

Barbarian Lands: Theos Bernard, Tibet, and the American Religious Life

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APPENDIX III:

A BRIEF SURVEY OF AMERICAN VISITORS TO TIBET

While several scholars have attempted to identify (and verify) the claims of European travelers to Tibet over the centuries, from the claims of Marco Polo, Bernard Picart, Ippolito Desideri, and others,^(a) a comprehensive overview of American travellers has yet to be written. While this appendix is by no means an answer to that challenge or justifiably comprehensive, it is an attempt in that direction. Hence, while the precise identification of the names and numbers of American travelers in the Tibetan border regions of Amdo and Kham — the regions of Tibet immediately accessible from China and Mongolia — are difficult to ascertain, let alone verify, visitors to the putative capital of Tibet (intellectually and culturally, if not politically) are well-documented.

^(a) For example: Donald Lopez, *Prisoners of Shangri-la*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1998); Robert Trent Pomplun, "Spiritual Warfare: The Jesuits and the Dalai Lama 1716-1733." Ph.D. dissertation. University of Virginia (2002); Oxford University Press (forthcoming).

The following is a brief survey of American visitors to Tibet that I have been able to identify, chronologically organized with those who managed to reach Lhasa, marked with an asterisk.

1. William Woodville Rockhill.

Rockhill claimed that he first became interested in Tibet from reading Abbé Huc's account of travels in Tibet while a cadet in the French Foreign Legion. Beginning his study of literary Tibetan at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris with Léon Féer and Edouard Foucaux,^(a) Rockhill would eventually publish English translations of the *Udânavarga* (1881) and *Prâtimoksha Sutra* (1884), as well as a French translation of *The Life of the Buddha* (1884). Accepting a position with the U.S. government, Rockhill served for several years in the American Legations in China and Korea (1884–87). While in Peking, he took advantage of the opportunity to study with a Tibetan lama, Lozang Tanba (*blo bzang bstan pa*) from Drepung Monastic University (Lhasa), with whom he refined his knowledge of Tibet and the Tibetan language.^(b) With Lozang Tanba's assistance he traveled through Mongolia and eastern Tibet for the Smithsonian Institution.

Despite his strong political position (Secretary at the U.S. Legation in Peking), Rockhill was unable to visit Lhasa as he had hoped and instead toured Amdo and Kham (1888, 1891-1892). He subsequently served as editor for Sarat Chandra Das's *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*; and later, was able to meet, befriend, and advise His Holiness the Thirteenth Dalai Lama during the latter's stay in Peking at the time of the British occupation of Lhasa (1906).

Refs: ^(a) Braham Norwick, "A Report on William Woodville Rockhill 1854-1914" in *Tibet: Past and Present* (Proceedings of the Ninth International Association of Tibetan Studies Conference) Leiden: E.J. Brill (2002), pp. 281-306; ^(b) William Woodville Rockhill, "Tibet. A Geographical, Ethnographical, and Historical Sketch, derived from Chinese Sources," *JRAS-GBI* 23(n.s.) [1891]: 1-291, p.2; William Woodville Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*. NY: Century Co. (1891); "Obituary: William Woodville Rockhill," *Geographical Journal* 45(1):

84-85; Karl E. Meyer, "Close Encounters of the American Kind: William Woodville Rockhill in Tibet," *World Policy Journal* 15(4): 73-90.

2. Albert L. Shelton

Dr. Albert Shelton was a medical missionary who spent close to twenty years in the Tibetan borderlands of Kham (eastern Tibet). Hoping to set up a medical mission in Lhasa, Shelton negotiated between the Tibetans and the Chinese for permission to visit Lhasa. Eventually receiving an invitation from the Thirteenth the Dalai Lama to visit the capital, Shelton was shot and killed by bandits on a trail in the Himalayas before ever reaching the city.

Ref: Douglas Wissing, *Pioneer in Tibet: The Life and Perils of Dr. Albert Shelton*. NY: Palgrave MacMillan (2004); A. L. Shelton, "Life Among the People of Eastern Tibet," *National Geographic Magazine*, September, 1921.

3. Susie Rijnhart (b. 1868)

Susanna Carson ["Susie"] Rijnhart (b. Canada; U.S. resident), the wife of a Dutch missionary (Peter Rijnhart), chronicled her time in Tibet in *With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple*. Peter Rijnhart, having failed to enter Tibet from India on his first attempt, together with his wife, left China in 1894 for Tibet, hoping to reach Kumbum Monastery. They entered Tibet as Christian missionaries via Amdo proceeding as far south and west as Nakchu (*nag chu*) before their new-born child died and Peter Rijnhart disappeared (presumed killed by bandits). Susie Rijnhart, with the help of local Tibetans, survived and returned to China.

Refs: Susie C. Rijnhart, *With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple*. Cincinnati: Foreign Christian Missionary Society (1901); "Peter Rijnhart in Tibet," *Open Court* 16(2) [Feb.1902]:109-113; W. Jonker Jr., *Een Nederlander als Baanbreker der Zending in Tibet*. Rotterdam: Nederlandsche Zendingsvereeniging (n.d. [ca.1917]).

4. James C. Ogden (1877-1929)

A missionary acquainted with Dr. Shelton, together with his wife, Ogden made his way from Shanghai to Batang in Eastern Tibet where they endeavored to convert Tibetans to Christianity. In addition to contributing to the design and construction of a school, orphanage, and other facilities in the area like Shelton, Ogden also attempted to serve as a mediator between the Chinese and Tibetans.

Ref: "A Short Biography of James Ogden's Life by Jacqueline Darakjy" at <<http://dalailamabuffalo.com/JamesOgdensPhotographsOfTibet1905-1928.htm>> cited on 09-Mar-2008.

5. E.F. Farmer (d.1929)

Farmer was a mountain climber from New York who made the second attempt to climb Kangchenjungna and died on its slopes. According to the official British report:

"He was accompanied by native porters, his sirdar being Lobsang ... Farmer's climbing experience was limited to the Rockies, and he had never before visited the Himalayas. He told no one of his plans, and having obtained a pass to enable him to go into Sikkim, and signing an undertaking that he would enter neither Thibet nor Nepal, he left on May 6, with reliable Sherpa and Bhutia porters.

"On May 26, Farmer and three ex-Everest porters started up towards the Talung Saddle. Farmer was warmly clad and wearing crampons, but the porters were poorly shod, and had no crampons. In view of this Lobsang advised turning back, and it was agreed to do this at noon. Climbing became difficult, and the porters found it impossible to proceed in their poor quality boots. Accordingly, Farmer ordered them to halt, while he continued a little higher for photographic purposes. The porters did their best to dissuade him, but, apparently, oblivious of all risk, he climbed up and up, through drifting mists. Now and again when the mists cleared he appeared, and the porters waved to him to descend. At 5 p.m. he was still seen to be climbing, then the mist came down and he was seen no more. The porters remained where they had halted until dusk, then they descended to the camp, and waited in vain

for his return. They signaled at intervals during the night with an electric torch and Meta fuel, but to no purpose. The next morning they climbed up to a point from which his route was visible, and caught a glimpse of him soon after dawn far up on a steep snow slope. He seemed to be moving jerkily, with arms outstretched. Of course, this may have been imagination on the part of the porters, but if true, it may well have been due to snow blindness. They kept up their vigil throughout the day, and it was not until the morning of May 28 that hunger forced them down to Tseram.”

Ref: F.S. Smythe, *The Kangchenjunga Adventure*. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd (1930), pp.34-36.

6. Henrietta Sands Merrick (b.1879)

An explorer who wanted to visit Tibet, Merrick hired Tharchin as a guide, and with permission from the British authorities, traveled to Gyantse with Tharchin in the Spring of 1931.

Ref: Henrietta Sands Merrick, *Spoken in Tibet*. NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons (1933).

7. Henry Albert Carpenter (1869 - 1937; travels 1926, 1931)

A descendent of actual Pilgrims^(c) — William Carpenter and Abigail Searles, who arrived in America on the Bevis^(b) in May of 1638 — Henry Albert Carpenter was born on September 26th, 1869 in Plantsville, Conneticut to Susan Emily [Prosser] and Charles E. Carpenter, a prominant citizen and former mayor of Willimantic (Conn.).^(a) Henry attended the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale University where he received a degree in mechanical engineering in 1891.^(d) Henry proceeded to earn considerable livelihood redesigning, selling and installing large-scale natural gas holders around the country, eventually becoming the vice-president and general manager of a major manufacturing company. In 1895, he married Jessamine Walker and though they had a child two years later, it died the same day. According to accounts, Henry and his wife settled in Sewickley, Pennsylvannia and would often amuse themselves and their friends with their “telepathic

communication, for which they discovered that they had considerable powers.”^(a) Following the death of his wife in 1919, Henry disposed of their property and moved into a room at the New York City “Yale Club” along with his library.

While living in New York, Henry Carpenter contacted members of the Theosophical Society and although he began to suffer persistent health problems, eventually resolved to make a journey to Tibet. Leaving in February of 1926, he made his way to Darjeeling but was denied permission to enter Tibet. Consulting with his newly found friends in Darjeeling, he learned that the Ninth Paṅ-chen Lama had recently gone to China. Determined to meet him, Henry traveled to Peiping (Beijing) eventually finding and receiving an audience with the Paṅ-chen Lama in Mukden (Shenyang), and formally converted to Buddhism.

Over the next ten years, Henry Carpenter traveled from the United States to India two more times for the purpose of studying yoga with Lama Yongden, the teacher of Alexandra David-Neel,^(c) becoming a friend of S.W. Laden La and his family at the Windamere Hotel in Darjeeling (he even offered to help members of the family develop their psychic powers).^(f) On his second trip in the early 1930s, he received permission from the British authorities to travel a short distance into Tibet and bringing professional equipment with him, shot several thousand feet of film footage in India and Tibet.^(g) In 1936, he returned to India on a third trip, but arriving in Calcutta (Kolkata) he suffered a stroke, and on March 5th, 1937, died in a Calcutta Hospital.^(a)

Refs: ^(a) His date of death is given as March 5th, 1937 in the official Yale yearbook. Sterling Haight Bunnell, *Personal Histories of the Graduates and Part-time Members of the Class of 1891, Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University, to the Year of Grace 1937*. New Haven: Quinnipiac Press (1937), pp. 55-57; ^(b) “Sail1620 — Discover History: The Carpenter Sisters of Leiden” <http://www.sail1620.org/discover_biography_the_carpenter_sisters_of_leiden.shtml> cited 10-Mar-2007; ^(c) “Passenger Ships to New England, Virginia & Barbadoes From England” <<http://olivetreegenealogy.com/ships/nengships1620-1640.shtml>> also “Pilgrim Ship Lists” <<http://www.packrat-pro.com/shiplist.htm>> cited 10-Mar-2007; ^(d) Nathaniel Read Norton and Milton Cleveland Isbell, and Amasa Trowbridge, *Class book of ninety-one*

Sheff., Yale University. New Haven: The Stafford Printing Co. (1891), p.18; (c) Viola Wertheim Bernard, VWB Handwritten Journal, entry for Sept. 21st [1936]. VWB Archive #9.9; (f) “Welcome to Windamere” <<http://www.windamerehotel.com/others/nostalgia.asp>> accessed on 12-Mar-2007; (g) To date I have been unable to locate this film or any of Carpenter’s other possessions.

*8. William McGovern (1897-1964; travels, 1926) [First American in Lhasa]

William McGovern made a name for himself as the first American to reach Lhasa, albeit illegally. During the course of his travels, McGovern shot footage of his own expedition (currently housed in the Northwestern University Archives^(b)) and wrote a book^(a) telling of his trip as well as preparations to enter Tibet in disguise.

Following his return from India and Tibet, in 1924 a British film company made a movie based on McGovern’s tale entitled “Mysterious Tibet” (believed to be lost).^(c) It was intended as a travelogue to encourage others to journey to Tibet in McGovern’s footsteps, though some have claimed that he was the inspiration for the “Indiana Jones” series of motion pictures.^(b) Working as a lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, McGovern eventually returned to the United States. Unlike Bernard, McGovern would get to meet President Roosevelt, and in the 1940s went to work for the U.S. government as an expert on Asian affairs, reputedly due to his friendship with Sun Yat Sen. He eventually took up a post as a professor of Political Science at Northwestern University where he remained until his death.

Refs: (a) William McGovern, *To Lhasa in Disguise*. NY and London: The Century Co. (1934); also: (b) Jenny Pritchett, “Keeper of the Past,” *Northwestern* [Fall 1999]; (c) “William McGovern” <<http://www.classictravelbooks.com/authors/mcgovern.htm>> cited on 20-Jan-2008.

*9. Charles Suydam Cutting (Jan. 17, 1889 -) [Second American in Lhasa]

Employed by the American Museum of Natural History (New York), Charles Suydam Cutting and Arthur Stannard Vernay (also AMNH) led the Vernay-Cutting Expedition to Tibet in 1935 for the purposes of collecting ethnological objects for the museum, as well as botanical specimens for the Kew Gardens in England. Based out of Gyantse, Tibet, Cutting and Vernay shot 35mm film to document their expedition, as well as scenes of Tibetan life. From Gyantse, they proceeded to visit both Lhasa and Shigatse.^(a)

Cutting returned to Tibet in the summer of 1937 with his wife (British), at which time they met Bernard in Lhasa.

Refs: ^(a) C. Suydam Cutting, *The Fire Ox and Other Years*. NY: Scribner's Sons (1940); C. Suydam Cutting, "In Lhasa, the Forbidden," *Natural History* 37(2) [Feb. 1936]:102-126; Nina J. Root, *Catalog of the American Museum of Natural History Film Archives*. NY: Garland (1987).

10. Edwin Schary

An enthusiastic follower of Madame Blavatsky and the Theosophical Society, Schary attempted to locate the "great beings" (*mahātmas*) reputed to be living in Tibet. Entering Tibet from the west, Schary made his way to Mt. Kailash, but was unable to locate any "sages." Traveling eastwards, when he finally reached Gyantse several months later, it was the British Trade Agent, David MacDonald, who came to his rescue, and subsequently validated his account.

At the time of the publication of his book, Schary was in jail in India for undisclosed reasons.

Refs: Edwin Schary, *In Search of the Mahatmas of Tibet*. London: Seeley, Service and Co. (1935).

11. Harrison Forman (1904-1978)

Harrison Forman had studied “Oriental Philosophy” at the University of Wisconsin before traveling to Asia where he worked as a *New York Times* correspondent in Chungking^(a) and a cameraman for the “March of Time” newsreel service.⁽ⁱ⁾ In 1932 he organized a motor caravan expedition from China to Tibet and claimed to be the first Westerner to drive a motorcar to the shores of Lake Kokonor in Amdo (northeastern Tibet).^(b) Traveling in eastern Tibet for several years afterwards, Forman published an article^(c) and book^(d) about his adventures. Roaming the lands of western China and eastern Tibet, he maintained contact with Tibetans when and where he could, including the Ninth Paṅ-chen Lama, then in exile in China.^(e)

Returning to the United States off-and-on over the years, Forman tried his hand at the lecture circuits^(g) and Hollywood (getting a job as a consultant on Capra’s “Lost Horizon”^(f)), while establishing himself as a foreign correspondent. After a brief attempt as a political commentator,^(h) Forman eventually positioned himself as a photo journalist^(j) licensing his pictures under the auspices of “Harrison Forman World Photos” producing a collection of some 80,000 images.^(b)

Refs: (a) [Book review], *Illustrated London News* (UK), Apr. 10, 1943; (b) “Afghanistan: Images from the Harrison Forman Collection” <<http://www.uwm.edu/Library/digilib/afghan/records/about.htm>> cited on 10-Feb-2008; (c) Harrison Forman, “I See the King of Hell,” *Harper’s Magazine* 170 [Dec.1934-May 1935]: 14-25; (d) Harrison Forman, *Through Forbidden Tibet: An Adventure into the Unknown*. NY: Longmans, Green and Co. (1935); (e) “500,000 in Tribute to Panchen Lama,” *New York Times*, Feb 14, 1936, p.10, also Barbara Miller, “Technical Expert Brings Tibet Here; Minneapolis Man Vies With Foreigners in Transplanting Queer Lands to Hollywood Film Studios,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 1936, p. C1; (f) “Explorer Returns for Film Premiere,” *Los Angeles Times*, Feb 21, 1937, p. C3; (g) “Lecture Series Is Announced By Geographic; Society’s Illustrated Talks for '37-'38 to Describe Far Places,” *Washington Post*, Oct. 31, 1937, p.8; (h) Harrison Forman, *Blunder in Asia*. NY: Didier (1950), also “China Communism Held Worst Peril; Veteran Observer Says Mao’s Regime, Not Russia, Is

No. 1 Enemy of Western World,” *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 20, 1955, p.A6; (i) Matthew L. Wald, “Harrison Forman, 74, War Reporter, Dies; Covered the Sino-Japanese Conflict After Career as Photographer, Explorer and Aviator A Search for the Mountain” *New York Times*, Feb 2, 1978, p.B9; (j) Harrison Forman, *How to Make Money with Your Camera*. NY: Didier (1951).

*12. Theos Bernard (1908-1947) [Third American in Lhasa]

See Appendix I.

13. Gordon B. Enders (1897-1978)

Born in Iowa and raised in Pennsylvania, Gordon Enders served in World War I in France as a flying cadet at the age of twenty.^(d) He appears to have made his way eastward after the war, returning to America in the early 1920s, returning several more times to China over the next ten years.^(e) Beyond this, however, little more primary information is available about the man beyond what public persona he established for himself in the mid-1930s.^(a)

Writing from China in 1935 as a newspaper correspondent, Enders billed himself as an American “aviation and economic advisor” to Chiang Kai-shek and by appointment from the latter,^(f) likewise to the Panchen Lama.^(c) In his published works,^(g) Enders claimed to have spent his childhood in India as the son of two missionaries in Hindustan being educated in the ways of India by a Sikh *guru*, before visiting Tibet with a friend, “a Tibetan statesman, graduate of an American mission school.” After the death of the Paṅ-chen Lama in 1937, Enders returned to the U.S., following which he joined the U.S. government as a Military Attaché to Afghanistan in 1941 with the rank of Major.^(h)

From comments made by Fletcher to Basil Gould in the correspondence files of the British Mission,^(b) Enders appears to have been viewed by the British as “an imposter” little different from Bernard.

Refs: (a) The 1910 U.S. Federal Census lists him as living with his parents in Dauphin, PA, while the 1930 U.S. Federal Census lists

him as a “lodger” in the “Governor Clinton Hotel” in Manhattan (7th Ave. and West 31st St.); (b) Letter. E.W. Fletcher to B.J. Gould, dated “26 June 1940.” D.O.No.F-238-X/40. L/P&S/12/4203 Pol Ext Coll 36 File 31. *British Intelligence on China in Tibet, 1903-1950*. OIOC, British Library. CIT-5 fiche 376; (c) Gordon Enders, “Great Lama, Tibet’s Spiritual Ruler, Not Expected to Aid Japan in China,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Dec. 2, 1935, p. 8; (d) *The Official Roster of Ohio Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the World War, 1917-18*. Columbus, OH: The F.J. Heer Printing Co. (1926); (e) Ancestry.com, “California Passenger and Crew Lists, 1893-1957” <<http://www.ancestry.com>> (2008); (f) “In India and Tibet,” *New York Times*, May 31, 1942, p.BR18; (g) Gordon Enders, *Foreign Devil*. NY: Simon and Schuster (1942), also, Gordon Enders, with Edward Anthony, *Nowhere Else In The World*. NY: Farrar & Rinehart (1935); (h) Herbert L. Matthews, “Beyond the Khyber Pass; A journey into isolated Afghanistan, on which the tides of change are beating Beyond the Khyber Pass -- Afghanistan,” *New York Times*, July 18, 1943, p. SM17.

- *14. Brooke Dolan (1909-1945, Capt., U.S. Army) and Ilia Tolstoy (1903-1970, Lt. Col., O.S.S.)

[Fourth & Fifth Americans in Lhasa]

Brooke Dolan grew up in Philadelphia and was educated at Princeton and Harvard. In 1933, he first participated in an expedition to northeastern Tibet collecting ethnographic data for the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences,^(a,b) before enlisting in the U.S. Army.

Ilia Tolstoy was a Lt. Col. in the Office of Strategic Services (O.S.S.) in 1942 when the Burma Road — the main route for transferring supplies to inner China — was lost to the Japanese. Hoping to establish an overland route through Tibet to funnel supplies to the Chinese military, Tolstoy selected Dolan from a pool of candidates to accompany him on a mission to Tibet to secure permission for such maneuvers from the Tibetan government.^(c)

Dolan was killed in fighting in the Pacific in World War II in August of 1945.^(d) Ilia Tolstoy died in 1970.

Refs: (a) "Notes of Social Activities in New York and Elsewhere," *New York Times*, July 5, 1935, p.10; (b) "Explorer Returns With Tibet Fauna; Brooke Dolan Completes Bird and Beast Collection for the Philadelphia Academy," *New York Times*, Feb 16, 1936, p.27; (c) Iliia Tolstoy, "Across Tibet from India to China," *National Geographic Magazine*, 90(2) [August 1946]: 169-222; (d) American Battle Monuments Commission. *World War I Listing; World War II Listing; Korean War Listing*. <<http://www.ancestry.com>> (2008).

- *15. Crew of the China-Burma-India (CBI) run C-87 cargo plane: Robert E. Crozier, Harold J. McCallum, Kenneth B. Spencer, William Parram, and John Huffman. [Sixth through Tenth Americans in Lhasa]

As part of the U.S. efforts in World War II, the China-Burma-India (CBI) run was an air conduit for transporting supplies between India and China. In November of 1943, a cargo plane headed from Kunming (China) towards Jorhat (India) with five U.S. military men was blown off course by a Himalayan storm. When the pilot and crew discovered their error, they were well into central Tibet. Attempting to return south, their plan ran out of fuel shortly after passing Lhasa, and they were forced to bail out at low altitude before the plane crashed on the far-side of the Tsang-po River. Making their way back to Lhasa on foot, the crew was taken in by the British Mission and given medical attention. They returned overland to Calcutta in January, 1944.

Refs: William B. Sinclair, *Jump to the Land of God*. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers (1965).

- *16. Archibald T. Steele (1902-1992) [Eleventh American in Lhasa]

A foreign correspondent for the *New York Times* in China in 1932, Archibald Steele made a name for himself covering the Sino-Japanese War^(a) and later, the Communist take-over of China. The first American to meet and photograph the Fourteenth Dalai Lama (in 1939), years later he petitioned the Tibetan government to visit Lhasa. Receiving permission to visit Lhasa as a foreign news correspondent in 1944,

Steele serialized the account of his visit to Lhasa for the *Chicago Daily News*.^(b)

Refs: ^(a) Archibald Steele, "Japan's Attitude Calm," *New York Times*, Oct 20, 1936, p. 18, and others; ^(b) Archibald Steele, *In the Kingdom of the Dalai Lama*. Sedona, AZ: In Print Pub. (1993); "Obituary: Archibald T. Steele; Journalist, 89," *New York Times*, Mar 4, 1992.

- *17. Lowell Thomas and Lowell Thomas, Jr. [Twelfth and Thirteenth Americans in Lhasa]

Having become famous in World War I for his coverage of the War in north Africa and his role in creating the popular image of "Lawrence of Arabia," Lowell Thomas was one of the most famous news correspondents of his day. Hoping to visit Lhasa, he arrived with his son, Lowell Thomas, Jr. in Calcutta in August, 1949. Having received prior permission to visit the Tibetan capital, the two men journey to, and stayed in Lhasa for one month. During their time in Lhasa, Thomas maintained contributions to nightly news broadcasts by long-wave and short-wave radio back to America, and succeeded in having an audience with the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

Refs: Lowell Thomas with Lowell Thomas, Jr., "Out of This World: A Journey to Lhasa," *Collier's [Magazine]*, Feb. 11, 1950, pp. 13-17, 70; Lowell Thomas, Jr., *Out of This World: To Forbidden Tibet*. NY: Avon Publications (1950).

- *18. Douglas MacKiernan (CIA) and Frank Bessac (State Dept.). [Fourteenth American in Lhasa]

In the spring of 1950, Douglas MacKiernan, a CIA officer stationed in Urumchi to monitor Chinese Communist incursions into Eastern Turkestan was sent to Lhasa to monitor the situation in Tibet, accompanied by a Mongolian linguist, Frank Bessac. Before authorization to enter Tibet had been received, however, MacKiernan was shot and killed by Tibetan borderguards on the north-west Tibetan-Turkestan border. Frank Bessac was taken prisoner, and when official clearance was later

received by the borderguards, Bessac was brought to Lhasa, arriving in the summer of 1950.

Refs: Frank Bessac, "This was the Trek to Tragedy," *Life*, Nov. 13, 1950, pp. 130-141; Thomas Laird, *Into Tibet*. NY: Grove Press (2002).

Errata

p. 971 fn (a):

(a) For example: Donald Lopez, *Prisoners of Shangri-la*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1998); Robert Trent Pomplun, "Spiritual Warfare: The Jesuits and the Dalai Lama 1716-1733." Ph.D. dissertation. University of Virginia (2002); published as: Trent Pomplun, *Jesuit on the roof of the world: Ippolito Desideri's mission to eighteenth-century Tibet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2010).

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*12. Theos Bernard (1908-1947) [Third American in Lhasa]

See Hackett, Paul G. *Theos Bernard, the White Lama: Tibet, Yoga, and American Religious Life*. New York: Columbia University Press (2012).

Addenda

12a. F. Bailey Vanderhoef (1913-)

Traveled to Gyantse in the summer of 1938, accompanied by Wilbur L. Cummings, Jr. (1914-1943). They departed Kalimpong on June 7th, 1938 and stayed in Gyantse until July 11th (1938), returning to Kalimpong. While there, they took photographs and acquired various cultural memorabilia.

Refs: The journals and memoirs of both men have been preserved and made available through the University of California at Santa Barbara on line, at:

<http://www.religion.ucsb.edu/tibetjourney1938/>

Theos Casimir Hamati Bernard[1] (1908–1947) was an explorer and author, known for his work on yoga and religious studies, particularly in Tibetan Buddhism. He was the nephew of Pierre Arnold Bernard, "Oom the Omnipotent", [2] and like him became a yoga celebrity. [3]. His account of old-style hatha yoga as a spiritual path, *Hatha Yoga: The Report of A Personal Experience*, is a rare insight into the way these practices, known from medieval documents like the *Hatha Yoga Pradipika*, actually worked. [4]. His biographer Paul Hackett states that many of the travel experiences Bernard relates in his book... *Barbarian Lands: Theos Bernard, Tibet, and the American Religious Life*. Columbia University (Ph.D. dissertation). Hackett, Paul (2012). Theos Bernard was a remarkable man. He was the only westerner invited as a religious student/pilgrim to the "forbidden" city, Lhasa, Tibet. In 1937 he spent three months in Lhasa interacting with the full range of Tibetan society, from the Regent (this was between Dalai Lamas) to nobles, to all the major religious leaders, to the humblest servants. His months in Tibet were the great adventure of his life. But the rest of his life was extraordinary as well. He grew up in Tombstone, Arizona with a doting mother, step-father and three step- brothers -- his father left his mother soon after Theos In 1937, Theos Casimir Bernard (1908–1947), the self-proclaimed "White Lama," became the third American in history to reach Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet. During his stay, he amassed the largest collection of Tibetan texts, art, and artifacts in the Western hemisphere at that time. Through diaries, interviews, and previously unstudied documents, Paul G. Hackett shares Bernard's compelling life story, along with his efforts to awaken America's religious counterculture to the unfolding events in India, the Himalayas, and Tibet. Hackett concludes with a detailed geographical and cultural trace of Bernard's Indian and Tibetan journeys, which shed rare light on the explorer's mysterious disappearance. Year: 2012. *Barbarian Lands: Theos Bernard, Tibet, and the American Religious Life*. (2008) Thesis advisor: Robert Thurman. The dissertation presented the first and only comprehensive narrative of the life of Theos Bernard (1908-1947). In the context of this narrative, the dissertation examined such issues as Bernard's place in the early history of the American subculture and counter-culture informed by Indian concepts of religiosity and the narrative of the genesis and spread of Indian and Buddhist religious traditions in America over the last 150 years. In addition, Bernard's life and writings are examined Over the course of his brief life, Bernard met, associated, and corresponded with the Building on prodigious research, Paul G. Hackett has produced an utterly fascinating account of Theos Bernard, the spiritual adventurer who introduced the mysteries of Tibet to America and the world. Well-written and lively, integrating with apparent ease the alternative American religious scene in the first half of the twentieth century and the unfolding of events in the Indian subcontinent, the Himalayas, and Tibet. Heather Stoddard "Come with me," he invited the audience, "in a flight in the Clipper Ship of the imagination from San Francisco across the vast Pacific . . . into the heart of Asia, the Land of the Lama Tibet!" and with a carefully practiced grandiose style, Theos