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Chapter 4

Theosophical Movements in Modern China

The Education Provided by Theosophists at the Shanghai International Settlement

CHUANG Chienhui

Introduction

India and China, two of the four great ancient civilizations of the world, suffered heavily from imperialism in the modern era. In India, the second president of the Theosophical Society, Annie Besant (1847–1933), worked in support of self-rule. The Theosophical Society in India also placed an emphasis on education and established schools for Indians in Varanasi, Kolkata, and other places. The Theosophical movement in South Asia thus influenced politics, modern education, and the Buddhist restoration movement, but it also attempted to promote a similar movement in modern China. Christian missionary schools in China were established in the late nineteenth century. By the 1920s, nationalism had surged among the Chinese. The Chinese became highly concerned with educational rights as a part of the growth of the nationalist movement. Subsequent to the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925, nationalistic Chinese elites pressured the government for the establishment of rights to education; hence, the Chinese government formulated policies for the recovery of educational rights in the same year. During this conflict, the Theosophical Society,

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which was promoting alternating communication and interaction between the “East” and the “West” from a pluralistic perspective, established a girls’ school for the Chinese in the Shanghai International Settlement. Regardless of whether the timing was appropriate, the Theosophical girls’ school was popular with the Chinese. Although the school was instituted by Theosophical missionaries, few Chinese were aware of its difference from other Christian missionary schools. In this chapter, I outline the development of the Theosophical movement in modern China. Furthermore, I discuss the ideals of the Theosophical educational movement, as exemplified by George S. Arundale (1878–1945) and Beatrice Ensor (1885–1974). Subsequently I situate the reception of the Theosophical educational movement in Shanghai against the background of the country’s battle against Western hegemony in the early twentieth century.

The Early Theosophical Movement in Modern China

Wu Tingfang (1842–1922) was an important diplomat in modern China and one of the best-known Chinese individuals in the Western world from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. He was famous not only as a diplomat but also as the author of the first Chinese-language Theosophical manual. The first record that Wu acquired membership in the Theosophical Society is from 1916. Wu joined in the United States at Krotona, Hollywood, on August 23, 1916.¹ There were some interesting encounters during his stay in the United States as the Minister of the Qing Dynasty to the United States in 1909. William Walker Atkinson (1862–1932), a pioneer of the New Thought movement, met Wu in the summer of that year. Wu asked Atkinson for his thoughts on the secret of keeping young, though being old.² Later in October of the same year, Wu first experienced the work of a trance medium in a Spiritualist demonstration in Washington.³ This suggests that Wu was curious about Spiritualism at that time.

Wu began his propaganda work for Theosophy in China from the 1910s. During the 1910s, Wu’s Theosophical propaganda was related to three Western Baptists: Timothy Richard (1845–1919), Gilbert Reid (1857–1927), and C. Spurgeon Medhurst (1860–1927). Timothy Richard and Gilbert Reid were not Theosophists, but all three figures had similar views regarding the religions of East and West.

If we take Wu as a pioneer of the Theosophical Movement among the Chinese, Medhurst, who originally came to China as a Baptist missionary,

should also be considered a pioneer of the Theosophical Movement in China. Spurgeon Medhurst was forced to resign his clerical post in 1904 owing to his involvement with the Theosophical Society.⁴ *The International Theosophical Yearbook* first recorded Spurgeon Medhurst's Theosophical Movement in China in 1909.⁵ Wu finished his mission as the Qing Dynasty Minister to the United States, Spain, and Peru, and returned to China in 1910. When he returned to Beijing, he immediately resigned because of his dislike for the political corruption prevalent among the Qing. He moved to Shanghai and became engulfed in studying Theosophy.⁶ Later, Wu presented a paper about Chinese Civilization at the "First Universal Races Congress" in July 1911, where Annie Besant was on the list of sponsors and accompanied by Gandhi.⁷ At this congress, Wu remarked that he preferred Chinese civilization.⁸ He explained the concept of Chinese civilization using words from the Confucian classics: "We should treat all who are within the four seas as our brothers and sisters." This point of view may be associated with the first doctrine of the Theosophical Society, namely the doctrine of "universal brotherhood." Wu later stated that he began to study morality and religion after the success of the Xinhai Revolution, which took place from 1911 to 1912.⁹

In Shanghai in 1912, Timothy Richard, Gilbert Reid, and Spurgeon Medhurst founded a research society for discussing "world religions" (*Shijie zongjiao hui*), focusing on the study of comparative religion.¹⁰ In 1913, Spurgeon Medhurst, who had previously published a translation of the Taoist classic *Dao de jing* through the Theosophical Society,¹¹ gave a speech at Gilbert Reid's International Institute of China (*Shang xiantang*) in Shanghai. He spoke of "the great spontaneity or Natural Law of the universe," "purity," finding "satisfaction in service for others," "worldwide unity," and "life eternal or immortality" as the five "hopes" in Laozi's teaching, which may remind the reader of similar doctrines in Theosophy. The first record of Wu and Medhurst's cooperation for Theosophical propaganda dates from January 1916. Meanwhile, the influential Chinese-language newspaper *Shen Pao* reported that Wu and Spurgeon Medhurst had founded a society for the research of religion in Shanghai.¹² Lectures and speeches held at the International Institute of China were open to people of all nationalities, and local journalists often wrote about them in Chinese and English newspapers.

Starting in January 1916, Wu and Medhurst delivered speeches about Theosophy at the International Institute of China in Shanghai. In March the same year, *The Shanghai Times* posted an announcement about an upcoming lecture by Wu. It said that Wu would talk about "another

subject in Theosophy” under the title of “The Human Soul in Its Relation to the Physical Body and Its Consequences.” The progress of the lecture was described in one of Chinese magazines for young students as follows:

Wu Tingfang of the Tongshen Society was invited to the International Institute of China to deliver a lecture on the relation between the soul and the body. There were hundreds of people who came to see his speech. According to Wu’s words, the human soul will never die. There is no beginning nor ending in it. [. . .] The human body is like clothes, it’s not good to consider it too important. If we don’t train ourselves well, we cannot evolve. If we train ourselves well over and over, we will change, becoming perfectly good men, and will arrive at a state of bliss. [. . .] Things which have shapes are *yang*, those without shapes are *yin*. *Yin* comes first, and then *yang* comes afterwards. People know of earthly matters but don’t know that there are numerous worlds besides the earth. The *qi* of individuals, the air of emotions, does not occur only within us. It may be felt by others. [. . .] There is a book written by a Westerner, which has collected pictures of *qi* taken with a camera. Many kinds of photos are included, please take a look. (Wu opened the book and showed every page to his audience. There are about 50 pages in the book.) People’s goodness and badness are classified according to shapes and colors.¹³

Wu’s use of terms such as *ying*, *yang*, and *qi* in his lecture suggests that he combined Theosophy with Daoism when he introduced Theosophy to the Chinese. The “book by a Westerner” that he showed as evidence to the audience is, in all likelihood, Annie Besant’s *Thought-Forms*;¹⁴ nevertheless, he did not mention Besant’s name, or the Theosophical Society, in the lecture. Furthermore, Wu showed his collections of Western spirit photography to those in attendance to make them believe in the existence of life after death. The only thing he did not mention is what Theosophy was. Gradually, Wu and Medhurst’s efforts came to be noticed by the Chinese. In 1916, the education department of Jiangsu Province invited Wu to give a speech about Theosophy as a member of the Tongshen Society (*Tongshen hui*). Tongshen is the Chinese translation of Theosophy, which means “connected with God.”¹⁵ This lecture was reported not only in a bulletin of the Jiangsu province’s education department, but also in other

Chinese newspapers and magazines. Wu stated that Western science had created doubt about the existence of spiritual matters both in the East and in the West. As for China, in the Confucian classic *The Analects of Confucius*, it is written: “Confucius does not speak about occult violence and spiritual matters,” and “How can you know death when you still don’t know about life?”¹⁶ Although Confucius did not deny life after death, research into spiritual matters had not been appreciated in the Confucian tradition. A friend of Wu’s living in Beijing read Wu’s Theosophical lecture in a newspaper and sent him a letter asking what the soul (*linghun*) was. Wu’s friend said his view was ridiculous and inappropriate for the modernized world. Wu used his friend’s question as an introduction to his talk at the educational department of Jiangsu province.

I replied to him that this is a profound theory which can’t be explained in a letter. If you don’t believe in ghosts (*gui*¹⁷), may I ask you whether you worship your ancestors? Doesn’t ancestor worship show a belief in the existence of ghosts? Our Confucius said, “The ghosts’ function in morality is huge.” Isn’t this evidence that the Saint believed in the existence of spirits? As for those who don’t believe in it, it is because they know less, so they think it strange. If they study it, then they must suddenly achieve a total understanding. No religion denies the existence of the soul (*linghun*).¹⁸

Wu’s lectures about *soul* were also related with his friends in the International Institute of China. The International Institute of China, the first place where Wu and Medhurst delivered speeches about Theosophy, was established by Gilbert Reid. It was also known as a place for the improvement of cultural exchange and the introduction of different kinds of religions and philosophy. Timothy Richard published a book in 1910 titled *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism*. The *North-China Herald* (*Beihua jiebao*), an influential English-language newspaper in Shanghai, introduced Richard’s new book soon after its publication in the following way:

The general reader and even these students in the West who are now studying Buddhism are left in a confused state of mind as to its real place among the religions of the world, owing to Theosophy, and Edwin Arnold’s *Light of Asia*, which was written at a time when the true relation of Higher and Lower Bud-

dhism was not known. This book contains two most important translations—one, the origin of Higher Buddhism called “The Awakening of Faith,” and the other, “The Essence of the Lotus Scripture.” The first was translated into English before, but by one unacquainted with Buddhist key to the central thought of the True Model Chin Ju. The second has never been translated before, though the Lotus of the Good Law was translated in the Sacred Books of the East. No student of Higher Buddhism should be without this book.¹⁹

Timothy Richard’s missionary work and his relationships with Chinese politicians or intellectuals have been researched in previous studies. He stayed in China for forty-five years and translated many Buddhist classics into English. His views of Eastern religions have also been widely discussed. For example, Son writes:

Richard drew attention to “the Mahayana Buddhism of East Asia” in contrast to the Theravadan tradition that had been the focus of most previous Western scholars and missionaries, and he was immensely interested in the historical relationship between Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity.²⁰

Even though Timothy Richard’s Buddhist translations were influenced by his Christian cultural background, his views of Eastern religions, unlike those of other Western Baptist missionaries who despised them, were characterized by his seeking communality between Eastern and Western religions. Judith C. Powles points out that even after Medhurst resigned his missionary post, his “nearest friend,” Timothy Richard, maintained his connection with him.²¹ We may say that Medhurst and Wu’s Theosophical movement in the China of the 1910s flourished because of the support of their considerate Christian missionary friends in China. However, their cooperation did not occur simply because of friendship, but as part of a wave of reconsideration of the religious concepts in the 1910s. In addition, Richard, Reid, Medhurst, and Wu were also associated with the Mahayana Association in Japan in 1916.²² Although the Mahayana Association was not directly connected to the Theosophical Society, many Western members of the association were Theosophists. Theosophy was the impetus that made Christian Baptists such as Timothy Richard translate Buddhist classics through a Christian filter but at the same time seek uniformity.

Medhurst's translation of the *Dao de jing* may be taken as providing a means for illustrating the commonalities between Eastern and Western wisdom. Wu Tingfang tried to encourage the practice of Theosophy as providing a means for the settling of conflicts regarding nations, races, religions, and so on worldwide. Theosophy would play the role of catalyst for the rethinking of religion and also as mediator between Eastern and Western thought systems.

Wu and Medhurst made great efforts in disseminating Theosophical propaganda and forming a Theosophical study group in 1916.²³ However, Wu joined the Constitutional Protection Movement in 1917 and came to be the temporary premier of the Republic of China from May to June, then took on the post as Foreign Minister from September, which meant that he could not stay in Shanghai. Medhurst established the Quest Society in Shanghai, which held lectures on various subjects from religion to alchemy.²⁴ In 1918, several Theosophists in Shanghai participated in Quest Society events and initiated a "study circle"²⁵ for Theosophy soon after that. Through these movements in the 1910s, Captain George W. Carter and Hari Prasad Shastri (1882–1956) established the first official Theosophical lodge in China, the Saturn Lodge,²⁶ on June 26, 1919,²⁷ in the Shanghai French Concession. It had thirteen members in the beginning and came to have twenty-eight members after one year.²⁸ Hari Prasad Shastri, a professor, Sanskrit scholar, and Raja Yoga teacher, was its first president.²⁹ Chinese members held a study circle and gave Chinese-language lectures about Theosophy every Sunday.³⁰ Though he was extremely busy during the Chinese Civil War, he still provided support to the running of the Saturn Lodge. The Saturn Lodge did not have a regular meeting site in its first year. At first, members' residences, such as that of George Carter, as well as Wu's, were used in the summer.³¹ One year later, Wu was elected as honorary president in 1920.

Though Wu was busy at the time, he organized a new lodge in Shanghai in 1922, the Sun Lodge, which was the first lodge run by Chinese natives.³² Moreover, he pioneered Chinese Theosophical literature with his "Wu Tingfang's theory of soul," the first Chinese-language Theosophical Manual.³³ Wu stayed in South China as part of the Constitutional Government in Canton under Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), holding the position of Minister of Finance. Cen Chunxuan (1861–1933), the leader of the military government in Canton, forced Wu to hand over the funds for a forthcoming university's establishment in China.³⁴ Cen wanted to use the funds for his army, so Wu decided to leave Canton with the money

in March 1920 and hide in Hong Kong. There he met James H. Cousins (1873–1956), an Irish poet and an active Theosophist. Wu told Cousins that he wanted to help the Theosophical movement and do “all he can in China.” Wu offered to send Cousins on a lecture tour of China with his financial support, which would amount to 2,000 rupees.³⁵ Wu was on his way to Shanghai during this period to escape from threats against him.³⁶ Wu and Cousins planned to start further propaganda on behalf of the Theosophical Society after political circumstances improved. However, their plan could not be realized because Wu died in June 1922.

In 1921, Spurgeon Medhurst and his wife left Shanghai for Sydney to visit C. W. Leadbeater (1854–1934). He was to live in Australia until his death. Wu and Medhurst’s work had significantly facilitated the early Theosophical movement in modern China; however, the progress of the movement declined after Wu’s death in 1922.³⁷

After Wu’s Death

The Theosophical movement in China was reorganized in 1924 by the new president of the Shanghai Lodge, Dorothy M. Arnold (? –1982). Her Theosophical movement in Shanghai was supported by the Hong Kong Lodge’s³⁸ founder and president, Malcolm Manuk (1881–1932), an Armenian born in India. He was a secretary for the Dairy Farm Company and frequently visited Sydney for business purposes. He came to be a member of the Blavatsky Lodge in Sydney in 1926 and remained a member until his death in 1932. It was he who had sent Wu Tingfang’s letter to Cousins and arranged their meeting in 1920. Manuk was also active in the Theosophical network between China and Australia. Some former members of the Saturn Lodge, such as H. P. Shastri and Alexander Horne, an American Jewish Theosophist, also played active parts in the re-creation of the Chinese Theosophical movement. Horne endeavored to publish Chinese Theosophical literature, and he was in charge of the “China Publication Fund,” which was established by the Shanghai Lodge.³⁹ Furthermore, Arnold supported the Chinese in reopening the Chinese Lodge under the name of Dawn Lodge in 1924; H. P. Shastri founded the “China Lodge” in 1925 with Chinese Theosophists.⁴⁰ Under the guidance of Arnold, Theosophists in China put more emphasis on Theosophical missionary work to the Chinese. Arnold and Chinese members of the Theosophical Society established the first Theosophical school in Shanghai in 1925.

The reason Theosophists in Shanghai decided to resume their lodges and emphasize Chinese publications and education for young Chinese might relate with the situation in modern China. According to the official organ of lodges in the Far East, the *Far Eastern T. S. Notes*, in July 1924, Annie Besant visited London for a Theosophical international meeting. Lodges in China and Japan were not invited; therefore, an article was published criticizing this move in addition to commenting on the isolated position of lodges in the Far East. However, lodges in the Far East continued to follow Besant's leadership and teaching. Subsequent to this issue, members of the Shanghai Lodge were active in propagating Theosophy to young Chinese.⁴¹

The Besant School in Shanghai

In February 1925, one of the members of the Saturn Lodge who was also a teacher delivered lectures about Theosophy every Wednesday night to his students, aged between sixteen and eighteen years, in the lodge.⁴² The movement to cultivate young Chinese Theosophists became more active because of the situation in Shanghai after the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925. As officers of the Shanghai Municipal Police opened fire on Chinese protesting against the international settlement of Shanghai on May 30, 1925, the anger of the Chinese led to a series of anti-imperialist and anti-Christian demonstrations followed by riots. The editorial notes of the *Far Eastern T. S. Notes* commented on this movement in a timely fashion. It said:

So much has happened since the last issue of these "Notes," both from the standpoint of our Movement and on a national scale, that it is somewhat difficult to visualize events in their real perspective. More than ever would it seem true that China stands at the cross-roads of her destiny, and those who love her most, and dream that she may yet take her place among the great concord of nations who are consciously working for the progress and happiness of humanity, are at times a little fearful lest the pressure of revolutionary forces, now fomenting the consciousness of her people, may unhappily burst asunder the salutary dam of century-old traditions and national customs before these have been supplanted by other standards equally

beneficial to the national life of people. The hope of China, as of other countries, lies in her Youth, and it is among this section of the community that the disturbing effect of these forces is most apparent. It is our deep conviction that the greatest contribution that Theosophy can make to the welfare of China lies in the educational field. To no other country does this statement apply so forcibly, because we have here a condition prevailing which enables us to offer values which would place the Theosophical Schools in an unchallengeable position in regard to both missionary and government institutions.⁴³

From this article, we can learn that the intention behind the establishment of Theosophical schools was not just the propagation of Theosophy, but also to support China in facing the crisis of Western and Japanese imperialism. Another article published in the same issue, written by Dorothy Arnold and Virginia Zee (Xu Renyi), the first president and vice president of Theosophical schools in China, respectively, said:

A great Leader in the World Youth Movement, such as Dr. G. Arundale, could undoubtedly make a big appeal to that generous element of idealism and altruism which, despite all adverse critics, lies at the heart of the Student Movement in this country, however obscured these qualities may, seemingly, appear in the course of that jarring conflict which always mars the painful transition period through which nations (and individuals) pass as they break with century-old traditions and customs to emerge into a New Era with no familiar landmarks whereby to direct their course.

We believe in the inherent greatness of China with all our hearts. We are convinced that she will emerge from the turmoil of conflicting elements, at present struggling for the mastery, purified and united, and it is our belief that by helping her youth to realize the responsibilities and duties of real citizenship we shall be truly serving the cause of Theosophy, which is founded upon the twin rocks of Service and Brotherhood. *A great nation is built up of great individuals.* [. . .] No one has stood more firmly for the highest ideals of citizenship, or contributed more to the spiritual awakening of the race, than our great President, Dr. Annie Besant. [. . .] We cannot hope

that Dr. Besant will personally accomplish a similar miracle for China. [. . .] Her influence, however, can overshadow this country through the great ideals of Spirituality, Truth, Service, Justice, Humanitarian Citizenship, which by example and precept she has ceaselessly taught, and which are the qualities, it is our dream, to be the distinctive feature and stamp of all those who study and teach in the *Besant School in China*.

We hope, in time, that the *Besant Schools* will be widely known to stand for a unique type of education and become a real factor in moulding the young citizens of China. Our plan is that in each important town there shall, eventually, exist a *Besant School for Boys*, a *Besant School for Girls*, and a *Besant Co-educational College*, which would draw its recruits from the two former.⁴⁴

Based on this article about the Theosophical schools that would be founded in China, we may say that they aimed at matching the great achievements of Besant and George S. Arundale in India.

Arundale, the third president of the Theosophical Society, was associated with Besant in the establishment of two Theosophical schools in India in 1913. Subsequently, he worked with Beatrice Ensor, also a Theosophist, on Theosophical education. They established the Theosophical Fraternity in Education in 1915. The Theosophical Fraternity in Education was mainly led by Ensor, and in 1921, to realize the aim of world peace through education, the New Education Fellowship was organized, also by Ensor. The slogans of the New Education Fellowship were child-centered education, social reform through education, international understanding, and the promulgation of world peace.⁴⁵

The Theosophical educational movement in China consulted Arundale in making plans for the establishment of Theosophical schools in China. In 1925, Dorothy M. Arnold, the president of the Shanghai Lodge, wrote to Arundale asking for his assistance in establishing a school in China. On March 19, 1925, Arundale replied to her with a short letter and copies of the pamphlet "Youth," which described the educational work of Theosophists in India and the Western world. In his reply, Arundale pointed out that there were two Theosophical educational movements in India:

In India, we have two movements: (1) The League of Youth, and (2) The Youth Section of the Theosophical Society in India.

Both these movements work very harmoniously side by side, one catering for the general body of young people, and the other for those specially attached to the Theosophical point of view. In the course of our first year's effort, over one thousand young Indians, under 30 years of age, joined the Theosophical Society and the Youth Section.⁴⁶

While its achievements were different, its overall idea was similar to that of the Chinese Theosophical movement undertaken by the Shanghai Lodge. Alexander Horne, ex-editor of the Saturn Lodge's official organ and the secretary of the Shanghai Lodge, obtained capital from American Theosophists to establish the school.⁴⁷

After these preparations, the advertisement column of the well-known Chinese-language newspaper *Shen Pao* on July 1, 1925, announced the imminent opening of a summer school named Peicheng, which later became the Besant School for Girls in Shanghai. It reported that the school would be run by the Truth Proving Society (*Zhengdao xuehui*) and would commence operations in August 1925. The Truth Proving Society was the Chinese name for the Theosophical Society used by the Shanghai Lodge. Peicheng means "educating successful people" in Mandarin Chinese, but it is also a transliteration of Besant's name. According to the advertisement in *Shen Pao*, the Besant School for Girls was founded with the objectives of simply "finding common doctrines in the world, working hard to advance morality, and teaching others to teach themselves." It stated that the aim of the school was to "allow students to be acquainted with knowledge of East and West and to lay emphasis on both moral and physical education in order to cultivate a complete person." The coming of the Besant school was announced not only to the Chinese-speaking population but also to Western residents in Shanghai. An influential English-language newspaper in Shanghai at the time, *The China Press*, introduced the coming Theosophical school as follows:

Tomorrow will see the opening of a Shanghai school unique in the educational annals of China. It is named The Besant School for Girls, after Dr. Annie Besant, President of the Theosophical Society, whose inspiring service in the cause of Indian education and Indian political unity have received world-wide recognition. The pioneer Theosophical work in China by the late Dr. Wu Ting-fang is also one of the indirect influences

determining the present venture. The school is located in 316 and 317 Bubbling Well Road near Hart Road.

The regular staff consists of four foreign and four Chinese members, Miss Dorothy Arnold being Principal. The curriculum is comprehensive enough for all requirements, including, besides the usual English and mathematical subjects, the principal sciences, ancient and modern history and physical culture with music, stenography and Esperanto as optional studies.

The distinctive feature of the school, however, is the religious teaching offered, which is to be on such broad lines as no Mission or Government would dare to cover. "Every effort," the prospectus reads, "will be made to give students the highest possible teaching in the religions to which they belong. Thus the Buddhists will be given religious instruction by a competent priest of their own faith; the Christians will have the guidance of an enlightened Christian teacher; and the Taoists and followers of the great Confucius will be given every opportunity to study the inspiring teachings of these respective schools of philosophy."

Only free recognition by the founders of the essential unity of the great religions could have suggested and sanctioned such an innovation. In adopting, along with this plan, the motto "Truth, Tolerance and Brotherhood," they aim at a rapprochement between the different faiths and ethical systems and a fusion of different cultures.⁴⁸

This English-language newspaper introduced the forthcoming Besant school as "unique in the educational annals of China." By contrast, *Shen Pao* announced the Besant School for Girls as a school that would cultivate mutual cultural understanding between East and West, a school for building friendship and universal brotherhood, elements that were emphasized by *The China Press*. However, although *The China Press* considered the comparative religion course as a "unique" feature of the Besant school in Shanghai, *Shen Pao* did not mention this at all.

After a session of summer school in August, the Besant School for Girls was opened permanently on September 10, 1925, in the Shanghai International Settlement. Arnold and a former member of the Saturn Lodge taught English lessons; there was also at least one Chinese teacher for Chinese classics. Kiang Kang-hu (1883–1954), a controversial politician and scholar

whose thought was said to have influenced Mao Zedong (1893–1976), was its honorary principal.⁴⁹ In *Shen Pao*, the Besant School for Girls was announced as accepting boys younger than twelve for the summer school and boys younger than fourteen for the regular Besant School. There also was a dormitory for boarding students,⁵⁰ as in Arundale's Theosophical schools in India.⁵¹ An emphasis was placed on Chinese education in the school. Also according to *Shen Pao*, the junior high school (*Yu ke*) at the Besant School for Girls in Shanghai required academic achievement in Chinese for at least four years. It also provided language courses for senior or married women in the afternoon, not only in teaching English but also in Chinese.

Initially, the school shared buildings with Shanghai Lodge at 316 and 317 Bubbling Well Road (currently West Nanjing Road) near Hart Road (currently Hede Road). However, the school went well and expanded, moving to No. 61 Carter Road (currently Shimener Road) on May 1, 1926.⁵²

In its first year, Shanghai's Besant school followed "the usual course adopted by all schools."⁵³ The only difference was its operation in accordance with the principles of the Theosophical Society: every effort was made to give the students "the highest possible teaching of religion."⁵⁴ In 1926, Arnold reported on the current state of the Besant School for Girls:

A fine spirit of fellowship is beginning to appear among the students, whose whole attitude has undergone complete transformation since they came under our influence. The sullen suspicion and sense of rebellion which marked their attitude in the early days has entirely given place to feelings of trust and friendship. The formation by the students of a Youth Lodge, "The Besant Lodge," has done much to consolidate the School and testifies to the appreciation of the students themselves of the ideals set before them in their daily spiritual charge, or morning address, based on "At the Feet of the Master."⁵⁵

The Theosophical Youth educational movement moved smoothly in its first year. However, Arnold worried about the school's finances and consulted with Horne. Horne's publicizing of the school to American Theosophists brought about regular contributions.⁵⁶ The Besant school's balance between Chinese and Western subjects was different than in the Christian missionary schools in China. Arnold proudly wrote the following:

The first impression that strikes a visitor to the School is the atmosphere of happiness and freedom from restraint that characterizes the students, who look upon the School as theirs, and have profoundly associated themselves with its development. Many times, parents and students have commended us for the high moral influence permeating the place, and also for the careful attention given to the Chinese side of curriculum. Usually, in the Schools under foreign auspices, the national culture of the students is neglected to their detriment, and we have, therefore, been especially careful to avoid falling into the error of maintaining a high standard in English at the expense of the students' knowledge of their own language.⁵⁷

In the Shanghai of 1926, among private schools run by Westerners, the Besant School for Girls was "unique" in its emphasis on Chinese culture and that it granted its students the freedom to choose their own religious beliefs. The McTyeire School for girls (Zhongxi nüshu) was a well-known girls' school in Shanghai contemporary with Shanghai's Besant school. Heidi A. Ross pointed out that, by the early twentieth century:

McTyeire's education aims reflected both the accomplishments wealthy families desired in their daughters and the moral character and refined breeding that comprised the mission school's "gospel of gentility": to offer students a firm grounding in Chinese and English through a liberal arts education; to offer a series of elective classes in Western music; to build a wholesome educational environment which would cultivate young Chinese women of high moral character and mental habits; and to provide students with fundamental knowledge of Christianity.⁵⁸

However, after the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925, Chinese elites urged their government to adopt reformist policies promoting educational rights. Education was adopted as an effective method of opposing Western religion and imperialistic thinking. The recovery of the educational rights movement also became more highly regarded by the Chinese after 1925. In September 1926, Shanghai's Besant school announced the coming of a new college in *Shen Pao's* ad column. They announced their plans to found

a new college, with coeducational evening courses in business, science, and the arts, to start on October 1. Thus, the scope of the Theosophical educational program was going to be broadened.

However, the Chinese government also promulgated a series of regulations for educational rights in the same year. Even schools in the international settlement were forced to follow these regulations. Religious curricula, as well as schools having foreign headmasters and principals, became forbidden. Therefore, both the name of the Theosophical Society and its educational goals were omitted from the announcement in the advertisement for the Besant school in *Shen Pao*.

Circumstances soon became even worse. Xu Renyi (Virginia Zee), vice president and one of the founders of the Besant School for Girls, and a keen Chinese Theosophist, left the school suddenly and took many of the Chinese teachers and students with her in January 1928.

Xu Renyi found a new supporter immediately: Luo Jialing. Luo was the wife of Silas Aaron Hardoon. Hardoon's huge Aili yuan residence in Shanghai was named by his wife, and the pair established a Buddhist lodge and university in the gardens there. Xu Renyi borrowed a site in the gardens for a new girls' school, named "Trinity School for Girls,"⁵⁹ one week after she left the Besant school. Xu even posted an announcement titled "To the parents of Besant School for Girls' students"⁶⁰ in *Shen Pao*, which ran for more than a month. The article criticized the school's character as being incompatible with the Chinese character, stating that the author was no longer able to see any possibility for cooperation. Furthermore, she said that she and her comrades regretted leaving educational work to foreigners and letting them trample on the youth of China. In the end, the Chinese youth had become barbarians and failed to get rid of their servile disposition. Xu said the new school was established owing to student demand; the students wished to benefit from the movement for the recovery of educational rights in China. Xu's father, Xu Xiaonong (?–1932), was a famous scholar and doctor of Chinese medicine in Shanghai; he was the school's principal in name. Xu Renyi's announcement likely affected the reputation of the Besant School for Girls.

The reason for this split is not clear, but it happened soon after Arnold came back to China in the middle of September 1927 from her visit to "leaders of the Theosophical Movement."⁶¹ Also, the Besant school welcomed a new Chinese principal, Kuai Shuping, who had received a master's degree at Oxford University in January 1928.⁶² In 1929, the school

moved to 1 Ferry Road (currently Xikang Road), a building with an area of 1,973 square meters.⁶³

After 1929, private schools established by foreigners were forced to register at the educational bureau of Shanghai. Schools in the International Settlement were not ruled by the Chinese government, but the Chinese government established laws stating that only degrees from registered schools would be recognized. Graduates needed an accepted degree to apply to a university in China. Gradually, the curriculum of the Besant School for Girls came to be similar to that of Christian missionary schools. However, many missionary schools in Shanghai had religious subjects as club activities after the regular classes. When a graduate of McTyeire School for Girls who graduated in 1936 talked about her domestic science lessons, she said, "McTyeire's students were all noble ladies. No one would like to work a sewing machine by foot! Our Home Ec. was taught by [a] Western teacher. She took many flowers and taught us flower arrangement."⁶⁴ By contrast, Besant's students knitted sweaters for charity. They considered sports to be important and played basketball, volleyball, and ping-pong in teams at their school. Private girls' missionary schools seldom took sports seriously. Furthermore, many missionary schools run by Westerners had subjects or clubs of Western classical music; Besant had both Western and traditional Chinese music clubs. On the other hand, private schools established by Chinese people often had similar tendencies to Shanghai's Besant school. Although the times made it hard for the Besant school in Shanghai to educate Chinese youth according to the ideal of "universal brotherhood" among religions, philosophies, races, and nations, the Besant school in Shanghai can be seen as a unique pioneer in the history of the Chinese education movement's battle with imperialism and Western civilization.

Cao Jinyuan, the Chinese principal of the Besant school, published an English-language article in the yearbook of the Besant school in 1933. She wrote:

Present conditions in China reveal this truth in a very remarkable and convincing manner. China does not lack brilliant scientists, clever politicians, able lawyers, and skillful engineers. In fact, in all walks of life, we find many clever and well-trained people. Yet, when the iron-hand of the invader is laid upon China, we feel helpless. Why is this so? China has more schools and educated people than she ever had in all her history, yet

the spirit which made China so great a country in the past seems to be disappeared. [. . .] China is passing through a very critical stage in her history. Whether her ancient civilization will survive this supreme test or not depends mainly upon her sons and daughters.⁶⁵

Principal Cao's family came to be powerful in Shanghai's Besant school in the 1930s. For the educational rights recovery movement, the principal of a registered school could only be Chinese. For this reason, Arnold's official title in the school became "chief English teacher" in the Chinese-language records.⁶⁶ Principal Cao's uncle, Cao Yunxian (1881–1937, known as Y. S. Tsao in his lifetime), was principal of Tsinghua University, Beijing, and was a pioneer of Bahá'í Faith propaganda in China. Cao Yunxian's wife was a Theosophist and member of the Besant School Board until 1943.⁶⁷ Cao attended Shanghai's Besant school's graduation ceremony and was a member of the school's board in 1935.⁶⁸ In 1935, Arnold took one semester's leave because of illness⁶⁹ and vanished thereafter. She was called "Founder of Our School" in the yearbook of the Besant School in 1937, although she was not in the group photo of the school faculty. The state of the Theosophical movement in Shanghai after the late 1930s has not yet been fully elucidated; however, as a school where Eastern and Western teachers cooperated, the Besant School for Girls in Shanghai might be viewed as a practical example of the concept of "universal brotherhood."

Conclusion

In the 1910s, Wu emphasized the importance of making the Chinese believe in the existence of life after death. He also emphasized that research on life after death is not superstitious, nor should it be marginalized. He used Confucian and Daoist sayings as a way in, and his collections of Western spiritual photography as evidence. Before introducing the notion of Theosophy, he had to explain the idea of life after death. His Chinese lectures about Theosophy during the 1910s only briefly mentioned what Theosophy and the Theosophical Society were. His first detailed introduction about H. P. Blavatsky and the Theosophical Society was in his first Chinese-language Theosophical manual, published in 1921. The reason might be explained by his conversation with the Indian scholar

Benoy Kumar Sarkar (1887–1949) in 1916, in which Wu asked Sarkar if he knew about Theosophy:

Wu laughed and said, “Right. These days I’m thinking of visiting Madras when the war is over.” When Sarkar enquired if the visit to Madras would be a “pilgrimage,” Wu laugh and said, “Right. These days I’m studying (the concepts of) soul, the world beyond death, rebirth, etc. I’ve given up eating fish and meat. It’s my desire to lead a solitary life on a mountain following the ideals of your Buddha.” Wu also told Sarkar that he had started a movement among the Chinese youth to reform their eating habits by becoming vegetarians. To promote this movement, he opened a restaurant that served only vegetarian food. “But the customers were limited,” the old diplomat told him, “then one night some miscreants set fire to the restaurant . . . and that’s why I am very disheartened.” Using his personal loss as a metaphor for the political uncertainties in China, Wu remarks, “After all, in every reform movement in the world the pioneers or the pathfinders experience such maladies.”⁷⁰

According to this conversation, Wu’s concern with Theosophy started from his interest in spirituality, and his Theosophical movement may be defined as a movement for progress and social reform. After Wu returned to China in 1910, he immediately established a society for vegetarianism (*Shenshi weisheng hui*). Then the next year he attended the “First Universal Races Congress” in London and declared his ideal of Chinese Civilization. In his English book *America: Through the Spectacles of an Oriental Diplomat* (1914), Wu mentioned Annie Besant’s support as far as two of his ideas were concerned: the citizenship of immigrants and the benefits of vegetarianism. Hu has rightfully pointed out similarities between Wu’s political ideas and his Theosophical literature:⁷¹ indeed, Wu’s objection to enacting Confucianism as the only Chinese state religion was based on the Theosophical aim of “universal brotherhood.”

Around 1918, Chinese intellectuals were working on psychical research in Shanghai to prove the existence of life after death. Many well-known intellectuals were engaged in psychical research to introduce it as a new science in the West. Wu Tingfang’s view of the soul was used in support of their theory. Their work was a fusion of psychical research

and traditional religious rites. Their research was severely criticized for being based on superstition by members of the New Culture Movement, which criticized traditional values and advocated Western civilization. This made people steer clear of spiritual issues and religions. Those audiences who listened to Wu's Theosophical speeches during the 1910s might have obtained the impression that Theosophy was similar to Spiritualism.

In 1912, the Republic of China was established. Then World War I began in Europe. Chinese intellectuals in the 1910s focused on conflicts between the "old" and "new." They tried to understand what kind of civilization their country needed. In this way, they were enthusiastic about finding solutions for what they regarded as two problems in China: moral bankruptcy and loss of spiritual faith. These attempts to define Chinese culture were intertwined with the aim to renegotiate the meaning of religions and philosophies.⁷² Against this historical background, Wu not only added "moral" to the Theosophical Society's Chinese name but also expounded on the existence of life after death. He encouraged the Chinese to conduct research on all kind of religions and philosophies from across the world. Wu's Theosophical propaganda fit the *Zeitgeist*. Under his leadership, the Theosophical movement conducted research on spirituality, social reform, and anti-colonialist movements. However, since then, the Chinese have considered these activities separately instead of understanding them as parts of the Theosophical movement. Wu Tingfang was one of the pioneers of Spiritualism and vegetarianism in China and was admired for his efforts in gaining equal rights for Chinese immigrants. Because these achievements were based on the aims of the Theosophical Society, the Theosophical impact in modern China should be reassessed.

On the other hand, the unique Theosophical education that the Theosophists aimed to practice failed mainly because of the situation brought about by the rise of Western and Japanese imperialism in China. The Theosophical Society's aim of "universal brotherhood" was a key feature of Theosophical propaganda in China. From the 1910s to the early 1920s, Wu's Theosophical propaganda presented Theosophy, and in particular its internationalist aspects, as an effective theory for Chinese social improvement and as a tool to negotiate cultural conflicts between the East and West in China. Moreover, with the intensification of Western and Japanese imperialism in China, the needs for social improvement changed into a need for national salvation. The educational rights movement and the anti-Christian demonstrations held from the mid-1920s in China were both related to anti-colonialism. The Chinese did not resist Christianity

because of anti-religious sentiments; rather, wariness of being culturally colonized by Christian missionaries was the more important causal factor for those demonstrations. Moreover, the fusion of Eastern and Western thought by foreigners was perceived as dangerous by the Chinese people for the same reason. It was difficult for the Chinese to perceive the difference between “universal brotherhood” and Western cultural colonialism. However, although the Theosophical educational movement and Wu’s Theosophical literature have been forgotten by the Chinese, the Chinese Theosophists who participated in its educational movement worked actively in the Chinese educational world. Furthermore, those activities of Wu’s Theosophical propaganda, such as human rights and vegetarianism, are remembered by people in Greater China and continue to be practiced as social reform movements even today.

Notes

1. However, when James Henry Cousins, an Irish writer and Theosophist, met Wu in Hong Kong on his way back to Adyar in 1920, he said that Wu “carries a form to apply for fellowship when he is free of official restrictions” (*New India*, May 20, 1920). I am grateful to Kurt Leland for his generous assistance with the membership register. On Cousins, see the contribution by Hashimoto Yorimitsu to this volume.

2. William Walker Atkinson, “The Trail That Is Always New,” *The Progress Magazine* 7 (1909). Special thanks to Philip Deslippe for providing the material.

3. “Spirits Converse with Wu Ting Fang: Chinese Minister Attends a Seance and Probes Mysteries of Occult World,” *The San Francisco Call*, October 15, 1909.

4. Concerning Spurgeon Medhurst and his “fight” for Theosophy, see Judith C. Powles, “Misguided or Misunderstood? The Case of Charles Spurgeon Medhurst (1860–1927), Baptist Missionary to China,” *Baptist Quarterly* 43, no. 6 (2010).

5. Theosophical Society, ed., *International Theosophical Year Book: Giving the History and Organization of the Theosophical Society, a Theosophical Who’s Who, the President’s Policy etc.* (Adyar: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1937), 225.

6. Ding Xianjun and Yu Zuofeng, “Wu Ting Fang dashi jiyao,” in *Wu Tingfang pingzhuan*, ed. Ding Xianjun and Yu Zuofeng (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2005). It says that in 1910, Wu took a break from work owing to his “illness.” Also, Wu hoped to “gather Western and Chinese intellectuals who live in Shanghai together for the establishment of a Theosophical Society and carry on research on the essence of religions such as Confucianism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam.” Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from Chinese or Japanese into English are mine.

7. Besant was together with Gandhi and W. E. B. Du Bois (Michael P. Cowen and R. W. Shenton, *Doctrines of Development* [London: Routledge, 1996], 299). However, although Wu strongly admired Besant, it seems that Wu did not meet her in his lifetime. See Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *Bartaman Yuge Chin Samrajya* (Kolkata: Siddheshwar Press, 1922). The original language is Bengali. I consulted the English digest version from Narayan C. Sen, "China as Viewed by Two Early Bengali Travellers: The Travel Accounts of Indumadhav Mullick and Benoy Kumar Sarka," *China Report* 43, no. 465 (2007).

8. Wu Ting-fang, "China," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems, Communicated to the First Universal Races Congress, Held at the University of London, July 26–29, 1911*, ed. Gustav Spiller (Miami: HardPress Publishing. Reprinted from London: P. S. King & Son [1911]), 132. Wu's paper was also reported by *The Theosophist* in October 1911 (Adyar: The Theosophical Society, 138).

9. Wu Tingfang, "Zhi Yuan Shikai shu," first appearance in April 20 (1916), in *Wu Tingfang ji*, ed. idem et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 785. Yuan Shi-kai (1859–1916), who desired to establish a Chinese Empire, hoped Wu would come to his camp, but Wu refused many times. In this letter, Wu said that he had given up the idea of searching for fame and fortune for years. He wanted to visit India to study Zen and Brahmanism, etc., but could not anticipate World War I. Wu ironically invited Yuan to visit India together with him someday.

10. "Shijie zongjiao huiquan ying Zhang tianshi," *Shen Pao*, September 14, 1912.

11. Charles Spurgeon Medhurst, *The Tao teh king: A Short Study in Comparative Religion* (Chicago: Theosophical Book Concern, 1905), 134.

12. "Wu Tingfang yanshuo zongjiao," *Shen Pao*, January 14, 1916.

13. *Xuesheng zazhi* 3, no. 4 (1916): 20–21.

14. In Wu's first Theosophical handbook, "Wu Tingfang's theory of soul," he used a similar explanation for *qi*. He said that there were more than ten photographs of *qi* in *Thought Forms*, which had been published by the Theosophical Society's headquarters (Wu Tingfang, *Wu Tingfang linghun xueshuo* [Shanghai: Shanghai lingxun janijiushe, 1921], 7–8).

15. Wu and other Theosophists in China considered Theosophy's Chinese translation and renamed it three times before 1921. In "Wu Tingfang's theory of soul," following the preface, he explained the reasons for these acts of renaming. He stated that he was afraid that the *Tongshen* Society might be misunderstood as a society for connecting with ghosts and gods; hence, he added "moral" (*dao de*) before *tongshen* to illustrate the true aim of the society. However, a Westerner criticized the name, so Wu and his friend came up with a new name, Mingdao, which means "to clarify the natural laws." However, "Wu Tingfang's theory of soul" uses another name to refer to the society: *Linghun xueshuo mingdaohui* (Society for clarifying the theories about the soul).

16. "Zi buyu guili luanshen"; "Wei zhi sheng yan zhi si."

17. *Gui* may refer to both ghost and demon in Chinese.
18. "Wu Zhiyong xiansheng Tingfang yanjiang tongshenxue," *Linshi kanbu yuekan* 14 (1916): 1.
19. Anonymous, "Higher Buddhism," *The North-China Herald*, December 23, 1910, 725–26.
20. Son Ji hye, "East-West Communication and Modern Buddhism: Timothy Richard's Translations of Buddhist Scriptures and His Understanding of Buddhism," *Tōzai gakujujutsu kenkyūjo kiyō* 48 (2015): 281.
21. Powles, "Misguided."
22. Mahayana Association membership list, 1916.
23. In August 1916, the Theosophical magazine, *Reincarnation*, wrote about Wu's and Medhurst's Theosophical movement as follows: "It is a pleasure to note that the Legion work has been satisfactorily started in Shanghai, China, where there are now six members and an active Group will probably soon be chartered. Among the members are the well-known names of Wu Tingfang, former Chinese minister to the United States, and Rev. C. Spurgeon." Then, in November of that year, the magazine of the Theosophical Society in Adyar, *The Theosophist*, reported that Wu and Medhurst were forming a Theosophical study circle (*The Theosophist* 38 [1916]: 122).
24. Anonymous, "Obituary: Rev. C. S. Medhurst, Formerly of China," *The North-China Herald*, September 17, 1927.
25. George W. Carter, "From Study Circle to Lodge," *The Saturn Lodge Monthly* 1, no. 1 (1920).
26. Although Wu said that the founder of the first Theosophical lodge in China was "a British man, Carter" (see anon., ed., "Dialogues on Theosophy," *Dr. Wu's Works on Theosophy* [Shanghai: China Publication Fund; this book was published after 1924, but the exact year of publication is unknown], 12), the first president of Saturn Lodge was Hara Prasad Shastri.
27. Ibid.; Carter, "From Study Circle," 20.
28. Anonymous, "The Anniversary Meeting," *The Saturn Lodge Monthly* 1, no. 7 (1921).
29. Hari Prasad Shastri was born in Bareilly, India, and is known as a Sanskrit scholar and Yoga teacher. Shastri graduated from the Hindu College, a school established on the initiative of Annie Besant. According to a report from 1920 in the Adyar Archives (file: Chi-1.22), Shastri should be a member of the U. P. Federation ("Shantidavaka Lodge, Morababad, U. P."); however, no records pertaining to him could be found in records of the U. P. Federation or of the Indian Section of the Theosophical Society. In 1916 he moved to Japan. After teaching at Waseda University and Tokyo Imperial University for two years, he went to China on the offer of his Chinese friend Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and taught at Cangseng mingzhi University, a university established by the famous Jewish businessman Silas Aaron Hardoon (1851–1931). He lived in China for eleven

years and established “Holy Yoga,” a study group for Raja Yoga in Shanghai. Wu Tingfang also practiced yoga with him in Wu’s own residence. When in Japan, Shastri also had a connection to Paul Richard, the French Indophile esotericist and sometime associate of the Theosophical Society. See the contribution by Hans Martin Krämer to this volume. On the other hand, Shastri was also an agent for the British. See Richard J. Popplewel, *Intelligence and Imperial Defence: British Intelligence and the Defence of Indian Empire 1904–1924* (London: Frank Cass, 1995), 278–79. After moving to Shanghai, Shastri was not only active in the Theosophical movement, but also endeavored in promoting the ideal of Asian Unity. In the 1920s, Shastri established some groups for Asian unity in Shanghai; one of them was the Shanghai Pan-Asian Society [Ch. Yazhou Minzu Xiehui, Jp. Shanghai Dai Ajia Kyōkai]. The Society was led by Shastri and Tongu Hiroshi, a Japanese doctor who was well-known to the local Shanghai people at that time. The society had its official organ, *The Asiatic Review* (*Daya Zazhi*), which was a Chinese and English-language magazine. Shastri was the editor of its English pages. We may suggest that Shastri’s movements in the Far East during 1916–1929 cooperated with Japanese Pan-Asianism. Special thanks are due to Dr. Craig Smith for the information about the bilingual (Chinese-English) magazine *The Asiatic Review*. The magazine was published in 1920s China by an Asianism group called the Asiatic Association. Shastri was one of its active members and worked as the magazine’s English editor.

30. Popplewel, *Intelligence*, 120.

31. Ibid.

32. Kinson Tsiang, “Inauguration of the Dawn Lodge, Shanghai,” *Far Eastern T. S. Notes* 2, no. 1 (January–February 1925): 8. Tsiang said the first Chinese lodge was Wu’s Sun Lodge, and that Dawn Lodge was the second lodge run by Chinese Theosophists.

33. Wu, *Linghun xueshuo*. As for Wu’s Theosophical literature, Chuang (2014) identifies its characteristics as a fusion through his unique view of civilization between East and West. See Chien-hui Chuang, “Chūgoku kara kieta shinchigaku kyōkai,” *Studies in Comparative Culture* 111 (2014).

34. Southwest (Xinan) University.

35. Cousins (1920). Two thousand rupees in 1920 would be about 13,200 U.S. dollars today.

36. Though Cousins did not mention the details of Wu’s stay in Hong Kong in the article he published in *New India* soon after his return to India, he wrote about it in detail in later years. (See James Henry Cousins and Margaret E. Cousins, *We Two Together* [Madras: Ganesh, 1950], 368–69.)

37. Kinson Tsiang, the president of the Theosophical Society’s Dawn Lodge in Shanghai, said: “Although, here in Shanghai, there are two or three branches, yet they have been established by foreigners. It was not until the tenth year of

the Chinese Republic that a new branch, under the name of the 'Sun' Lodge, was organized by Dr. Wu Ting-fang, a learned Chinese, who sympathized very much with the objects; but after his death, as there was no one to hold it together, the Lodge gradually became extinct" (Tsiang, "Inauguration," 8).

38. For a brief history of the Hong Kong Lodge, see Brian Edgar, "Herbert Edward Lanepart (1): Theosophy in Old Hong Kong," <https://brianedgar.wordpress.com/2012/11/09/herbert-edward-lanepart-1-theosophy-in-old-hong-kong/>. The Theosophical acceptances between Chinese in Shanghai and Hong Kong were different. I introduce these differences in another paper.

39. On Horne, see also the contribution by Boaz Huss to this volume.

40. "Editorial Notes," *Far Eastern T. S. Notes* 2, no. 2 (March–April 1925): 3.

41. "Our President," *Far Eastern T. S. Notes* 1, no. 6 (November–December 1924): 3.

42. "Editorial Notes," *Far Eastern T. S. Notes* 2, no. 1 (January–February 1925): 2.

43. "Editorial Notes," *Far Eastern T. S. Notes* 2, no. 3 (May–June 1925): 1.

44. "The Besant School in China," *Far Eastern T. S. Notes* 2, no. 3 (May–June 1925): 6–7.

45. See Iwama Hiroshi, *Exploring the Sources of UNESCO: New Education Fellowship and Theosophical Society* (Tokyo: Gakusha, 2008).

46. *Far Eastern T. S. Notes* 2, no. 3 (May–June 1925): 16–17.

47. *Far Eastern T. S. Notes* 2, no. 3 (May–June 1925): 4.

48. "Besant School for Girls to Open Tomorrow," *The China Press*, September 9, 1925.

49. Kiang was one of the founders of the Chinese Socialist Party. He was lowly regarded in previous studies in China after World War I for his cooperation with Wang Jingwei (1883–1944). Kiang left China to Canada to work as a sinologist at McGill University until 1933. His efforts toward introducing Chinese culture to the Western world have been reevaluated in recent studies (See Li Shan, "Jiang Kanghu Beimei chuanbo Zhongguo wenhua shulun," *Shi lin* 2, [2011]). Kiang took Theosophy as an example of the potential of Eastern spirituality to propagate to the West (cf. Wang Zhangcai, "Ouzhan yu Zhongguo wenhua," in *Jiang Kanghu boshi yanjiang lu*, ed. Nanfang University Press (Shanghai: Taipingyang yinshua gongsi, 1923), 176. Kiang also gave a lecture about Confucianism at Shanghai's Theosophical lodge in 1936 ("New Light Shed on Confucius," *The China Press*, January 9, 1936).

50. No. 114-01-00002-0002-002, Shanghai city, Jing'an district official document archives.

51. See Iwama, *Exploring*, chapter 2.

52. The Shanghai Lodge also moved with the school.

53. "School of Theosophists Here Makes Great Strides," *The China Press*, September 12, 1926.

54. Ibid.

55. "The Besant School for Girls," *Far Eastern T. S. Notes* 2, no. 4 (July–October 1926): 9.

56. Anonymous, "A Dollar a Month for China," *The Messenger* 13 (March 1926); Anonymous, "Besant School for Girls—China," *The Messenger* 13 (April 1926).

57. Anonymous, "Besant School for Girls," 8.

58. Heidi A. Ross, "Cradle of Female Talent: The McTyeire Home and School for Girls, 1892–1937," in *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Daniel H. Bays (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 214.

59. Its Chinese name is "Zhirenyong nüxue." The school's motto is *Wisdom, Love, and Will*.

60. "Peicheng nüxiao xuesheng jiazhang gongqi"

61. "Sunday Pictorial Section," *The China Press*, September 4, 1927.

62. Anonymous, "Peicheng nüxiao xiaozhang," *Shen Pao*, January 29, 1928.

63. It was reported that this move was due to young men roaming around the school. See Wei Qiang, "Peicheng nüxiao qiaoqian suji," *Zhongguo sheying xuehui huabao* 4, no. 192 (1929).

64. *Mingguo shiqi Shanghai nüzi jiaoyu koushu yanjiu* (Xi'an: Shanxi shifan daxue chuban zongshe, 2014), 16.

65. Cao Jinyuan, "Untitled," *The Besant/Peicheng niankan* (1937 Shanghai Besant Girls' School Yearbook Publication/1937-nian niankanshe).

66. She was still identified as "principal" in the 1932 graduation certificate's English version. but her name was omitted in the Chinese version. In 1932, Western teachers of the school were Arnold and Lily Noblston, who had been a member of Theosophical Society ever since Saturn Lodge.

67. No. 114-01-00008-0002-002, Shanghai city, Jing'an district official document archives.

68. *Shen Pao*, July 2, 1935.

69. No. 114-01-00002-0015-051, Shanghai city, Jing'an district official document archives. According to the staff list of Pei-cheng from 1928 to 1954, Arnold worked as chief English teacher until the autumn of 1935 (No. 114-01-00007-0006-012, Shanghai city, Jing'an district official document archives).

70. Sen, "China as Viewed by Two Early Bengali Travellers," 478. His vegetarian restaurant reopened in Shanghai in July 1915.

71. Hu Xuecheng, "Wu Tingfang de tongshenxue yu lingxuesheng ya," *Zheng da shi cui* 22 (2012): 13.

72. About Chinese intellectuals' attempts to define borderlines between science, religion, superstition, and philosophy in modern China, see Max K.

W. Huang, “Zhongguo jindai sixiang zhong de mixin,” in *Higashi Ajia ni okeru chiteki kōryū*, ed. Sadami Suzuki and Jian-hui Liu (Kyoto: Kokusai Nihon bunka kenkyū sentā, 2013).

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