## Contents

Illustrations	xi
Acknowledgments	
Abbreviations	xv
Introduction: A Courtroom in Rangoon	1
The Bible, the Bottle, and the Gatling Gun	5
Bringing Dhammaloka to Book?	7
The Hunt for Dhammaloka: A Detective Story across Two Ce	nturies 7
Who Was Dhammaloka?	9
The Wider Imperial Context	10
Why Dhammaloka?	14
Going Native	15
They Seek Him Here, They Seek Him There	18
Buddhist Studies and Dharma Bums	21
Politics in the Long Term	23
1. Dhammaloka before Dhammaloka: Before 1900	25
Tracing a Life through Unreliable Accounts	26
An Irish Sailor and Hobo	28
Laurence Carroll's Early Years	30
Hoboing across the United States	31
A Trans-Pacific Sailor	34
Conversion to Buddhism and Ordination	36
Four Competing Chronologies	38
The United States or Asia?	39
Dhammaloka's Political Skills	42
A Life among Men?	44
Crossing Ethnic Boundaries	45
Rejecting Racialization	47
2. The Irish Buddhist Wins Burmese Hearts: 1900-2	49
A Novice at the Tavoy Monastery in Rangoon	52
Dhammaloka's Meteoric Rise to Fame	54
Preaching Tour Draws Thousands	56
The Name "Dhammaloka"	62
More Popular than the Viceroy	64
Another Triumphal Tour	66
Dhammaloka as <i>Phongyi</i>	68
A Sudden Departure	69

## viii CONTENTS

3.	Trampling on Our Religion: 1901	73
	A Wonderful Dream and a Secret Document	76
	Tommy Atkins and the Trustees	78
	A Brush with an Artist	79
	No Sole Theory	81
4.	Tokyo—An Irish Burmese Monk in Imperial Japan: 1902–3	85
	Another World's Parliament of Religions?	85
	Dhammaloka's Japanese Connections	87
	Launching an International Buddhist Association	88
	A "Euro-American Child"	89
	Return to the Buddhist University	92
	A Woman Alone in the Heart of Japan	95
	A Transnational Perspective	97
5.	Multiplying Buddhist Missions—Singapore, Bangkok,	
	Penang: 1903–5	101
	Intrigue with the Saopha: From Singapore to Bangkok	103
	Lhasa Can Wait: New Projects in Bangkok	107
	International Buddhist Plans	109
	A Chinese Invitation to Singapore	112
	Flag of Truth Unfurled	115
	Cosmopolitan Buddhism	117
	New European Buddhist Monks	118
	Dhammaloka Takes His Well-Earned Leave	120
	Into India, from Amritsar and Assam to Bengal and Chittagong	121
	A Multi-Religious Mission to Penang	122
	The Smell of the Sea	125
	A Plebeian Cosmopolitanism	126
	Visions of a Rainbow Future	129
6.	Interlude: Who Was the First Western Buddhist Monk?	131
	Boundary Crossing in High Imperialism	133
	Beachcomber Bhikkhus	134
	Three Contenders for the Title	136
	Bhikkhu Asoka (Gordon Douglas)	136
	Dhammaloka	138
	Ananda Metteyya	139
	Ananda Metteyya vs. Dhammaloka	140
	Building and Breaching Barriers	144
	Ordaining Others: Creating Lineages Liturgy and Legitimacy	145
		148
	Ordination at the Tavoy Monastery: December 1901/May 1902 Dharmatrata Ordained in Singapore: October 1904	149
	The Ordination and Disrobing of C. A. Roberts: April/October 1904	150 152
	Legitimacy and Boundaries	153
		133

7.	The Vagabond Traveler's Account: 1905	157
	Hoboing around the World	157
	Franck Encounters Buddhism	159
	The Vagabond Traveler and the Beachcomber Bhikkhu	160
	Dhammaloka Spins His Yarn	162
	"All sahibs are Christians!"	166
	Franck Puts Up at the Tavoy	167
8.	A Print Revolution: 1907–8	171
	A Gap in the Records	171
	Temperance, Tracts, and Tours	172
	The Politics of Publishing	175
	Building the Buddhist Tract Society	176
	Links with International Freethought	180
	Organizing the BTS: Writing, Publishing, Distributing	181
	Known BTS Publications	182
	An Eclectic Series	188
	Sources of Dhammaloka's Freethinking	188
	Irish Anticlericalism	189
	Freethought and Working-Class Britain	189
	Hobo Readers in America	191
	Freethought in Asia	192
	Dhammaloka as Plebeian Intellectual	194
9.	A Controversial Tour of Ceylon: 1909	197
	The 1909 Tour	199
	The Tour Seen through Anagarika Dharmapala's Private Diaries	200
	Dhammaloka's Sermons	201
	Dhammaloka's Politics	204
	Traveling with the Irish Monk: Conflicts and Egos	209
	The Political Context	211
	The Establishment Fights Back	212
	Lectures and Counter-Lectures	215
	Under Surveillance	216
	The Tour's Unexpected End	218
10.	Dhammaloka's Last Years and a Mysterious Death: 1909–12	223
	Confrontation in Moulmein	223
	Why the Rangoon Appeal Mattered	228
	Supporting Dhammaloka	230
	Sentence Is Passed	232
	Fleeing the Country?	233
	The Sad Death of Dhammaloka	234
	A Visit to Thursday Island?	236
	Why Did Dhammaloka Come to Australia?	237

## X CONTENTS

On the Run?	238
Why Dhammaloka Matters	240
Personal Consistency	240
Inventing the Modern World	244
A Plebeian Cosmopolitanism	247
Epitaph	251
Dhammaloka's Last Days	253
The Irish Buddhist: Timeline	255
Glossary	259
Notes	263
Bibliography	299
Index	311