P. *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*. 2 volumes. Wheaton: Theosophical Publishing House. 1977 [1877].

Blavatsky, H.P. "What are the Theosophists?" *The Theosophist*. Vol I., No. I. 1879. p.13.

Blavatsky, H.P. "What is Theosophy?" *The Theosophist*. Vol. 1, no. 1. October 1879. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

Burnier, Radha. Cited. *The Theosophist*. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar. January 2014. p. 15.

Devi, Savitri. *The Non-Hindu Indians and Indian Unity*. The Savitri Devi Archive. Second Edition. 2013.

Doniger, Wendy. *The Hindus: An Alternative History*. Penguin/Viking. 2009. p.50-64.

“Early History”. Theosophical Society of Adyar Website. <http://www.ts-adyar.org/content/early-history>

“Eminent Theosophists”. Theosophical Society of Adyar website. <http://www.ts-adyar.org/content/j-krishnamurti-1895-1986>

Elst, Koenraad. “Anything but a ‘Hindu’ party”. The Koenraad Elst site. <http://koenraadelst.bharatvani.org>

Elst & Rao. “Gujarat After Godhra: Real Violence, Selective Outrage”. 2002, . <http://koenraadelst.bharatvani.org>

Gandhu, Rajmohan. *Does India Have a Future?* Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar. 2004 [1994]. p. 7

Gopalakrishan, Shankar. “Defining, Constructing and Policing a ‘New India’”. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol., 41, No.26. p. 2803-2813. (2006). p. 2805.

Hanes, Travis W. III. “On the Origins of the Indian National Congress”. *Journal of World History*. Vol. 4. No. 1. 1993. pp.69-98.

Herzberger, Radhika. “Education and Indian Nationalism”. *Journal of the Krishnamurti Schools*. Issue 3. March 1999. p. 2

“Hindutva: The Great Nationalist Ideology”. Bharatya Janata Party Website. http://www.bjp.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=369:hindutva-the-greatnationalist-ideology&catid=92&Itemid=501

“Home”. Theosophical Society of Adyar Website. <http://www.ts-adyar.org>

HPB quoted in a digitized version of *The Canadian Theosophist*, Vol. 31, No. 9, Nov. 15, 1950.

Johnson, Paul K. *The Masters Revealed: Madame Blavatsky and the Myth of the Great White Lodge*. SUNY Press. 1994.

Mahatma Gandhi quoted in 1947, cited by Hanes III. *Indian National Congress*. Ibid p. 97

Mortimer, Joanne Strattofrd. “Annie Besant and India 1913-1917”. *The Journal of Contemporary History*. Vol. 18, No. 1. 1983. www.jstor.org/stable/260481 p. 61

Olcott, Henry S. *Old Diary Leaves*. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar. Vol, I. 1895

“Philosophy”. Bharatiya Janata Party Website. p.5. www.bjp.org/about-the-party/philosophy

Puniyani, Ram. *Religion, Power and Violence*. Sage Publications. 2005

Roy, Arundhati. *The End of Imagination*. dc books. 1998. p. 25- 28.

Savarkar, V.D. *Essentials of Hindutva*. Self Published. p.1-55. 1923. p. 4

Sen, Amartya. *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture, and Identity*. Allen Lane. 2005. p. 121

Sir Strachey, John. 1888. Cited in Bevir, Mark. “Theosophy as Political”. Ibid.

“Theosophy”. The Oxford English Dictionary Online. www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/theosophy

Vivekenanda, Swami cited in *The Case for India*. (Besant, Annie. *The Case for India*. p. 28. Ibid.)

Washington, Peter. *Madame Blavatsky's Baboon: A History of the Mystics, Mediums, and Misfits Who Brought Spiritualism to America*. Shocker Books, Inc. 1993.