

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

The Development of Higher Education in a Developing  
City: Hong Kong, 1900-1980

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on

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The main aims of this study is to trace the development of higher education in Hong Kong in the period from 1900 to 1980. From the study, several characteristics of British policy towards the development of the education system in the colony are apparent.

During the period from 1843 to 1900, influences emanating from Britain, China and Hong Kong had an effect upon the education system in the colony. In the beginning of the twentieth century, changes in educational thinking led to the expansion of secondary, tertiary and technological provision. Education ceased to be a laissez-faire matter, and became a prime object of planning and policy. In the area of higher education, the English speaking University of Hong Kong followed the English tradition and attempted to maintain acceptable academic standards. The University was set up in 1910 with the purpose of meeting local needs. It had a secondary purpose of serving neighbouring areas, particularly China. It was an élite institution.

The Chinese University of Hong Kong which was founded in 1963, offered degrees of equivalent standard to the Uni-

versity of Hong Kong. The teaching medium was Chinese. It followed the American system of four-year college rather than that of Britain. Both universities in the colony, however, had their special mission in building a "cultural link" between the East and West. In 1972, the Hong Kong Polytechnic was founded. It was a natural outgrowth of the Technical College. However, the Polytechnic was put alongside the universities under the financial and managerial oversight of the UPGC.

The political status of the colony exerted a great influence in the development of higher education. Because of the peculiarity of Hong Kong's political status, it was impractical for her to gain self-government or independence. Unlike other British colonies, the special role of the universities and colleges founded on the Asquith plan was defined by the Asquith Commission essentially within the context of preparation for national self-government. Thus the universities and other institutions of higher education in the colony had to follow their own programme of development. This thesis is an analysis of the progress made.

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## Chapter One: Introduction

### I. Decentralised Control of Education (1841-1860)

#### 1. The Policy of Non-Intervention

The Treaty of Nanking, 1841, led to the birth of the colony. For the British, Hong Kong's importance was her location as a commercial port for trade in the Far East. In a letter to Sir Henry Pottinger, the first governor of the newly-born colony, dated 31st May, 1841, Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, stated it clearly that "...the Chinese Government has consented to cede the island of Hong Kong to Great Britain; and that island is supposed to be in many respects well qualified to become a commercial station of some importance for our trade with China..."<sup>1</sup> Not only did Pottinger carry the title of Governor of Hong Kong but also those of Plenipotentiary and Minister Extra-ordinary and Chief Superintendent of Trade. Thus, the Hong Kong Government early focused its attention upon the development of trade rather than upon social or educational improvements. In fact to Lord Palmerston, Hong Kong was merely "a barren island with hardly a house upon it."<sup>2</sup> This proved to be true during the first decade of the development because the extent in which trade flourished did not meet the immediate expectation of the British. The British Government's intention in developing Hong Kong was to encourage the cooperation of foreign traders and enable Christian missionaries to turn their attention to it. The missionaries began to establish schools soon after they had settled. The government's laissez-faire policy on

education positively encouraged random development of the nature.

From 1841 to 1859, the Hong Kong Government did not assume any formal role in educational development. Only the traditional Chinese village schools and schools established by the churches existed.<sup>3</sup> No government schools were established before 1862. The Hong Kong Government adopted a passive role because neither British nor Chinese had any tradition of state education and in the early years of the colony neither demanded it.<sup>4</sup>

However in the nineteenth century, China had already developed a complete system of public education supported by Government. In the capital, there were the Kuo-hsueh (國學), the imperial school, Kuah-hsueh (官學), the imperial clan school and Tsung-hsueh (宗學), the royal school. In the country-side there were the Fu-hsueh (府學), the prefectural school and Hsuen-hsueh (縣學), district school. The role of these schools were quite limited, and the schools in Peking were only for educating the sons of the privileged classes and officials or for carefully selected students. The main function of the schools was to train for civic duties. The government schools, such as the prefectural schools and district schools, were only nominally existent. They were not actual teaching institutions and did not provide regular class-teaching. The teaching was only conducted by a director of studies or by travelling scholar officials. The function of these officials was to register and supervise candidates preparing for the civil examination. Thus traditional state education in China served the purpose of being a bureaucratic institution with only ritualistic functions.<sup>5</sup>

In Britain, the Government was also following a policy

of non-intervention in education during the early stage of the nineteenth century. Education was left to private arrangements, to public charity or to the Church. The main educational agencies in Britain could be divided into three categories: the elementary schools, the endowed secondary schools and the university establishments. The elementary schools were often dame schools or private day schools. Students paid for their school fees. The Church provided charity schools and Sunday schools for the poor. Secondary schools were mainly the endowed grammar schools and the public schools were grammar schools which had gained a national reputation and a national catchment clientele. They were supported by charitable endowments. There were only two universities in England until 1836 for higher education, Oxford and Cambridge, which were supported mainly by endowment. In 1836, the University of London was established as a non-denominational institution which was also supported by endowments for its various needs.

Following *British* tradition and practice, educational development in Hong Kong during the early years of the nineteenth century was dominated by ecclesiastical endeavour or private enterprise. The Government only played a very limited and subsidiary role. The main interest of the Church in education was related to the propagation of the faith and colleges or seminaries were established for the training of Chinese personnel for the ministry.

The characteristics of early settlement on the island necessitated little demand for education from among the Chinese population. The schools that existed were usually attended by the boat people. This being the case, we were told "...in addition to the impossibility there is of turning

education to any practical account their poverty renders them dependent on some measures on what can be gained by the manual labour of their children..."<sup>6</sup> As a result "...the attendance at the Chinese school is very fluctuating and this peculiarity is not confined to those in Hong Kong. The number increased from the Chinese New Year to the close of the year, when the members steadily decreased..."<sup>7</sup> However, it was considered "...this state of things would be very much improved if the children of the more respectable Chinese attended the schools but these seldom bring their families to the Colony..."<sup>8</sup> When few better-connected Chinese came to the colony, their importance was offset by their lack of a sense of identity with a local community and government. Because the Chinese settlers had no desire to plan to stay abroad for long but rather aimed to earn and save as much as possible so that they could return to their homeland for a comfortable life, they manifested no inclination to be assimilated into society and showed no interest in other people's culture or mode of living.<sup>9</sup> Because they lacked a sense of identity, the early Chinese settlers sent their children back to the mainland to be educated. This delayed the establishment of a state system of education in Hong Kong.

The Foreign Office in London exerted a direct influence upon the educational development of Hong Kong. Success in the Opium War in 1840-42 seemed to have been a complete victory for the Foreign Office. After the war, the local government was to a very great extent dominated by the interests of the Foreign Office. Alexander Michie was led to sum up the situation accurately when he wrote that: "...the diplomatic and consular agents of Great Britain have never looked sympathetically on the colony - indeed have often sided with the

Chinese in their attempts to curtail its right..."<sup>10</sup>

The interest of the Foreign Office was once more reflected in an instruction to Sir Henry Pottinger in June 1843. Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, explicitly argued that Hong Kong was only secured to serve as a diplomatic, commercial and military post. In order to maintain the interest of the Foreign Office in its affairs, the Hong Kong Government was compelled to spend more time on commercial development. If the colony was to develop as a headquarters for British trade in the China market, the development of commerce was of the first concern. To this end it was necessary to secure and maintain friendship between China and Britain.

Pottinger reported to the Colonial Office in 1843 concerning an application for a grant of land from the London Missionary Society and he thought that the establishment of the school might involve "...whether it would be either right or politic to extend the protection of our consuls to any persons who may openly establish schools, or other similar institutions in any part of China, in opposition to the wishes of the Imperial Government or its officers..."<sup>11</sup> Such advice prevented the colonial government from taking an active interventionist role in education in Hong Kong.

The Governor of Hong Kong, who held concurrently the offices of Plenipotentiary and Minister Extra-ordinary and Chief Superintendent of Trade, to facilitate the interest of Foreign Office had to serve two masters, both the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office. This made his position extremely difficult.

During the governorship of Sir Henry Pottinger (1843-1844), John Davis (1844-1848) and George Bonham (1848-1854),

the Governor had frequently to leave Hong Kong on tours of inspection to the British consular stations in China and even more frequently his diplomatic duties took him to Macau, Canton or Shanghai. Some Governors such as John Davis and John Bowring, were interested in educational development. The latter even acknowledged that public education in the colony was inadequate, "...the whole subject of neglect of public education in this colony which fills my mind with much anxiety - and for the deficiencies of which I earnestly desire to see some appropriate remedies provided..."<sup>12</sup> But he was restricted by his dual roles and duties and no great improvement or development in educational matters took place until the 1860s.

## 2. The Role of the Missionary in Education

Following the tradition and practice in Britain, educational development in Hong Kong before 1860 was dominated by religious bodies.

The first missionary organisation to establish itself in Hong Kong was the Morrison Education Society<sup>13</sup> which had a foundation at Canton as early as 1835. In 1842, before Hong Kong was officially proclaimed a British colony, the Society moved its school at Macau to Hong Kong. Lancelot Dent, a member of the Society and of Dent & Co., one of the earliest and largest commercial firms connected with the Canton trade, petitioned Sir Henry Pottinger for a grant of land to erect a school building.

Other religious organisations followed Dent's example in setting up schools. One was the London Missionary Society<sup>14</sup>

under James Legge<sup>15</sup> which established an Anglo-Chinese college in 1843. It was designed as a seminary, for the training of ministers and had a preparatory school attached. Similarly, the Colonial Chaplain, Rev. Vincent Stanton, began to organise St. Paul's College as a ministry training college for Anglicans, the building being finally completed in 1851.<sup>16</sup> In 1843, the Rev. and Mrs. Schuck of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions opened a school in Gough Street with twenty boys and seven girls.<sup>17</sup> The Rev. W. Deane also started in 1844 a small Chinese school in the Western District. An American Mission commenced a school in the same year. The Roman Catholics had schools in operation, and seminaries attached for the training of native clergy.<sup>18</sup> Most of these early missionary schools, however, had to be closed after one or two year's experience because of their unpopularity among the Chinese residents. By 1845, only two missionary schools were left: the Morrison Anglo-Chinese School and the London Missionary Society's Anglo-Chinese College. There were 9 Chinese village schools at the same time, run by local inhabitants, but they had an overall average total of less than 150 Chinese boys in attendance. The total number of children attending school was about 200, about 1% of the total population of the island.<sup>19</sup>

Government concern about the nature of educational provision in the colony was first expressed by the first Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Henry Pottinger (1841-1844). In the early part of 1842, Sir Henry Pottinger approved the request of the President of the Morrison Education Society for a grant of land for the purpose of building a school. He even accepted the post of patron of the Society and, as H.M. Superintendent of Trade, made an annual grant of \$1,200 (silver dollars, at

4s. 2d. to the dollar) to the Society. On the other hand, the London Missionary Society did not succeed in securing support from the Governor, who thought that two similar educational institutions in a small island were excessive, and that more schools and colleges would not be needed for many years to come.<sup>20</sup>

Pottinger's successor, Sir John Davis (1844-1848) showed keen interest in education for the Chinese. Davis had a reputation as a scholar in Chinese studies. But he was unsympathetic to the Morrison Education Society, and more inclined to support the educational function of the established Church and the London Missionary Society. In 1845 the grant to the Morrison Education Society was discontinued while the London Missionary Society secured its grant of land. In the same year, Karl Gutzlaff,<sup>21</sup> Chinese Secretary to the Governor, proposed that the government should involve itself in the education of the Chinese by giving financial assistance at the rate of \$10 (equivalent to about £2) per month to each of the existing village schools. Dr. James Legge, Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College, also suggested that the government should establish a free school for the Chinese. In August 1847, Lord Grey, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, instructed the Hong Kong Governor that a limited educational grant could be given to a selected number of the existing Chinese village vernacular schools.<sup>22</sup>

### 3. The Chinese School and Government Grants

1845 marked the beginning of government participation in providing education for the Chinese in Hong Kong. In Britain,



government grants to educational bodies had already been in existence since 1833. The grants to be given to schools in Hong Kong were much smaller, however, taking the form of a monthly payment of about \$10 (equivalent to about £2) to each of a small number (5-8) of the native schools. The financial aid was given to the native village schools instead of to missionary schools with the intention of promoting vernacular education. It was, however, a policy adopted by government to avoid religious controversy and the difficulties of distributing grants among the various missionary societies. Meanwhile, Lord Grey also agreed that, in order to avoid sectarian jealousies, care had to be taken to guard against the use of public funds in Hong Kong to support religious denominations. Thus the year 1845 marked a low ebb in the educational activities of the various missionary groups.

An Education Committee was appointed in 1845 by the colonial government to inquire into the present state of Chinese schools at Victoria, Stanley and Aberdeen, with a view to measures being taken to encourage one Chinese school at each of the three aforementioned places under government supervision.<sup>23</sup> According to the report of the Committee, the schools visited (three at Victoria, two at Aberdeen and three at Stanley) were typical of the Chinese ssu-shu (書塾) both in content and method of instruction. Only one school from each district was selected for the receipt of government grants. To ensure proper control over these grant-aided schools, the Committee recommended:

"...Firstly, that it be left to the committee to apportion the grant in such manner as may seem to them most likely to effect the desired end; secondly, that no fixed salary be given to any

schoolmaster, but that he be allowed to receive as many pupils as possible whose education will be paid for, or partly paid for, by the government; thirdly, that reading, writing and arithmetic, after the Chinese mode, be the only branch of learning; fourthly, that the master shall render to the committee a monthly account of the attendance and numbers of the scholars; fifthly, that his school shall be subject to the visits of the committee..."<sup>24</sup>,

These recommendations laid down the guiding principles for government in the development of local education for the years to come. In this way, the Education Committee began to take control of the whole of education in Hong Kong. The regulations it formulated, however, out of the Committee's recommendations could not ensure effective control.

#### 4. The Education Committee and the Control of the Churches in Educational Activities

By giving the power of the distribution of grants and the supervision of schools to the Education Committee,<sup>25</sup> the government paved the way for the churches to dominate not only those early schools but also educational developments in later years. The Committee was mainly comprised of churchman and the Register General. It was not the real intention of the Hong Kong Government to depart from contemporary practice in England, where both the churches and religious education played a central role in schools. In a despatch (13th March, 1847) to the Colonial Office, Sir John Davis stressed that:

"...If these schools were eventually placed in the charge of native Christian teachers, led up by the Protestant, missionaries, it would afford the most rational prospect of converting the native population of the Island..."<sup>26</sup>

In its first report to the Governor, the Education Committee unanimously recommended the introduction of Bible study into "grant aided" schools, and stated it would regret any measures likely to exclude religious education.<sup>27</sup> These recommendations were accepted by the government. According to the reports of 1848 and 1849, no change was introduced with regard to the textbooks or the secular nature of the schools. But in the report of 1850, the Colonial Secretary, Colonel William Caine, was informed, that the Rev. V. Stanton occasionally distributed Christian books "for the voluntary reading of the boys."<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, the Rev. E.J.R. Marcrief, Chaplain to the Bishop of Victoria, was appointed a member of the Committee. Undoubtedly his appointment strengthened the proselytizing work of the Committee. In the report of 1851, the Bible was listed as a textbook being used in the schools. However the churchmen in control of the Education Committee, who saw a means of carrying on their proselytizing work through the government vernacular schools, helped to close up a number voluntary missionary schools. In the Education Committee, only the Anglican Church and the London Missionary Society participated. These two bodies set up schools of their own, namely the Anglo-Chinese College and St. Paul's College, designed to provide an English education for the training of native clergymen. Since the Chinese were rarely religiously minded, it was very difficult to make them zealous enough to want to be ministers. Their aim in coming to school was to acquire sufficient basic knowledge of reading and

writing for the handling of the affairs of daily life. The commercial value of a knowledge of English was not greatly valued. The number of Chinese interpreters or clerks required was still small, and the great majority of the indigenous inhabitants remained engaged in their "native" tasks of farming and fishing.

#### 5. The Development of Education under the Education Committee

On 6th December, 1847, Governor Sir John Davis, appointed the police magistrate, colonial chaplain and the Registrar General to the Education Committee in order to look into the granting of aid to schools and to develop policy regarding secular education. The Committee however, pursued the policy of non-interference with the traditional Chinese curriculum and methods, although it introduced some Christian teaching on a voluntary basis.

In 1850, it was reported that school attendance was irregular: children at Aberdeen and Stanley were taken away fishing and all children were withdrawn early to seek employment. The Chinese parent's attachment to education was secondary to his attachment to gain. The Committee recommended that the Anglican Bishop, George Smith,<sup>29</sup> should have the superintendence of the schools. In 1852 the Education Committee was reorganised with Bishop as Chairman and the London Missionary Society representatives as members. An additional Anglican clergyman joined later. Thus from the membership and structure of the Committee, it was interested in spreading Christianity.

At the same time, the committee decided to stimulate

teachers in maintaining school numbers by reducing the grant if school numbers fell below thirty. But this practice was doomed to fail because it was subsequently discovered that it resulted in inducing teachers to claim more attendances than was actually the case.

In 1853, two more members were added to the Committee. They were Dr. Legge and the Rev. M.C. Odell, an Anglican clergyman. Its policy was enhanced as to how to encourage the study of English, not only for the value of its literature but also "to prevent misunderstanding", and act as "a bond of union between many thousands of Chinese who have made this place as their residence and the handful of Europeans by whom they are governed."<sup>30</sup>

Progress in the government-aided schools was slow and supervision was inadequate. The Committee recommended that more new school buildings be erected in lieu of the apartments used as school rooms which were confined, miserably dirty and altogether unsuitable. Two new schools were built, finally, in 1853 at Victoria and Wong Nei Chong. At the same time it was reported there were five schools for Chinese in receipt of government grants. All schools were described as free schools. Few of the schools were deeply-rooted and the numbers attending were small.

The Education Committee in its 1854 report reacted to the views of the new Governor, Sir John Bowring, by strongly criticising the existing system. It pointed out that the five schools had accommodation for only 150. Government education was at almost its lowest ebb; it had neither suitable buildings, suitable masters, nor suitable supervision. Four proposals were suggested immediately for improvement: suitable school buildings should be provided, a system of apprentice

teachers should be introduced, all schools capable of enlargement should have assistant masters capable of teaching English and an Inspector of Schools should be appointed to conduct weekly inspections of all government schools. In May 1856, a German missionary, the Rev. W. Lobscheid, was appointed Inspector of Schools and at once began a system of visitation.

In 1860 the Education Committee was reconstituted as the Board of Education, and it remained under the chairmanship of Bishop Smith. The reconstitution was part of a new scheme proposed by Dr. Legge in 1860. The number of schools for which government accepted responsibility had risen to twenty.

## II. A New Active Policy for Education (1860-1900)

### 1. The Board of Education (1860-1865)

Three men were influential in expanding the role of government in education: Governor Sir John Bowring (1854-1859), Sir Hercules Robinson who was Governor from 1859 to 1865 and Dr. James Legge.

Before coming to the Far East, Bowring had served as a member of the Select Committee of 1847-54 and had show deep interest in the colony.<sup>31</sup> A man of liberal ideas, he was very keen to develop the education system. When he assumed the office of governor in 1854, he was aware of the fact that the development of local education had been much neglected by the government, and he remarked upon the small amount of money spent on it.<sup>32</sup> Encouraged by developments in England and facilitated by a favourable financial situation in Hong Kong a new programme for the expansion of government schools

began. Two new schools were erected in 1855 and in the next year a third one was added. In 1857 seven new schools were established. In 1859 three more schools were set up for the Hakka.<sup>33</sup> Thus, during Sir John Bowring's term of office, the number of government village schools rose from five in 1854 to nineteen in 1859. Bowring was a secularist and held the view that the schools should be run by laymen. But at the time, it was beyond the power of the Governor to reduce the influence of the churches in education. A new Education Committee was appointed and it was again formed along traditional clerical lines. It consisted (in the absence of the Bishop) of the Rev. J.J. Irwin (Colonial Chaplain), the Rev. M.C. Odell (Bishop's Chaplain) and the Rev. T. Chalmers of the London Missionary Society. The Committee recommended the appointment of William Lobscheid as the first inspector of schools, he was himself a missionary and a staunch advocate of religious education. The churchmen remained in control of government schools in 1860, when the Education Committee was dissolved.

Bowring's successor, Sir Hercules Robinson,<sup>34</sup> who took over the government in September 1859, was attempting to free government schools from Church influence. Robinson's administration was marked by vigour and under him many of the schemes which Bowring had talked about were carried out. On 21st January, 1860 a new "Board of Education" was formed and it would pave the way for further reorganization of public education.<sup>35</sup>

The new Board of Education was composed of seven men. The Bishop remained as Chairman and two new government officials were appointed. The powers of the Board included the general supervision and control of all government schools

throughout the island; the appointment, transfer, supervision and dismissal of schoolmasters and the fixing of their salaries.<sup>36</sup> To offset the semi-independence of the Inspector of Schools, the appointment of Inspector was to rest with the Governor. The Inspector however, would report to the Board. The Inspector and all teachers had the power to appeal directly to the Governor rather than to the Board if they so wished. From the structural point of view, the Board occupied a midway stage between the Education Committee and a government Department of Education. Though the Board was chaired by the Bishop, it was significant that a high government official and two prominent citizens had been added. It was the work of James Legge who steered the Board to pave the way for the establishment of the government Department of Education.

Legge, during his early career in Hong Kong, had been anxious to use the schools for the purpose of making converts to Christianity. But, partly on account of his gradual understanding of the character of the Chinese, after 1860 he began to give up that concern. By then he was opposed to the Church's control over public education as well as the introduction of Bible reading in government schools. He advocated education for its own sake and as a sinologist, he held a high esteem for the Chinese thought and philosophy contained in the traditional Chinese classics. He was particularly concerned, however, with the effective teaching of English too as he saw the commercial value to the Chinese of a knowledge of that language. The Rev. Lobscheid, who was an appointee of the Education Committee, tendered his resignation from the post of Inspector of Schools in July 1860. Lobscheid's resignation, in fact, was engineered by Legge, who wanted to have the post of Inspector of Schools vacated



so that it could be merged with the headship of a central school which would encapsulate his scheme for reform in government schools.

## 2. The Establishment of the Central School

With the establishment of the Board of Education secular reform could be engineered by Legge who had considerable influence over the Board. At the same time, the number of better-class Chinese residents was increasing as the result of unrest in China during the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864). As a result of the Peking Convention (1860), Kowloon Peninsula was ceded to Britain in 1861, and Hong Kong's population increased rapidly. It was to the belief of James Legge that, since many Chinese merchants were now bringing their families to the colony, they would soon become aware of the commercial advantages and value of learning English. Thus Legge suggested the establishment of a secular government school as a "grand" central institution which would consolidate the existing city schools. He proposed to the Governor the amalgamation of Schools in Victoria into one Central School, the head of which would have to visit and inspect the schools in outlying areas. Initially, the number of schools proposed for concentration exceeding the five laid down in Legge's plan, but in the event only five schools: Tai Ping Shan, Shai Wan, Chung Wan, Webster's Bazaar and Mahomestan Mosque were absorbed into the new foundation.

Legge had much confidence in the establishment of the Central School. He claimed that: "...as acting Chairman of the Board in the absence of the Bishop of Victoria, I am personally enable to say that I look upon the new scheme as

of great promise..."<sup>37</sup> Legge's proposals were favourably supported by sir Hercules Robinson. In his letter to a colonial official on 21st January, 1860. The Governor signified his approval<sup>38</sup>.

On 3rd July, 1860, the Board of Education accepted Legge's proposal and on 23rd March, 1861, the Legislative Council authorised the purchase, for a sum not to exceed \$20,500, of the American Baptist Society's premises. Frederick Stewart was recruited from England as the Headmaster of the Central School and as Inspector of Schools<sup>39</sup> and the school was opened on 1st January, 1862.

The Central School adopted the policy of secular teaching and there was soon a considerable dispute over religion. The Rev. Lobscheid urged the importing of Christianity into the school.<sup>40</sup> However, James Legge held a different view. It was not a case of "better secularism than Episcopalianism" but what he believed would be "providing what was acceptable to the Chinese in order that it would be possible to attract them to western schools and so win their cooperation and bridge the gulf of hostility and lack of understanding which separated from the English."<sup>41</sup>

The nature of the curriculum of the Central School was not evident from the Education Report sent to the Colonial Secretary in London on 23rd July, 1861:"...the education given comprehends reading, writing and composition in Chinese, as also the committing to memory of large portions of the Chinese Classics. In the principal school English is taught both in reading from books, and in elocution and writing. Here also knowledge is given of the elements of Geography and Arithmetic..."<sup>42</sup> Although the enhanced status of English was apparent, it was not made compulsory in the earliest years of

the school's foundation because there was to be no attempt to force an alien culture upon the Chinese. Pupils would do four hours of Chinese in the morning and if they wished, four of English in the afternoon. The Government wanted interpreters to fill the lower strata of the colonial hierarchy and be adept in transmitting its policy to the Chinese. More Chinese were encouraged to enter the Central School with this end in view and by the waiving of school fees. In 1895, the Government abolished the vernacular schools. The Central School eventually paved the way for the founding of Hong Kong University, which had English as the main language of instruction.

### 3. Frederick Stewart and the Establishment of the Department of Government Schools

From the administrative point of view, the Board of Education was not very different from the old Education Committee. It was not to be a permanent organization, but only an instrument through which the government would eventually take over entirely the control of public education from the churches. By 1862, the Rev. W.R. Beach was the only representative of the churches left on the Board. By the following year the dominance of Church influence had been reduced to a minimum. The Board now consisted of either prominent merchants or government officers with the exception of Dr. Legge and of Dr. Frederick Stewart who had assumed office as Inspector of Schools and Headmaster of the Central School in 1862, and had been invited to take a seat on the Board in 1864.

Frederick Stewart served as the first Headmaster of the Central School from 1862-1881. He did not believe that Christianity should be taught in Chinese schools, but as long as the Board of Education was under Church influence, the teaching of the Christian religion in schools would continue. Stewart favoured secular education for two main reasons. In the first place he thought that government policy should not aim at converting the Chinese to Christianity. In the second place he saw that Bible teaching, as operated in the government schools, was not useful because it was alien to the Chinese students. He did not wish to interfere, however with the various church schools in which religious would continue as before.

In December 1863, Stewart was authorised by the government to sign all vouchers for educational expenditure. It was an indication that the Board of Education would not remain much longer in existence. In 1864, he was invited to serve on the Board and at the beginning of the following year acted in place of the Secretary on the latter's resignation. On 27th March, Stewart was requested by the Board to undertake the post of permanent Honorary Secretary and on the same day he received a communication from the Colonial Secretary, unknown to the Board, informing him that it was not the intention of government to perpetuate the Board. At a fitting time he would be placed at the head of the Education Department.<sup>43</sup> On 2nd May, 1865, the last meeting of the Board was held. By 13th June, Legge and the other members had resigned their seats on the Board. On 24th June a Gazette notification announced that Frederick Stewart had been appointed Head of the Department of Government Schools in succession to the Board.<sup>44</sup> Thus the government schools became the responsibility

of a branch of the civil service directly responsible to the Governor.

The abolition of the Board of Education in 1865 has been regarded as a landmark for the introduction of secular education in Hong Kong, but this was only partly true. The Bible was not formally banished from the schools, but fewer Christian teachers remained to teach it on account of the control of government schools being taken out of the hands of the Church.

#### 4. Grant-in-aid Scheme and the Development of Education

In 1873, the introduction of a Grant-in-aid Scheme marked a further development in education. With the implementation of the Scheme, the missionary and other voluntary schools were entitled to have government aid and inspection.

Before 1872, the government's contribution towards the provision of local education was confined to the Central School. Less attention had been given to village schools and aided schools. In February 1873, Frederick Stewart submitted the Grant-in-aid Scheme to the government. Under the new Scheme, aid was offered to mission schools, subject to certain conditions. In order to qualify for a grant, a school had to be conducted as a public elementary school, on a non-profit-making basis with an attendance of at least twenty. It had to satisfy the inspector in regard to school organisation and discipline. Secular instruction had to occupy at least four hours a day. But the government would not interfere with the religious teaching of a school. The appointment of teachers rested with the school as long as the government was

satisfied as to their competence, and a quarter of the grant payable was to go to the teacher as a personal payment. For purposes of grant there were five classes of schools, according as they gave (1) a Chinese education, (2) a Chinese education with additional English, (3) a European language, (4) a European education in any European language and (5) a European education in any European language with the addition of Chinese. The grant-earning subjects were laid down, and the syllabus to be covered was graded into six standards in each of the five classes of schools. Grant was paid on the result of an annual examination conducted by the Inspector of Education, or by examiners appointed by the government; each successful child earned a grant varying from \$2 in Standard 1 to \$8 in Standard 6 for schools in classes I and II, rising to a maximum of \$10 for schools in classes III, IV and V, with an extra half dollar in schools of classes II and V, where a second language was taught. In each case a minimum of 200 attendance was required.

The Scheme adopted the principle of payment by results, following the English Education Act of 1870. However, there was difficulty in applying the Scheme to Chinese vernacular schools because there was a lack of graduated text-books. In 1877, because of the temptation to encourage the pupils to take the higher standards in order to earn more grant, the Scheme was amended to take effect from 1st January, 1879, by which time class I and II schools were given additional grants ranging from \$5 to \$10; class III from \$16½. Increased capitation grants were paid on the 200 average attendances, and pupils were permitted to take additional secular subjects for grant-earning purposes.

With the implementation of the Scheme, all the religious

bodies at first applied for Grant-in-aid for their schools. But the Catholics soon withdrew from the Scheme because they disliked its secular nature. In 1873, six schools became grant-aided; they were: St. Saviour's, St. Stephen's, Wanchai Chapel School, Tai Ping Shan Chapel School, Victoria Boys' School and the Baxter Vernacular Girls' School.<sup>45</sup> In 1874 there were nine schools, the Baxter foundation forming three separate schools instead of one, and the Basel Mission coming in. By the end of 1876 there were eleven schools receiving grant-in-aid, although St. Saviour's eventually dropped out. The additional schools were St. Paul's College, St. Stephen's Church School and Victoria Girls' School.

Under the new Scheme, it was clear that administration changes would be necessary. The new grant-in-aid schools made the work of supervision so heavy that it would not be possible for the duties of inspector to be combined with those of the headmastership of the Central School. A change in the administrative structure was thus imperative. Initially it was decided to separate the two posts of Inspector of Schools and the headmastership of the Central School in 1879. The London Government appointed Dr. E.J. Eitel of the London Missionary Society and a noted Chinese scholar as Inspector of Schools.<sup>46</sup> The control of the Central School was left to an independent department of supervision. Stewart then quitted the education field; after home leave in 1879 he returned as Acting Colonial Secretary, and was succeeded as Headmaster by Dr. Bateson Wright.

In 1878 there were thirty maintained and assisted government schools with 2,101 pupils and 17 grant-in-aid schools with 1,021 pupils, and it was estimated that there were 2,494 pupils in Chinese and Roman Catholic schools.<sup>47</sup> In 1879,

continuous complaints by the churches ensured the Grant-in-aid Code would be modified, and the offensive word "secular" dropped . It was to be replaced by "instruction in the subjects of the standards". The word "elementary" was also dropped and the way was opened for higher grade schools. The attempt to raise the minimum number of attendance to qualify for grant from 200 to 160 was resisted. Voluntary bodies could secure building grants.

By 1882, Eitel had to report that the standard attained in the government schools was well below that in the grant schools. In 1893, the grant code was revised once more to allow for grant to Standard 7, and thus further prepare the way for secondary education. Two classes of schools were dropped from the code, leaving three classes: (a) vernacular schools, (b) those giving a European education in Chinese and (c) those giving a European education in a European language.<sup>48</sup>

##### 5. Sir John Pope Hennessy and the Teaching of English

In the 1870s the nature of education in the Colony, to a great extent, was dominated by the question of the teaching of English within the school curriculum. Sir John Pope Hennessy (Governor, 1877-1882), who brought about distinctive change in educational policy, was well known in the Colonial Office for his reformist attitudes.<sup>49</sup> Unlike his predecessor, Hennessy initiated many new measures in the local administration during his five years' term of service. He was particularly noted for his pro-Chinese policy in removing many social discriminations against the local Chinese. He appointed for the first time a Chinese member to the Legislative



Council.<sup>50</sup> But in dealing with the provision of education for the Chinese, he adopted an entirely pro-English attitude. He held that government efforts in education should aim mainly at the teaching of English. He thought that the government should leave vernacular education to voluntary or private efforts. The government had no wish to introduce universal education for the masses. And it was only as the result of the expansion of trade and government administration that it desiderated a greater supply of clerks, interpreters and other workers all of whom required some knowledge of English.

Hennessy's interest in the promotion of the teaching of English was first shown in a personal visit he made to the Central School immediately after his assumption of office in 1877. He was very dissatisfied with the standard of English taught in the School and in his subsequent communication with the Colonial Secretary, said openly: "...I must confess that in consequence, I left the School with an unfavourable impression as to the extent to which instruction was being given in English..."<sup>51</sup> The Colonial Secretary was requested to conduct a survey into the standard of the teaching of English in the Central School. Frederick Stewart, the Headmaster, disagreed with the Governor and thought that attention should be paid to the study of Chinese. He held the opinion that the study of the vernacular was of primary importance. As a result of this disagreement he decided to leave the Central School. Finally, the survey report was put on the shoulders of the Acting Headmaster and the Acting Inspector of Schools, E.J. Eitel. In his reports, Eitel expressed great disappointment at the indifference of the students to the learning of Chinese and he called it a humiliating spectacle and a disgrace.

While investigation and reports on the English standard of the pupils at the Central School were going on, the Governor called a conference on the teaching of English in the government schools which was held on 25th February, 1878. The conference was presided over by the Governor himself and attended by eight persons he had selected. Besides Stewart and Eitel, the other six were all members of the Legislative Council. The main resolutions arrived at in the meeting were as follows:

- "1. that the primary object to be borne in mind by government should be the teaching of English;
2. that the preliminary requirements in Chinese knowledge for admission be raised in order to enable the Central School to give more time to Chinese;
3. that all English lessons be compulsory while Chinese would be optional on the declaration of the parent;
4. that arrangements be made as soon as possible for the introduction of teaching of English in all the other schools entirely supported by the government."<sup>52</sup>

These resolutions marked the end of the traditional policy of supporting vernacular education and the beginning of a new era in which government efforts were to be devoted almost exclusively to English teaching. The principle promulgated was upheld not only by Hennesy himself but also by his immediate successors.

## 6. The Education Commission (1880-1882) and its Aftermath

The policy of emphasising English initiated by Hennessy and Eitel was incorporated into the government school system immediately after the 1878 Education Conference. At the Central School the old curriculum of four hours of compulsory Chinese lessons in the morning and four hours of English in the afternoon was abolished. A new schedule was set up with five hours in the morning to be devoted to English lessons, and two and a half hours in the afternoon to Chinese lessons which then became optional. Meanwhile, English teaching was introduced into three of the existing government schools and the proposal was suggested to the Colonial Office that five new government schools be set up to take the place of the primary classes of the Central School. This indicated an intention of raising the latter to collegiate level. An Education Commission was appointed to inquire into the intention and also to consider the relative importance of English and Chinese teaching in Hong Kong.

The 1880-1882 Education Commission was composed of four government officials: Frederick Stewart, E.J. Eitel, E.L. O'Malley (Attorney-General) and J.M. Piece (Surveyor-General), and four unofficial members of the Legislative Council, one of whom was Ng Choy, the first and the only Chinese member appointed. During the Commission's investigation, a number of people connected with education in Hong Kong as a whole or with the Central School in particular were invited to give their views on the propositions of the government and to exchange ideas with members of the Commission. Members of the Commission and participants in the meetings held the idea that the Chinese people should be taught their

own language as the basis of a general education. They thought that it should be taught at home or at the district schools, as one and a half hours of Chinese teaching a day (the two and a half hours were further reduced to one and a half hours in 1881) at the Central School was of no value and it would be of more practical use if these hours were given to English teaching. The American Bishop maintained that Chinese had to be sacrificed if the boys wished to acquire a useful knowledge of English, as their ambition was to get into a position to make money, so that they would not care much for any loss they might have as Chinese subjects. Wei Ayuk, former student of the Central School with experience of the benefits of the existing bilingual system, gave evidence that a good knowledge of Chinese would not only be useful for practical purposes but would also be helpful in the learning of English. But to have both languages taught at the same time was thought not to be a good system. He suggested that boys over fourteen should be taught English only, provided that they had passed an examination in Chinese and English.<sup>53</sup>

The report of the Commission was submitted to the Hong Kong Government and the Colonial Office in September 1882. The report recommended that the Central School be developed on its existing basis with equal amounts of time devoted to both Chinese and English teaching in the lower section (Classes VIII to V); but in the upper classes (Classes IV to I) no Chinese lessons were to be provided except translation should be taught. The time saved from the teaching of the Chinese language should be devoted to more advanced subjects of western knowledge including algebra, Euclid, Shakespeare, book-keeping, physiology and science. The Commission's recommendations were approved by the government and its work

was praised by the Secretary of State, Lord Derby.<sup>54</sup>

In the village schools (renamed district schools in 1882), the government encountered great difficulties. English was taught in the two highest standards (VI and VII) of a number of the vernacular schools, but data given in 1900 showed that of the total number of students who attended these schools, over 90% never got beyond the fourth standard and less than 3% ever succeeded in reaching the seventh standard. For most of these district schools, students came from the lower and poorer classes, and they could only afford two or three years' of elementary education for their children. Though all these schools were free, the boys had to work to support the family. Besides, there was a lack of good teachers. In 1881 Sir John Pope Hennessy initiated a scheme for the training of teachers. Unfortunately, Hennessy omitted to take the precaution of submitting the scheme to the Secretary of State, who in the absence of a full explanation, demanded that money voted for it should be cancelled.<sup>55</sup> An experimental normal class of ten students was admitted in the Central School but it finally came to an end in 1882. It was not until 1907 that teachers' normal evening classes were set up at the Technical Institute, admitting only ten to twenty students each year.

In 1892, Sir William Robinson accepted Eitel's proposal to close eleven of twenty-eight vernacular district schools. The number continued to be reduced in the following years and by 1900, there remained in Hong Kong only seven government vernacular schools with an enrolment of about five hundred pupils. There were several major educational problems coming to the force however, at the end of the nineteenth century. The British parents in the colony demanded separate schools for their children, on the ground that the education of their

children together with Chinese children held both back; the needs of the two groups and their background of knowledge were different. At the same time some of the leading Chinese citizens wanted schools where the children of the higher classes of Chinese would not have to mix with children of the lower classes. Because of these problems, sir Henry Blake (Governor, 1898-1903), set up a committee of inquiry into education in 1901, to conduct a survey of the existing educational system in Hong Kong and to make suggestions for improvement. The report of this committee was presented in 1902 and it strongly criticized Chinese vernacular education and the standard of English teaching. Among its many recommendations, most of which were not accepted, was the establishment of separate schools for European British subjects. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, did not approve of ethnic schools set up only for the British. Yet since it was the wish of the parents, he agreed that a school in Kowloon, which Ho Tung, a prominent local citizen had presented to the government for English teaching, should be used for British children. Ho Tung had originally meant his school to be open to all, but he reluctantly agreed to its being used as a British school. This became known as the Central British School, now King George V School.

The committee also recommended that the salaries of the Chinese masters at Queen's College be raised from \$720 to \$1,200 per annum and suggested that the Chinese masters in the Anglo-Chinese schools be raised to the level of the Chinese masters at Queen's College, with an average of \$810 per year. But in regard to the district vernacular schools, the committee did not recommend any more money be spent on them.

The following concluding statement made in the report by

the committee reflected clearly the attitude of the government at this time towards education for the Chinese:

"...The committee hold that what education is given should be thorough, and that better results will be obtained by assisting to enlighten the ignorance of the upper classes of Chinese than by attempting to force new ideas on the mass of the people. Civilized ideas among the leaders of thought are the best and perhaps only means at present available of permeating the general ignorance: for this reason much more attention has been paid to the Anglo-Chinese schools than to the vernacular..."<sup>56</sup>

Though many of the recommendations of the committee were not accepted, there were several changes undertaken in the next few years. In 1903 the system of giving grants to schools was altered. Hitherto the grants had been based on the results of examinations conducted by the Inspectors of Schools. Each successful child earned a grant for his school according to the class in which he was studying. This system was now abolished and the grants were based on the Inspector's general report. Increased grants were to be given to schools which employed well-qualified teachers. As a result of this, the number of government and grant schools decreased, but the number of pupils and the cost increased. The schools were larger and their standards improved.

### III. General Development of Education in the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

At the beginning of the new century, the main problems that faced education in Hong Kong had been inherited from the previous decade and centred upon the relative positions of English and vernacular in a mixed community.

With the exception of a few vernacular schools controlled by missionary or by Chinese charitable organizations, the vernacular schools were small private establishments conducted as a means of personal livelihood, usually by a single teacher. Financial returns were poor. Practically all the urban schools were housed in tenement buildings and the conditions under which pupils worked were far from satisfactory. In the 1900s the teachers were usually Chinese scholars of the old type who were uprooted by the revolution in China and had established schools as an only means of livelihood. The course of studies was confined to Chinese traditional classics and literature, with little arithmetic or geography. The teaching methods were poor, and too much stress was placed on memorizing. Some of the teachers were old scholars from China and most of them were the product of schools in China and were not trained in modern teaching methods. Others were graduates of the colony's normal schools. A handful had taken the three-years' course of training for vernacular or English teachers which was begun in 1915 at the Evening Institute. Because of the poor financial return, the bulk of the teachers in vernacular schools were there since they could find no other employment and had no great incentive to better themselves. The course of studies began to be improved when all vernacular schools followed the model syllabus adopted by the



Board of Education in 1929. Teaching was no longer confined to memorizing the Chinese classics. Schools were required to teach Chinese reading, writing, composition, history, geography and civics, other subjects being optional. In some schools, especially those for girls, English was taught in the higher grades.

The English schools were of three types, Government, grant-in-aid (usually missionary), and unaided private schools. The last group included several Roman Catholic Theological Colleges, business colleges and girls' schools; but the great majority were ordinary day schools for Chinese boys, or night schools which taught the rudiments of English and arithmetic. The Government and the grant-aided English schools had the same curriculum. The new pupils usually had obtained their previous education in a lower primary vernacular school and were from nine to twelve years of age. Although English was the medium of instruction in most of the lessons the pupils were required to be bilingual, and yearly promotion depended on the passing of an examination both in English and Chinese. The syllabus was laid down by the Department of Education and the course covered eight years from class 8 (which corresponded to grade 5 of the higher primary vernacular school), to class 1, which prepared for the matriculation examination of the University of Hong Kong.

Besides, the introduction of the Cambridge Local Examinations had forced some schools to raise their students to prepare the few candidates for it who were usually English-speaking. Another problem that arose was the distribution of the responsibility for schools between the government and the voluntary bodies, chiefly the missionary societies; for some years it had been Eitel's policy to cut down government

schools and encourage voluntary effort by grants. In 1900, only 1.24% of the colonial revenue was spent on education. It was recognized that Chinese private schools were more popular among Chinese than the free government schools giving a similar vernacular education.

In 1904, Sir Matthew Nathan (Governor, 1904-1907) was greatly concerned about education. During his years of office, evening classes in engineering, science and commerce were established, and in 1907 these were organized as the Hong Kong Technical Institute. This Institute also undertook the training of teachers as part of its evening-class work.

Sir Frederick Lugard (Governor, 1907-1912), who succeeded Nathan in 1907, was also keenly interested in education. In 1911, he set up a Board of Chinese Vernacular Primary Education, and the principle of encouraging vernacular education was not again seriously challenged. In 1913, a new education ordinance made it obligatory to register all schools with ten or more pupils and provided for additional powers of inspection and of closing unnecessary or inefficient schools, subject to appeal; 620 schools with 11,909 pupils were now brought under control.<sup>57</sup>

Until 1913 the policy continued to be to assist private schools by grant rather than to open more government schools; but since that date additional government schools had been established and the standard of education raised.

The total number of pupils in 1920 was 28,707, of whom 18,915 were taught in the vernacular and 9,792 in English schools.<sup>58</sup> By 1925 the total number of pupils had increased to 41,259, of whom 12,293 were in English and 28,966 in vernacular schools; and by 1930 the total was 62,193, of whom 16,825 were in English and 45,368 in vernacular schools.<sup>59</sup>

Two salient characteristics of traditional educational development remained. One was the combination of government and grant-in-aid schools. This system was typical of British educational policy in India and the tropical colonies severally. It was based on the principle that since the total available revenue is insufficient for educational purposes it could be made to go further if used to supplement private funds than if restricted to the maintenance of a limited number of government schools. Another characteristic was the medium of instruction in most of the government and grant-in-aid schools. In Hong Kong this was English, not Chinese. The pupils had usually attended a Chinese vernacular school for four years and entered an "English" school at the ages of nine to twelve with little or no knowledge of the English language. The government and grant-in-aid "English" schools were really secondary schools, not primary, since instruction conveyed in a language foreign to the vast majority of the pupils could not be classified as elementary. The curriculum was predominantly of the Western literary type and not vocational.

Several factors explained this concentration on English literary, rather than on vernacular or vocational, education. Apart from the influence of the contemporary educational system in Great Britain upon development in Hong Kong there was a strong belief that a knowledge of the English language would provide the key to a great literature and the passport to trade. It would be of genuine benefit to the individual and to China in altering and adapting traditional ideas and institutions to changing conditions in the Far East. Business firms and government departments provided numerous openings for English-educated clerks, and teachers, and a well-educated

graduate had no difficulty in securing suitable employment. China herself had also great need of Western-educated men, and it was hoped that many graduates, particularly of the University, would find a career there. The Chinese in the colony were insistent that English education be provided, and schools with a purely Chinese course of studies found it necessary to add courses in English to retain their students. The reasons which influenced parents were two-fold: the material advantages of an English literary education and the old Chinese tradition which invested sedentary occupations with great social prestige.

But at the beginning of 1900, Hong Kong entered a new era of educational development with the establishment of the University of Hong Kong, the only higher institution of education in the colony.

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1. Lord Palmerston to Sir Henry Pottinger, June 5, 1841, No. 18, FO17.  
Sir Henry Pottinger was the fifth son of Eldred Curwen Pottinger, Esquire, of Mount Pottinger, in Country Down. He was born in 1791 and left for India when he was thirteen year of age, in 1804. His services in different parts of the East spread over forty years. Having been appointed an Ensign in the 7th Regiment Bombay N.I. in 1806, he immediately devoted his attention to the study of the native languages, and was appointed Assistant to the Superintendent, on the departure of the officer who filled that office to Europe, holding the same until the abolition of the Cadet Establishment. In 1809, Lieut. Pottinger was employed as an assistant with a mission from the Supreme Government to the Rulers in Scinde, and on his return from that country, was selected to explore the country lying beteen India and Persia. From Lieut. Pottinger's return from Persia to Bombay in 1814, he was employed in the duties of military life, but in later years was appointed by the Earl of Moira, then Governor-General of India, to an office which he continued to fill until the termination of the Mahratta War of 1817-1818. From 1825 to 1840 in addition to his duties as Resident in Kutch, Major, afterwards Colonel Pottinger was the medium of constant communication between the Supreme and Bombay Government. In 1839 Sir Henry Pottinger was raised to the dignity of a Baronet. In May 1841 he was sent for by the president of the Board of Control of the East India Company to go to China. In August 1842 he received the Grand Cross of Bath, and in April 1843, was appointed Governor and Commander-in-chief of the colony of Hong Kong.
2. Lord Palmerston's description of Hong Kong on 21st August, 1841.
3. The traditional Chinese school was commonly known as Ssu-shu. There was evidence to show that there were a few Ssu-shu in the villages of Wong Nei-Chong, Stanley, Little Hong Kong and Aberdeen at the time of the British take-over (1841). As early as 1842 the Morrison Education Society had set up a school (i.e. the Morrison Institute) in Wanchai before Hong Kong was officially proclaimed a British colony.
4. It was an argument put forward by G.B. Endacott in his A History of Hong Kong, 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1971), Chapter 1.
5. Wolfgang Franke, The Reform and Abolition of the traditional Chinese Examination system (Cambridge: Massachusetts Press, 1906), p.14.
6. CO.129, p.378, No.217, 28-3-1865. Enclosing report of Board of Education for 1864.
7. Ibid.,

8. Ibid.,
9. Lun Ngai-ha Ng, Interactions of East and West: Development of Public Education in early Hong Kong (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1984), p.11, quoted from John R. Commons, 'Races and Immigrants in America' (New York, 1920), p.108.
10. Alexander Michie, The Englishmen in China: during the Victoria era: as illustrated in the career of Sir Rutherford Alock (London: William Blackwood & sons, 1900), Vol.1, p.276.
11. Sir Henry Pottinger to Colonial Office, enclosed London Missionary Society's application for a grant of land to found an Anglo-church college, CO129, No.13, 22-8-1843.
12. Government Chinese schools appointment of an Inspector Reports, CO.129/50, p.314, No.91, 18-6-1857.
13. The founder of the Morrison Education Society, Robert Morrison (1782-1834) was the first Protestant Missionary to China. Besides his missionary work, Morrison also worked as translator to the East India Company and in 1817 he accompanied Lord Amherst as interpreter on the latter's abortive mission to Peking. In 1818 he set up the Anglo-Chinese college at Malacca for the training of missionaries for the Far East. The Morrison Education Society was founded at Canton in 1835 by public subscription in memory of Robert Morrison.
14. The London Missionary Society was founded in 1792 as an undenominational body, but later became the agent of the English Congregational Churches. The Society was one of the earliest Protestant missions which came to Hong Kong to set up schools and churches. For details consult Liu Yueh-Sheng A History of Protestant missions in Hong Kong (Hong Kong, 1936), Chapter 2. (香港基督教教會史劉耀聲)
15. James Legge (1815-1897) graduated from Aberdeen University in 1836 and joined the London Missionary Society in 1838. In 1840 in Malacca he was appointed the Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College. In 1843 the School was moved to Hong Kong and Legge remained as Principal. He was regarded by the Hong Kong Government as one of the China experts. For his detailed biography, consult G.B. Endacott, A Biographical Sketch-book of early Hong Kong (Singapore: Eastern University Press Ltd. 1962), Part III, p.135-147.
16. For details consult, A Short History of St. Paul's College, 1968-1969. (聖保羅書院校刊, 一九六八-一九六九)
17. Chai-lok Wong, A History of the development of Chinese education in Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Po Wen Book Co., 1982), p.103. (王齊樂, 香港中文教育發展史)
18. Ibid.,
19. Chinese Repository of 1845 gave the population estimate of the colony, cited in E.J. Eitel, 'Materials for a History of Education in Hong Kong', China Review, Vol.XIV, No.6 (June, 1845), p.38.

20. Despatch No.17 of December 18, 1844 to the Colonial Office. Extracts published in Friend of China and Hong Kong Government Gazette, December 22, 1844.
21. Karl Gutzlaff was a Lutheran missionary. From 1834 to 1839 he served as Interpreter and Assistant Secretary to the British Superintendent of Trade at Macau. During 1840-1842 he was employed as a Chief Interpreter in Hong Kong and Assistant Chinese Secretary to the Superintendent of Trade. For his detailed biography, consult G.B. Endacott, A Biographical Sketch-book of early Hong Kong (Singapore: Eastern University Press Ltd., 1962), Part II, p.105-109.
22. The instruction was enclosed in E.J. Eitel, 'Materials for a History of Education in Hong Kong', China Review, Vol.VIV, p.314015.
23. Ibid.,
24. W. Lobscheid, ed., A Few Notices on the extent of Chinese Education and the government schools of Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Print, 1859), p.21-22.
25. A government grant-in-aid scheme was introduced in 1847 under the auspices of an educational committee, consisting of the police magistrate, the colonial chaplain and the Registrar General.
26. E.J. Eitel, Europe in China (London: Luzac & Co., 1895), p.247.
27. Lobscheid, W., op. cit., p.21.
28. Ibid.,
29. In 1849 George Smith was appointed as the Lord Bishop of Victoria to take charge of the newly-built St. John's Cathedral in the colony. The Bishop arrived in Hong Kong in 1850 and was appointed by the Governor, Sir Bonham, as the Chairman of the Education Committee.
30. G.B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1979), p.137.
31. G.B. Endacott, A Biographical Sketch-book of early Hong Kong (Singapore: Eastern University Press Ltd., 1962), Part I, p.36-45.
32. G.B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, p.138 and James William Norton-Kyshe, The History of the laws and courts of Hong Kong: From the earliest period to 1898 (Hong Kong: Vetch & Lee Ltd., 1971), Vol.I, p.339.
33. Hakka means 'the guest people'. They are the descendants of people who migrated into South China from the north at a comparatively later stage of the waves of migration. They speak a dialect different from Cantonese. Some of the original inhabitants of Hong Kong were Hakka. For details consult Hsianglin Lo Historical Source readings on the Hakka (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1969). (羅香林: 客族之研究)

34. Government Notification No.39 in Hong Kong Government Gazette, 1860, p.56.
35. Hercules Robinson was the first Governor of Hong Kong whose career was closely connected with the Colonial office. Before him, all the early governors were people connected with the China trade. For his work in Hong Kong, consult G.B. Endacott, A Biographical Sketch-book of early Hong Kong, Part I, p.45-55.
36. E.J. Eitel, 'Materials for a History of Education in Hong Kong', China Review, p.341.
37. Governor to the Colonial Office: Replying to the Despatch No.50 of 10-6-1861 on the subject of the Government Schools in Hong Kong, CO.129/81, p.517, No.134, 23-7-1861.
38. Governor to the Colonial Office: recommending Dr. Legge's plan for the establishment of a Central School in Victoria and applying sanction of the outlay for the purchase of school house, CO.129/80, p.380, No.38, 23-3-1861.
39. Frederick Stewart was born in 1838 in Scotland and graduated in 1859 from King's College, Aberdeen. Before coming to Hong Kong, he had been teaching at a grammar school in Scotland for three years and had been promoted to second master shortly before taking up his new appointment. He was a Presbyterian and had no knowledge or oriental studies. Perhaps the reason for his being selected was his age: he was only twenty-four when he arrived at Hong Kong in 1862. What was needed for the work as headmaster and inspector was a young and promising scholar with the energy to introduce and put into execution a new system. After serving almost twenty years as Headmaster of the Central School, Stewart resigned from the post in 1881. But he continued to hold various important posts in the Hong Kong Government until his sudden death in 1889. He was Police Magistrate and Coroner (May 1881 to March 1882), Acting Colonial Secretary (March 1882 to March 1883), Registrar-General (1883-1887) and Colonial Secretary (1887-1889).
40. Lobscheid, W., op. cit.,
41. Gwenneth Strokes, Queen's College 1862-1962 (Hong Kong: Standard Press Ltd., 1962), p.14.
42. CO.129/81, p.217, op. cit.,
43. Eitel, E.J., 'Materials for a History of Education in Hong Kong', China Review, p.351.
44. Endacott, G.B.; A History of Hong Kong, p.141.
45. Wong Chai-lok; op. cit., p.106.
46. A German by birth, E.J. Eitel was originally with the Basel Mission when he was sent to the East in 1862. In 1864 he severed his connection with the mission and worked for the London Missionary Society. After working for a number of years in a Hakka village, he moved to Hong Kong together with his wife in 1870. Aside from his missionary



- work, Eitel devoted himself to the study of the Chinese classics and very soon established himself as a sinologue. Sir John Hennessy thought highly of his knowledge of Chinese and interest in Education. In 1878 Eitel was appointed a member of the Board of Examiners to examine officials who were studying Cantonese. In the same year, he was also appointed Inspector of Schools, a post which he held until his retirement in 1897.
47. Endacott G.B.; A History of Hong Kong, p.135.
  48. Ibid.,
  49. John Pope Hennessy was a representative of the more enlightened British official opinion which believed in the principle of equal treatment for all peoples as laid down in the Hong Kong Governors' instructions since 1866. Hennessy was also noted for initiating reforms in prisons and the civil service system in Hong Kong. For details consult G.B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong, p.170-183.
  50. Ng Choy (1842-1922), a British subject by birth, was born in Singapore. Educated in England, he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1877. In 1880 he was appointed as a temporary stipendiary magistrate. He was a member of the Legislative Council from 1880 to 1882. Later he joined the Chinese Imperial Service, under the name Wu Ting-fang, and became secretary to Li Hung-chang. In 1896 he was appointed as the Chinese Ambassador to the United States. He held various high cabinet posts under the Republic of China.
  51. Hong Kong Government Gazette, 1878, p.54.
  52. For a complete record of the Conference, refer to 'Minutes of the Conference on the teaching of English at the Government Schools', Hong Kong Government Gazette, 1878, p.90-92.
  53. Carl Smith, 'The Emergence of a Chinese Elite in Hong Kong' in Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol.XI, 1971, p.74-115.  
Wei Yuk was born in Hong Kong, and son of a compradore of the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China. He was the first Chinese to be educated in Britain (Dollar Academy); he was J.P. in 1883, member of Legislative Council, 1896-1914, awarded C.M.G. in 1918 and Knighted in 1919.
  54. 'Despatch from the Secretary of State to the Offices Administering the Government' dated December 28, 1882, Hong Kong Administrative Reports, 1882-1883, p.378-380.
  35. 'Despatch from the Secretary of State to the Offices Administering the Government' dated October 30, 1882, Hong Kong Sessional Papers, 1882-1883, p.378-380.
  56. Report of the Committee on Education, 1902, p.32.
  57. Hong Kong Sessional Papers, 1913, p.123.

58. Hong Kong Sessional Papers, 1920, p.76.
59. Hong Kong Sessional Papers, 1925-1930.

## Chapter Two: The Founding of an Imperial University in Hong Kong

### I. Introduction

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, education in most of British overseas territories developed along either one of two lines. Where a new colony was founded by emigrants from England seeking permanent homes abroad, teachers and spiritual leaders were always to be found in each group of settlers. When the settlement was mature, demand for primary education became evident and it could be met as fast as school buildings were provided. When time and population advanced similar demands for institutions of secondary and higher education followed.

In the African continent where the colonies possessed comparatively few military and administrative officials, many were posted abroad for short terms of service and lived amongst illiterate local populations. The initial educational problem in these cases was the provision of elementary education for the indigenous people. Most of the schools set up were run by religious missionary bodies.<sup>1</sup> In Hong Kong, however the situation was different. The local population in the majority was Chinese, and the Chinese had already developed long traditions of education, culture and civilisation. Facilities for higher education, and the idea for a university already existed.<sup>2</sup> Thus it was only necessary to provide facilities when demand arose for western scientific learning.

Since her establishment as a British colony, schools on

the Hong Kong island were run either by the government or by missionaries, except for certain Chinese private schools patterned after the British model. Early in 1887 the first higher education institution was set up. It was known as the Hong Kong College of Medicine for the Chinese. In fact the idea of founding a university in the Colony came much earlier in 1872, the suggestion being put forward by the Rev. A.B. Hutchison of the Church Missionary Society. In the 1880's there was talk of elevating Queen's College to post-secondary collegiate status.

## II. Hong Kong College of Medicine for the Chinese

The Hong Kong College of Medicine for the Chinese, the forbear of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Hong Kong, was established in 1887. Its founders were medical men in the colony and they held the common idea of spreading western medical science into China. They aimed to relieve suffering and to provide for the rising demand for training in medicine which could not be met by sending students to universities elsewhere. Among the many graduates of the college who practised the western art of healing was Dr. Sun Yat Sen who organised and headed the revolutionary movement, undertook to overthrow the Manchu government, and finally founded the Republic of China.<sup>3</sup>

As early as the eighteenth century, western medicine was brought to China through Christian missions and traders of the East India Company. Since the establishment of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs after 1860 more and more western trained medical doctors were needed in service in

China. Sir Robert Hart, the Customs Commissioner, had to recruit medical officers to work in his Customs office from abroad and Dr. D.K. Patrick Manson who was recruited from Aberdeen in 1866 was appointed, to look after the Customs complement in Formosa.<sup>4</sup> After five years Manson moved to Amoy and worked in a mission hospital.

In 1878 Dr. William Young arrived in Hong Kong from Canada to take over the practice of his brother, Dr. Richard Young, who had been a doctor in the colony for many years. In 1881, in association with the London Missionary Society, William Young opened the Taipingshan Dispensary for the poor Chinese.<sup>5</sup> In December 1883 Dr. Patrick Manson also came to Hong Kong to undertake his private medical practice. The Taipingshan Dispensary was well received by the local Chinese and Dr. William Young together with the London Missionary Society planned to expand it into a hospital. However lack of financial support prevented them from going ahead with the project.

About this time Dr. Ho Kai<sup>6</sup> who had received his professional medical and legal training in Britain wanted to project a hospital as a memorial to his wife, Alice Whitcome. A site was acquired in Hollywood Road at a cost of \$22,000, of which the London Missionary Society contributed \$14,000, the remainder being from public subscriptions. In 1886 building was begun and on 17th February, 1887, the Alice Memorial Hospital started its service. At the same time Dr. Patrick Manson also joined other doctors who gave professional services to the Hospital.<sup>7</sup>

On 30th August, 1887, the Rev. Dr. Chalmers of the Union Church and other doctors of Alice Hospital, including; Drs Ho Kai, William Young, Patrick Manson, G.P. Jordan and

James Cantlie, decided to establish a 'College of Medicine for Chinese in Hong Kong'. A Senate of the College was then formed with the Rev. Dr. Chalmers as Chairman, Patrick Manson as Dean and James Cantlie as Secretary. Mr. Frederick Stewart,<sup>8</sup> the Colonial Secretary, was invited to act as the first Rector. A College Court was instituted and held its first meeting on 27th September, 1887. The members included: Dr. William Young as Chairman, Dr. Chalmers and Mr. J.J. Francis, Q.C., as standing counsel. A General Council was set up to confer Diplomas and it held its meeting in public.

On 1st October, 1887, the Hong Kong College of Medicine for Chinese was inaugurated in the City Hall, in the presence of the officer administering the Government, and before a large gathering of the Hong Kong public.

In an Inaugural address; Dr. Patrick Manson began to enlist support from the public and spelled out the mission of the college:-

"...we may have an opportunity of explaining to those interested in such matters as the object of the college, constitution, and plans of the School; and that we may enlist your sympathy and, at the same time, gain through you, publicity for what we believe is an important movement..."<sup>9</sup>

He then traced the early background leading up to the establishment of the College;

"Although Hong Kong has been a Crown Colony since 1841, yet in Hong Kong, which ought to be a centre of light and guidance to Chinese in all matters pertaining to civilisation, it was not until this year that a hospital devoted to the treatment of Chinese on Foreign (i.e. European)

principles was opened. It is true that before this there were hospitals of a sort. But the Tung Wah Hospital, according to European notions of what a hospital ought to be, is not up to the proper standard, and the Government Civil Hospital, besides having association of a kind not pleasing or attractive to the native mind, is too rigidly Foreign (i.e. European) in its ways and discipline to suit the great majority of the sick Chinese. Attempts have been made from time to time to supply what was felt to be a public want but it was not until February this year that they were consummated..."<sup>10</sup>

To maintain a required high standard of training, English was the teaching medium. In regard to the organisation and daily operation of the college, the government of the College would be carried on by the Rector, who would be elected annually by the students. A General Council of the teachers and graduates would be formed to meet once a year to discuss and decide matters of general interest. A Senatus, which would be composed of the whole of the teaching staff, would arrange the curriculum and the teaching plans. A court, composed of the Rector, a representative of the Senatus, a representative of the Alice Memorial Hospital, the standing Legal Council of the College, the Dean, and a Secretary would form the executive. Finally the main object of the college was to spread "...medical science in China, the relief of suffering, the prolongation of life and, as far as hygiene can effect this, the increase of comfort during life..."<sup>11</sup> In his determination, Dr. Patrick Manson held the belief that it was the right time for Hong Kong to accom-

plish her grand mission, since it was "the opportunity for Hong Kong to take up a manifest and long-neglected duty; to become a centre and distributor, not for merchandise only, but also for science."<sup>12</sup> and Hong Kong's importance and glory would be "greatly enhanced when she becomes a centre for science and letters."<sup>13</sup>

The College project seemed to win the approval of the public and donations soon came in to meet running costs and to provide scholarships for poor students. The Court also succeeded in making a number of significant appointments: the Governor himself accepted the office of President and Mr. I.H. Stewart Lockhart was appointed as Treasurer. Li Hung Chang, Viceroy of Canton<sup>15</sup> was invited to be Patron of the College until his death in 1901. With Li's acceptance, a first connection was opened up between the College and the officialdom of China. The college members were rather surprised, in fact, that Viceroy Li, nicknamed the Chinese Gordon, welcomed the invitation.

On 18th October 1889, the China Mail enclosed full details of the Viceroy's letter of acceptance:

"To the Authorities of the Hong Kong College of Medicine for Chinese: Gentlemen, I am in receipt of your letter informing me that I have had the honour of being elected Patron of your College, I also thank you for your desire to perpetuate my name on your College Walls. I wish every success to your benevolent design. I learn that there are between 20 and 30 students in the College studying medicine, and consider it most proper that they should also pay attention to the sister study of chemistry and understand



how to analyze, thus ensuring greater accuracy in the diagnosis of disease and the preparation of remedies...

There is no doubt that when your admirable project is achieved it will be appreciated and imitated, and that it will through your students, be a blessing to China..."<sup>16</sup>

In 1889 Dr. Manson retired and returned to Britain with an unrivalled reputation as an expert in tropical medicine. Dr. Cantlie was appointed to succeed Manson as the Dean.

Dr. James Cantlie was a member of the Senate and the Court from their foundation. He was professor of surgery and anatomy, but he helped wherever a helping hand was needed.<sup>17</sup> Cantlie was not attracted only by the prospect of working in the Far East but by the possibilities that were clearly opening in Hong Kong of training young Chinese in the practice of medicine. "...I conceived the idea of establishing a college of the kind on my way out to China", Cantlie said later, "and from the time I landed there in June 1887 until October of that year I followed up the idea and found ready help from Dr. (now Sir) Patrick Manson..."<sup>18</sup>

On 23rd July, 1892, at a ceremony distributing certificates licencing the graduates to practise medicine, surgery and midwifery, Cantlie praised the enormous efforts that had been done by students and management. The management of the College were men who were not easily driven from their fixed purpose and with "their positions in life by personal merit, but more still by fixity of intent, by courage, and by keeping their faces persistently towards attaining the goal of their ambition."<sup>19</sup> The students were diligent and were successfully striving hard to achieve the

required standard and the course of study pursued was exactly similar to that laid down by medical schools in Britain. With an inadequate supply of equipment and poor facilities, the staff worked hard. The work that the college had achieved was fruitful and its effect, in fact, well deserved because;

"...the general effort of work done in the college, therefore will be beyond this small island... no other than Li Hung Chang, the Bismark of China, is her patron, and within the sacred precincts of the Emperor's palace European medicine is welcomed and appreciated in the person of the graduates of the college of medicine at Tientsin. Our Licentiates therefore, go forth with the knowledge that the heart of China has been probed. With that fact before them let us hope that ... they will carry the profession of which they may well be proud into the uttermost limits of the empire..."<sup>20</sup>

Like other pioneering educational institutions in the colony, the college had to face the major problem of self-financing support. Looking ahead, Dr. Cantlie did share the same worry and financial anxiety of his predecessors. He appealed for help from public and government. He expected fellow colonists would help to the utmost of their ability and that the government would give a hand to overcome difficulties, such as: "technical obstruction from departmental heads, legal difficulties from the medical board; monetary tussles with the Legislative Council."<sup>21</sup>

The first enrolments for the college appeared encouraging: twelve of the students enrolling, who included the

revolutionary nucleus of the "Four Great Outlaws"<sup>22</sup> and they sat the first examination in 1888. One of the 'Outlaws' was Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the Republic of China. He graduated with high distinction in 1892.<sup>23</sup>

The Dean valued highly his Chinese students. In his book, Sun Yat Sen and the Awakening of China., Cantlie wrote that;

"...that the Chinese medical students are no mere bookworms, as their examination papers would appear to show, but endowed with a practical sense of their duties was brought to light when plague broke out in Hong Kong in 1894... those of us who saw the work the Chinese students did during that epidemic of plague are willing to bestow upon them a higher meed of praise than ever was acclaimed to the soldiers of Genghis Khan, before whose very name the continents of Asia and Europe trembled. The work of these students shows that China has men within its fold capable of the highest courage and devotion to duty..."<sup>24</sup>

In the college, English was the medium of instruction in all classes, and was a compulsory subject in the entrance examination. Latin, considered useful for the understanding of medical terminology, was included in the college curriculum as a compulsory subject until 1892. The high standard that the college had achieved was well regarded by the local press. On 15th August, 1888, the China Mail wrote:

"...The first professional examination of the College was held during the past week, the written papers being submitted to the students

on Monday, 6th August, and extended over the four consecutive days. To a non-professional reader, the questions seem of a very searching character, and we believe that they are of the same quality exactly as the questions submitted to the universities and college of surgeons and physicians at home ...We understand from the examiners -- and as some of them have examined in our home universities they are well qualified to compare -- that the Chinese students are quite up to the standard of home excellence, and the best of the Chinese students could quite hold their own with the best students of England..."<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, the question of the status of a diploma granted by the college occupied the attention of the Senate. In 1889 when Mr. J.J. Francis, Standing Counsel, was visiting London, he sought approval for the incorporation of the college and for the right to award a diploma, L.M.S.C.C. -- "Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery, College for Chinese."

In 1892, as the first graduation from the five-year course was drawing near, the Senate recommended to the Court that the title "Licentiate of Medicine and Surgery of Hong Kong (L.M.S.H.)" be awarded to graduates of the College. On 15th January of the same year the Court adopted a title: "Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery of the College of Medicine for Chinese, Hong Kong", but agreed to use the letters as recommended by the Senate.

On 6th December, 1895 the Court of the college unanimously agreed to recommend that licentiates of the College

should be granted a status recognised by law. On 17th January next year, a draft ordinance entitled "An ordinance for the Creation of a Special Register of Licentiates of the College" was put forward by the college to the government. In 1901, following the grant of an annual subsidy by the government, the college decided to seek recognition of the college diploma by the General Medical Council. In 1905 the court decided to bring the regulations of the college into harmony with the requirements of the General Medical Council, especially concerning Latin, which it proposed to make compulsory after 1906. It was further hoped that the college diploma would be registrable in the Straits Settlements under their new medical legislation. At the same time the General Medical Council of Great Britain recognised the college training by agreeing to antedate the registration of its graduates as medical students in England to the beginning of their college career. The Hong Kong government also announced on 10th July, 1908 that all licentiates resident in the colony had been gazetted as authorised to sign death certificates.

In 1909 the college applied to the General Medical Council and the Joint Board for the Preliminary Examinations of the Scottish Universities for recognition of the College's Preliminary examinations; this was the first step towards full recognition of the courses and the diploma. The General Medical Council agreed on condition that all subjects were passed at the one time and that the examination was conducted by a Board of Examiners. These conditions were accepted by the college and an Examination Board was immediately formed. The General Medical Council on 26th January, 1910 formally recognised the preliminary exa-

minations of the college and equated them in standard to the Oxford Senior Local.

Financial difficulties soon arose owing to the fact that the college had no endowment fund. It had to live on students' tuition for daily operation. As student numbers grew, so the responsibilities falling on the voluntary staff increased and it ultimately became necessary to pay them honoraria. The college needed accomodation other than that assigned to it in the Alice Memorial Hospital, and more money for its ongoing activities. The Hon. E.R. Belilios,<sup>26</sup> who had been made a member of the College Court in 1890, offered in 1891 to erect a building if the government would provide a rent-free site, or alternatively to give buildings in Saiyingpoon which belonged to him if the government would provide an endowment of \$30,000 for a tutor. After five years of negotiation, however, the government expressed no interest in the proposal and Belilios withdrew his offer. Indeed, the colonial government expressed no financial interest in the college's need until 1902, in spite of the valuable services its students and graduates gave in the plague and small-pox epidemics of 1894.

In September 1893, Nethersole Hospital was opened and the college found one new source of space. In early 1896, Dr. James Cantlie returned to England for financial help and endowments. In London a committee on which Sir Patrick Manson also served was formed to appeal for help from the Parliament. Unfortunately no favourable response to the appeal for funds was heard. In September 1900 the college approached the government for an annual grant of at least \$2,500 for the payment of the staff's salary. In return, the college undertook to bind its students to serve the

government for three years after qualification in a medical or health capacity. Exemption from this bond was always given to students coming from abroad.<sup>27</sup>

In 1901 the Secretary of State for the Colonies approved the sum of \$2,500 being placed in the 1902 estimates for honoraria for the teaching staff, and a similar amount for the running of a dispensary connected with the college. The dispensary catered for the poor Chinese living in an area bounded on the South by Caine Road and on the West by Cleverly Street and Tank Lane. On 7th June, 1904 Dr. Ho Kai with his friends, Mr. Chau Siu Ki,<sup>28</sup> and others, set up the Alice Memorial Maternity Hospital which was near Nethersole. The new hospital would enable the college to meet the full in-patient requirement of Clinical students, and would provide full courses in nursing.

In 1905 the Hong Kong government agreed to reserve two sites in Taipingshan for college buildings, with the assurance that if within five years the college had raised the sum required for new buildings the sites would be granted free. However Belilios was dead at this time and Ho Kai began the round of his other friends. The court prepared to launch a public appeal for endowment funds.

Shortly after the death of Belilios, another friend of Dr. Ho Kai made an offer to erect the much-needed college buildings. The Court now took this opportunity of introducing certain long-overdue reforms. It decided to change the name of the college from "Hong Kong College of Medicine for Chinese" to "Hong Kong College of Medicine"; and admission to the college would be opened to all nationalities; and in the event of the building being erected by a private donor, his name would be engraved on the main entrance and a

marble tablet would be let into the wall of the main hall recording the circumstances of the gift; the government would increase its annual grant from \$2,500 to at least \$5,000; and application would be made for the recognition of the diploma by the Government of the Colony and by the General Medical Council of Great Britain.

In 1906, through the munificence of his sister, formerly Miss Ho Mui Ling, Dr. Ho Kai was able to help in the provision of further hospital accommodation. The Ho Mui Ling Hospital, built on a site in Breezy Path given by the government, was opened for men patients.

But lacking throughout the whole period of the college's history were proper facilities for the teaching of anatomy, permission having been granted in 1888 to hold post-mortem examinations on unclaimed bodies removed from the Alice Memorial Hospital. There were also few student amenities, and little room for the increasing needs of administration. Students often lived inside the hospitals. Dr. Li Shu-fan recalled that when he entered the college in 1903 he shared a room with Wang Chung-yik, who was later appointed as the University's first professor of pathology, and he related that from their window they could see across the road an undertaker's establishment named 'Fook San', meaning 'Blessing and Longevity'. Whenever an ambulance arrived, if death was impending, or if the patient died later, a representative of the funeral parlour would call on the family at once -- if there was no family, the body was available for dissection.<sup>29</sup>

In August 1906 the court learned that Tang Chuk-kai,<sup>30</sup> who died that month, had bequeathed the sum of \$10,000 to the college. The bequest was in the form of real estate and



it immediately raised the question of the legal status of the college. Before the gift could be accepted the college would have to be incorporated. On 23rd May, 1907 the Hong Kong College of Medicine Incorporation Ordinance, 1907 was passed by the Legislative Council.

### III. Conditions for the Establishment of a University

The reasons for founding a university in Hong Kong were, to some extent, quite difficult to formulate and to some were unjustified because the motives and aims that lay behind were complex. Hong Kong was governed in the old imperial tradition and it was always a desire of the local colonial government to add something to its dignity without too much investment and expense.<sup>31</sup> But as the colony already possessed a College of Medicine, a university seemed to be a logical development that would appeal to a small select intellectual group and would take the name and reputation of its birth place far beyond the confines of the city.<sup>32</sup> The establishment of a university in the colony during the first decade of the twentieth century was no accident. There were a number of favourable external and internal conditions surrounding it.

#### 1. External conditions

##### a. Britain's interests in China

The idea of setting up a university in the colony was

first voiced by the Rev. A.R. Hutchison of the Church Missionary Society in 1872. He suggested that a well organised collegiate or university system should be introduced but the idea was turned down by the Educational Commission in 1880. However, the suggestion of a university was renewed in 1905 and was supported by the Governor, Sir Frederick Lugard. The success of this scheme in the 1900's was the result of the changing international situation in the Far East.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, British interest was gradually weakened by the aggression of other powers in China. Her dominant position was challenged by the new competitors, especially Germany and Japan. A number of national interests were already beginning to move into the university field. America used part of the Boxer indemnity to endow scholarships for Chinese at her own universities and the Tsing Hua College (清華) was established at Peking with the returned indemnity.<sup>33</sup> Canton Christian College was loosely affiliated to an independent University Medical School at Canton supported by the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>34</sup> The College of Yale in China founded in 1902 by a society of graduates and students of Yale University prepared its pupils up to senior high-school level for admission into universities in the United States.<sup>35</sup> A West China Union University was formed from a group of American missionary schools in 1910.<sup>36</sup> The Germans also had plans to set up a university at Kaiochow and the French in Indo-china. The Russian government intended to establish two universities in Manchuria.

In order to secure her position in China, therefore, Britain was eager to increase her influence among the Chinese especially to meet youth potential. The way to accomplish

this was to provide education in western style to attract those Chinese, who were eager to learn western knowledge.<sup>37</sup>

This aim was first reflected in the Articles: 'Imperial University of Hong Kong' drawn up in 1905:

"...Although Japan is our ally and is bound to us by a treaty, of the most intimate nature, she will now be more than ever our rival... Japan is wise enough to see that money is used for the Japanese influences and ideas through China... Japan has been spreading her missionaries far and wide through China... Japanese teachers abound in China, in Peking they hold a predominant position in schools and university training and, further, Japan herself offers higher education within her own border to the celestial seeker after wisdom..."

"...The British Empire is going in the same direction... but there is an absence of a general system of a definite working toward an end... What is needed is a regularly established system of higher education in Hong Kong -- or in other words, a university. ... But a university established in Hong Kong would also rank as an imperial asset... unless some methods, such as is suggested above, be initiated to spread our influence among the four hundred millions on the mountain of China..."<sup>38</sup>

Another article from the press "The Imperial University at Hong Kong" advanced the same idea.<sup>39</sup> The author deeply believed that a university in Hong Kong would attract those Chinese who were in need of western knowledge. The univer-

sity would then be a training ground for officials, merchants, and engineers in China, which no doubt would have far-reaching effects for the prestige and influence of Great Britain throughout the Chinese empire. These students would be inculcated into British values after their education in Hong Kong. This group of Chinese intellectuals would then work for the British interest and her dominant position in the China trade.

This view was supported by Sir Frederick Lugard and it became one of the main reasons for the establishment of the University of Hong Kong. In the opening speech at the university, Sir Frederick put out this idea clearly:-

"...I doubt if there is a man or woman of those present here today who realises to its full extent the enormous importance of the task to which we are putting our hands, or the far-reaching effect it may and will have on the future of China, and on the relations between the East and the West -- particularly between Great Britain and the Chinese nation. The graduates of the University will go forth into China with standards of life, with conceptions of duty, with characters and ideals formed during their training within the walls and affiliated hostels. Just as they will speak English, so they will reflect the training received here from a British staff..."<sup>40</sup>

The establishment of the university of Hong Kong aimed to further and secure the Imperial ambitions of the British Empire in relation to competition with other powers.

b. Educational reforms and demand for western higher education in China

Ever since her door was forced to open to the foreigners, the reform of the educational system and the syllabus of the official examinations became the focus of attempts to mobilise China's defences against foreign aggression. In 1886 the Council of Foreign Affairs sought to set up a college for the cultivation of western science. Memorial followed upon memorial from far-sighted conscientious reformers urging the Imperial Court to introduce the study of mechanics and mathematics into the official examinations.

At the same time, there was a growing demand for university education on the part of Chinese students both in China and in the Colony, particularly in the fields of medicine, engineering and law. To the young generation, this kind of study would advance China's programme of modernisation and adoption of western techniques. The demand was intensified by the abolition of the Civil Service Examinations and the establishment of a modern school system in China. During the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, more and more Chinese students were sent to study abroad, especially to Japan.<sup>41</sup> According to an official estimate published in 1911, there were in 1910, 1,922 Chinese government students studying in the college at Tokyo, 395 in military schools and at least 2,500 private students. In the same year, there were in Britain about 280 government students, in Belgium 70, in France 80, in Germany 60, in Austria 15, and in Russia 15. No statistics were available regarding the private students in these countries. In the United States, the number of Chinese students (both government and private)

was estimated to be no fewer than 600.<sup>42</sup>

The cost of foreign study was very expensive, and the annual expenses of each student sent to the U.S.A. during the 1870's amounted to approximately US\$1,200 and the expenses of each student sent to Europe was about US\$3,000. A merchant-banker at Shanghai also noted in 1898 that the total expenses incurred during his son's nine years of study in England, amounted to 60,000 taels.<sup>43</sup> Thus only the wealthy family could afford a foreign education.

### c. British attitude towards university education

In England, in rapid succession civic universities<sup>44</sup> were founded at Birmingham in 1900, at Manchester and Liverpool in 1903, at Leeds in 1904, at Sheffield in 1905, and at Bristol in 1909. About this time, too, there were developments in the control exercised by the university of London over some of the colleges then existing in the metropolis. Six non-degree granting university colleges were also founded in Britain between 1900 and 1941. Thus the idea of university education was definitely in the air.<sup>45</sup> This affected educational development in the colony.

Hong Kong was geographically proximate to the mainland. People of Hong Kong inherited a strong Chinese culture. They realised the necessity of learning English for commercial needs. At the same time, Hong Kong was a free port, and everyone could enter the place without restriction. They brought along their own different cultures. In such a heterogeneous society, Hong Kong was the most suitable place for diffusing culture and concepts. Therefore, the establishment of a Hong Kong University -- where Eastern and Western

cultures could interact -- was urgently needed.

## 2. Internal conditions

### a. Development of an international trade economy

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Hong Kong's position as a major port in world trade and as a terminus for China's coastal trade was firmly established. Since land transport in China was practically undeveloped, an efficient link between its coastal and inland waterways and the world shipping routes was vital to its economic development. Hong Kong with its transshipment facilities and commercial services provided such a link, while the port itself flourished with the gains of the entreport trade. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Hong Kong had well developed its international trade economy and became an international port.<sup>46</sup> In fact the opening of China to trade would create a competition and affect the economy and situation of Hong Kong. However, Hong Kong could provide the services that China could not supply, for example, banking, management services and hotel facilities.

After 1900s the situation in China mainland was in a state of unrest and instability, when compared to the state of Hong Kong. Hong Kong was under an efficient management system and administration. Many investors were willing to invest there. The years 1905-1911 the tonnage of vessels of each nation cleared at the port of Hong Kong increased.<sup>47</sup>

Since more and more foreign ships entered and cleared in Hong Kong, Hong Kong had to provide certain services to

facilitate this e.g. hotels, monetary services, import and export services, banking and insurance services. Because of its interaction with the west, there arose the idea of training the local residents for this service. A university was manifesting needed functions.

b. Local needs

There could be no possibility of a university in Hong Kong without a demand from those capable of benefitting from it. Within five years 1905-1909, the number of local passes in the Senior Oxford Local Examination had totalled 316, providing evidence that standards had been raised sufficiently to give promise of a flow of candidates for entry to a university. Therefore, when the basic education programme became more mature, it would naturally increase demand for higher education. Hong Kong's educational programme which dated from 1860 was getting under way and a local demand for a university began to grow. The Hong Kong Medical College had already laid down the cornerstone for such a future university.

IV. Sir Frederick Lugard and his 'pet lamb'

The idea of a university for Hong Kong would have seemed premature and its actual founding would have been delayed if there had not been the enthusiasm and persistence of one man, the Governor Sir Frederick Lugard.

Since his arrival in the colony in July 1907, Lugard never allowed himself to be governed by the well-worn rou-



tines built up by his predecessors. He vowed to himself that he would find an opening for the independent nation. This chosen personal task was the establishment of a university. He found it all intensely interesting. "I have never before in my life," he said, "had anything to do with education and as a new subject it interests me immensely. Before I leave this Colony, I hope to make very considerable changes -- I hope, improvements."<sup>48</sup>

The proposal for a university had been discussed and advocated by the China Mail and others in 1905. Mr. W.H. Donald, then managing director of the China Mail, took the matter up and set about drafting an editorial. However, the article aroused little interest or response at the time, apart from an unexpected protest from Dr. Bateson Wright, the Headmaster of Queen's college. No warmth emanated from official quarters either and no degree-granting university could come into being without official government support.

Sir Frederick Lugard was not the first man in the colony to realise the need. We have seen there had already been a College of Medicine set up by Dr. Patrick Manson and there was also the Technical Institute, which provided evening-continuation classes for local schoolmasters and professional men. But very soon after Lugard arrived in Hong Kong, in presenting the prizes at the Anglican School of St. Stephen's, he embarked upon the need. "In the winter following my arrival in the colony, speaking at a prize-giving at St. Stephen's College (17th January, 1908), I alluded to this ambitious project and expressed the hope that it might before long take shape", he was to declare later. Then he went on;

"...I think that Hong Kong should be the Oxford and Cambridge of the Far East... I believe myself

in the awakening of China and in the opportunities for reciprocal benefits which that awakening will give to us and I believe that we must either now take those opportunities or leave them to others to take... China wants a new class of men and a new class of learning... I hope that Hong Kong and this college may become the embryo University of western learning, not merely for our own colony but for the great and friendly empire which is on our frontier..."<sup>49</sup>

Later he found he had to change his mind about Oxford and Cambridge as the models for his 'pet lamb'.<sup>50</sup> At the same time an offer of \$150,000 (\$100,000 for building and \$50,000 for an endowment fund) was provided by a prominent local Parsee merchant Hormusjee Navojee Mody.<sup>51</sup>

On the other hand with the new donation from Mr. Ng Ling-hing,<sup>52</sup> the College of Medicine was about to embark upon a building scheme of its own. Lugard planned carefully to incorporate the college into a wider university plan.

It was in 1908 that a scheme for a university in China was being put forward by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The Governor understood clearly that if the scheme would be carried out it would definitely attract a lot of support from the home government and the local community to back up his project.

The Governor was not a university man, neither was he an educationist. He had, however, definite ideas of the sort of "since," as he said, the Chinese were "exhibiting an almost passionate desire to acquire that western knowledge which they formerly held in contempt, the university chairs to be established ought to be in subjects likely to be of most

practical benefit, such as medicine and engineering, and in departments of arts and law that would help those seeking official careers. But education should not be purely secular; character training and moral discipline were essential and should be secured by a careful selection of the staff and by compulsory residence of students under supervision. The University should be open to all races and creeds, with the corollary that no one form of religion should be taught, and no religious test for admission should be made."<sup>53</sup>

But Lugard's idea of a university contrasted with the predominant idea in the Shanghai Report of the Rev. Lord William Cecil, who had visited China early in 1909.<sup>54</sup> In Cecil's Report it was suggested that a university in China should be organised upon similar lines to Oxford and Cambridge, and should consist of a central body of professors and a number of colleges and hostels, each supported by missionary bodies of various denominations, in which the students would be under some kind of moral discipline. In these hostels or colleges, religious instruction on the lines approved by the society of denomination that supported them, would be given. It was hoped that by this means many of the existing Christian colleges might be federated into the Central University.

Lugard's emphasis on a moral rather than a religious base was clearly spelled out in his speech at the opening of the University in March 1912.

"...I speak in the presence of the representatives of many creeds... but I speak not of systems of philosophy for creeds. I speak of the controlling force and guiding principle which ministers through creeds and systems of philosophy to spiritual needs. The force of which I speak inspires a man

to a sense of duty, to unswerving integrity and loyalty whether in the public or private relations of life..."<sup>55</sup>

Given Lugard's view that the proposed university should provide subjects of practical utility, the Medical college and the Technical Institute would be suitable institutions to be incorporated into the university. Lugard then suggested that the new university should take over the work of the Technical Institute. Since the Institute was under Government control it would be of little difficulty in the change-over. However the Medical college might present problems, since the college was a self-governing corporate body and it was in a position to prolong negotiations before agreeing to being assimilated in the planned university.

#### V. Incorporation with Hong Kong College of Medicine

In June 1907, at the Court meeting of the Hong Kong College of Medicine, Ho Kai revealed that his friend Ng Ling-hing had agreed to offer a donation to erect two buildings at the estimated total cost of \$50,000, the first \$20,000 to be given in 1908-9 and the balance over a period of six years in time.

Lugard had been invited to be a Patron of the College when he arrived in Hong Kong and accepted. The government was willing to provide the free grant of land to the college on condition that Ng Ling-hing's \$20,000 was spent on building before the end of March 1909, Lugard approached the Court of the college and proposed they should join in his university scheme. At the same time, he lit upon an area of land

near the junction of Bonham Road and Pokfulam Road for the future site of the university.

The college agreed to a merger but at the same time indicated it would like to go on with its own building programme since all the plans had been prepared and the funds subscribed. 1908 was an important year in the history of the college. On 3rd March, 1908 at a general meeting of the college, it decided to amalgamate the college with the university on the site at Bonham Road. The court of the college met next day and resolved to suspend its own building programme and to approve the Bonham-Pokfulam Road site. From March 1908 onwards, meetings were held between the representatives of the college and the university donors. They finally came to agreement with regard to a site for the future university. When the university was ready to confer its own degrees the college would cease to exist as a separate body and would be wholly absorbed into the Faculty of Medicine of the university. In the meantime the college would continue to issue diplomas to students who qualified.

On 29th October, 1908 at a general meeting of the college, Lugard again outlined his ideas for a university but this time he advocated that the university, "...should be modelled on that of Birmingham rather than on Oxford or Cambridge, and should concentrate on subjects of practical utility..."<sup>56</sup> For the medium of teaching, he argued that if Chinese was to be the medium of instruction then the university might just as well be in Canton. English, he thought, was the best medium for imparting western knowledge and, besides, the aim should be to promote closer relations between the two races through the wider use of the English language.<sup>57</sup>

However, criticism of the university plan came from

Mr. F.H. (later Sir Frances) May, the Colonial Secretary. May, supported by the Director of Public Works, doubted if the necessary buildings could be erected according to the design of Mody's architect for the sum promised. He questioned if donations to the endowment fund would be more easily obtained once the university had been opened, and pointed to the experience of the Medical college, opened twenty-one years ago and still lacking proper endowment fund. He considered that the annual expenditure for staff was underestimated, and urged that a university should not be opened until an endowment had been provided sufficient to produce at least \$6,000 (\$68,500 at 1/9) annually.<sup>58</sup>

In 1909 the endowment for the university grew. By 21st April the \$100,000 mark was passed in Hong Kong, and \$30,000 was subscribed in Saigon. The Kwangtung Provincial Government gave a donation of \$200,000 to the endowment fund. Chinese communities of Canton, Macao, Saigon, Newchwang, Amoy, Penang, Waichow and Australia added their subscriptions to those of the Hong Kong Chinese.

The Hong Kong subscriptions were not, however, confined to the Chinese. It was announced in June 1909 that the prospect of success was practically assured by a splended gift of \$40,000 from Messrs Butterfield and Swire and allied firms. The British government also gave \$300 a year for a scholarship to be known as the 'King Edward VII scholarship', the gift being regarded as a token of the King's personal interest. By the end of 1909 the endowment fund had reached \$1,252,165, or with additional sums already promised, a total of \$1,279,164 as against a target of \$116,000 (approximately \$1,275,140 at the current rate).

## VI. The Birth of a University

On 16th March, 1910, the foundation stone of the University's main building was laid by Sir Frederick Lugard in the presence of the two Viceroys of the two Kwangtung and two Kiang provinces. It was an impressive ceremony. Two large matsheds, with seating for 1,300 persons were filled to capacity. Mody presented the Governor with a golden trowel and invited him to lay the stone. In reply, the Governor announced that the honour of a Knighthood had been conferred upon the generous donor, now to be Sir Hormusjee Mody.

For Lugard the laying of the foundation stone was one of his life's great moments. It symbolised for him a watershed in British colonial history. In a reference to his previous African days, he declared "...It has happened to me in past years that I have been the humble instrument by which the confines of the Empire were enlarged in some directions. Those days," he claimed, "are past. It is no longer an age of acquisition in which we live, but an age of development." "It is my belief," he went on to say, "that the graduates of this university, its doctors of medicine, its scientific engineers, and its trained administrators, will exert an influence which will be immeasurable in the future, among the 100 millions of China's population."<sup>59</sup>

The new University of Hong Kong was a British university on Chinese soil. It would make special efforts to attract students from china, those who otherwise would have had to go to America or Britain for a university education; and it would be an outlet: also for Chinese and other students in other territories in Southeast Asia as well as in Hong Kong itself. The new university did not have a direct interest in

spreading christianity; instead, secular and moral instruction were emphasised.

In March 1910, Lugard, once more, set out the main objectives and principles that would guide the university:

"...It is open to all races and creeds, and its matriculation and degree examinations will be maintained at a standard equal to that of English universities. Its medium of instruction will be English, so that those who graduate may be able to read for themselves the works in English dealing with the subjects they take up, and British influence in the Far East may be extended. Chinese language and literature will also be taught to Chinese. Special efforts will be made to train character, and to exert an effective moral discipline by compulsory residence either in approved colleges or hostels, or in the University itself, and by the careful selection of the professorial staff. There will be no obligation of any kind whatsoever to adopt or to receive instruction in any particular form of religion, but the University will work in harmony with all religious bodies. Students may take up, or not take up, whatever subjects their parents or guardians please... It will, as the Viceroy of Canton points out, promote a good understanding and friendship between British and Chinese. It will afford a cheaper means of acquiring higher western education for Chinese, without exile to the West for a long period..."<sup>60</sup>

To Lugard, the standard of the future university's degrees was of key importance. The university, he thought,



should be set up by local ordinance but should not grant its own degrees until it had obtained a royal charter. In the meantime undergraduates would be prepared for degrees of the University of London, or those of another university in Britain with which suitable arrangements could be made. Thus several attempts had been made to approach the universities in Britain to negotiate the conditions upon which they would either confer degrees on Hong Kong University students, or admit the university to some form of affiliation. Only London University seemed to be able to offer help, but no concrete proposals resulted.

The two years' interval between the laying of the foundation stone in March 1910 and the official opening of the university in March 1912 provided a period of leisure for thought on questions of long-term organisation and policy, preparatory to the drafting of a University Ordinance.

The Ordinance, No.10 of 1911, gave the University a constitution based on the resolutions of Lugard's committee, and brought the university officially into being on 30th March, 1911. It incorporated the College of Medicine into the University; it set up a Court as the supreme body, comprising forty life, ex-officio, and nominated members; and a Council of seventeen as the executive body. A Senate, consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Professors, full-time lecturers, and the Colony's director of Education, was to control and supervise the curriculum. No.59 of 1911 (22nd December) was enacted to allow the University to appoint external examiners from London or any other University, and gave them power to veto the passing of any candidate who did not come up to the required standard, subject to the University's retaining sole control of the curriculum.

The Court and Council were brought into operation by the Ordinance and Statutes; but the establishment of a Senate had to await the appointment of members of the teaching staff, and this in turn had to follow the selection of a Vice-Chancellor.

It remained to negotiate with the Hong Kong Medical College the more precise terms upon which it would agree to merge its identity with that of the new University.

The University was formally opened on 11th March, 1912 by Sir Frederick Lugard in the presence of the Governor of Macau, members of the Consular corps, Government officials, and leaders of the community. the ceremony took place in the Great Hall which was hung with bunting, streamers and red Chinese lanterns. Unhappily the great donor, Sir Hormusjee Mody had died on 15th June, 1911. But Dr. Ho Kai, who had been prominent in raising funds, was knighted on the occasion. The Legislative Council had noted an annual grant of \$14,000 to the University, with the subscription of \$1,447,000 from the local community. Donations of \$50,000 or more had been received from Messrs Ng Ling-hing, Cheung Pat-sze and Loke Yew. It was the last occasion upon which Lugard summed up the objects and functions of the University as they had developed in the four years since its conception:

"...I am profoundly convinced that the opening of this University in Hong Kong today is an event of the greatest historical interest and importance in the annals of the Far East... The graduates of this University will go forth into China with standards of life, with conceptions of duty, with characters and ideals formed during their training within these walls and the affiliated hostels.

Just as they will speak English, so they will reflect the training received here from a British staff. China will no doubt have Universities of her own, but we are first in the field, and this university will grow under the free institutions of the British flag, enjoying the benefit of association with the Universities of Great Britain. Its position and influence will be established, it will set a standard untouched as yet by any institution in China, and it may in its turn assist and guide the newer institutions. While our University will enable the boys of our own schools to complete their education, it will also welcome all, whether from China, from the Straits or other British colonies, or from the colonies of other powers... This University, as I understand, has been founded to promote two distinct objects. On the one hand its secular teaching is intended to be eminently practical, in order to fit its graduates for spheres of utility, whether in engineering, medicine, commerce or administration. On the other hand this secular teaching is to be imparted under such safeguards and conditions of residence of association, and of collateral influence as to ensure that the higher requirements of man's nature are neither neglected nor placed in the background...<sup>61</sup>

However Lugard's optimistic vision was more cautiously shared by the local English press which pointed out that "the harvest will not be immediate, but it will be sure and satisfying. It is not possible, therefore, to estimate how

great will be the ultimate results, but it is safe to claim that they will be great."<sup>62</sup>

The University stood on the barren island of Hong Kong. Margery Perham, Lugard's biographer, has suggested that, having been accustomed to almost despotic authority in Northern Nigeria, he found the established procedures and checks provided by the Executive and Legislative Councils in Hong Kong somewhat irksome, and so welcomed those fields, such as university education, in which they would not apply and where he could give full rein to his natural energies. This may be true but it in no way detracts from Lugard's singular achievement.<sup>63</sup>

From the west, China required scientific method and applied science, and the new University certainly attempted to supply that need. As the scope of the University was restricted in this manner, however, it naturally followed that the finer side of the western system was ignored, and the cultural side of Chinese education neglected. Medicine and engineering as courses of study were equally effective whether they were taught in Canton or in London, for the materials to illustrate the work were available everywhere. They were also acceptable for they were so clearly utilitarian in their aim, and spectacular in their results. Again these subjects were desirable from the Chinese point of view for they made no demands upon sentiment. They did not seek to detach the student from his cultural loyalty, but could be incorporated into the national scheme, since science had little or no national adhesion. This had its advantages, for it meant that such faculties could be encouraged by the authorities without fear of disturbance to the scheme of well-ordered development. The emphasis on utilitarian sub-

jects, however, tended to make the university mechanical and colourless.<sup>64</sup> A university cannot live on bread and butter studies alone. It demands things of spirit and provision must be made for studies that touch and rouse deeper emotions which it refines and sometimes redirects.

On 13th March, 1912 a meeting of the General Council of the Hong Kong College of Medicine was held in the Legislative Council Chamber. The meeting unanimously approved the agreement signed between the college and the University of Hong Kong. By this agreement, the college would continue teaching until the commencement of the first session of the University, which would then take over the instruction of both University and college students; but the college would continue to examine and grant diplomas to its students for five years after the University was declared open. The college would, however, dissolve and be merged into the University five years from the date the latter was declared open. All lecturers of the college would be offered lecturerships in the university, so far as establishment and funds should allow, and they would all be members of the board of the Faculty of Medicine while continuing to lecture in the University. Six named lecturers of the college would be appointed members of the University Senate while holding lectureships at the University. Students who joined the college between 1st January, 1906 and 1st March, 1910 would be classed as 'non-matriculated students' and not members of the University classes, would sit for the college examinations and be eligible for the award of the College Diploma, provided all the examinations were passed within seven years of joining the college, but students joining the College after March 1910 who desired to continue their studies in the University should be subject in all respects to

the University Ordinances as far as courses, examinations and degrees were concerned.

Moreover, in providing residential accommodation, Lugard invited and received the help of the chief religious bodies in Hong Kong. The Church Missionary Society agreed to provide a hostel on its property situated on the opposite side of Bonham Road, under the name of St. John's Hall which was the first hall of residence to open. The London Missionary society followed with Morrison Hall in Hatton road above the University grounds, opened in September 1913. The Roman Catholic Church proposed to build a hostel on a site in Bonham Road opposite the University adjoining St. John's Hall.

Like United Kingdom universities the University of Hong Kong was autonomous in real terms: it decided what degrees it would award, on what conditions and to whom, what students it would admit, what staff it would appoint; it held real estate and had full discretion in the use of its funds within the limits of its purposes as set out in the ordinance establishing it. As in civic universities in Britain the main bodies were the Court, the Council, the Senate, the Boards of the Faculties and Schools, together with numerous standing committees. A Court of forty members, including the whole Court of the College of Medicine, was its legislative and supreme governing body; a Council its executive. All educational matters were in the hands of a Senate assisted by Boards of Faculties.

The Court with a large membership representing not only the University but also influential sections of the Hong Kong community was its supreme governing body presided over by the Chancellor, which office was filled by the Governor of Hong Kong. The functions of the Court were legislative and

supervisory.

The Council was its executive body, presided over by a lay Chairman and having a majority of lay members, and dealt with financial, contractual, and property matters.

Senate had charge of the education, welfare and discipline of students, and consisted principally of the professors, some other teachers and some students elected by their fellows, with the Vice-Chancellor, a full-time officer, heading the teaching and administrative units, in the chair.

The academic side of its government was founded upon the Faculties, each one of which was an organisation of teaching or subject departments, and upon single-discipline schools, all managed by the teachers who formed the membership of their Boards, which were in turn responsible to the senate.

The first meetings of the Court and the Council were held both on the same day, the 28th April, 1911. The search for the first Vice-Chancellor started. Lugard had already privately offered it to Cecil Clementi, but he declined.<sup>65</sup> The offer was finally made to Sir Charles Eliot, at the time first Vice-Chancellor of the new University of Sheffield, which had not long before joined the growing group of civic universities in Britain.

As Professor H.G. Earle later pointed out; "the opening of the Hong Kong University was the beginning of an imperial policy in education, since it was designed to show that the British care for culture as well as for trade, and that they recognise the value of education in cementing the friendship of nations".<sup>66</sup>

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1. In Arthur Maythew, Education in the Colonial Empire (London: Longman, 1938), Basil A. Fletcher, Education and Colonial Development (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1936), give a full description of how the colonial educational systems were built up by the religious and missionary bodies.
2. In Noah Edward Fehl's The Idea of a University in East and West (Hong Kong: Chung Chi College Press, 1962), a comparison of the aims and the system of university education in China and the western world is provided.
3. In Lo Hsiang-lin, Dr. Sun Yat Sen and the College of Medicine for Chinese (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1963 reprinted), gives a full description of the early career of Dr. Sun while he was studying at the College of Medicine for Chinese in Hong Kong.
4. Dr. Patrick Manson, later Sir Patrick Manson (1844-1922), often called the father of Tropical Medicine, first arrived in China in 1866. After practising in Formosa and Amoy he came to Hong Kong in 1883. He was a graduate of Aberdeen University, having taken in M.B.C.M. in 1865. He and a few other doctors, among them Dr. Ho Kai, Dr. James Cantlie, and Dr. G.P. Jordan gave free professional services to the Alice Memorial Hospital. Dr. Manson left Hong Kong in 1889, two years after the College of Medicine for Chinese was established and continued his work at the London School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene.
5. In 1843 the London Missionary Society opened a hospital on Morrison Hill, Wanchai, on Hong Kong Island. Dr. Benjamin Hobson, who was in charge, treated over 7,000 patients in the first two years, including 1,200 in-patients. He was transferred to Canton in 1848, and his replacement Dr. H.J. Hirshberg stayed for five years before a new beginning was made. A small committee was formed with Mr. H.W. Davis of the accountant firm of Linstead and Davis, as Chairman. The members included Dr. William Young, a medical practitioner, and two members of the London Missionary Society. It was decided to start a medical mission dispensary in the Tai Ping Shan district to be named the Nethersole Dispensary after the mother of Mr. Davis.
6. Dr. Ho Kai, born in Hong Kong in 1859, was the fourth son of the Rev. Ho Tsun-shin (alias Ho Fuk-tong) of the London Missionary Society. Having studied Chinese for several years, he was admitted to Class 4 of the Central School in 1870 at the age of 12. He was an extremely clever and hardworking boy for according to the school record, he was already in Class 1, the top form, in September 1871. He completed his studies at the Central School the following year, and proceeded to Palmer House School, Margate, England. From there he entered St. Thomas' Medical and Surgical College and received the degree of Bachelor of Medicine and Master of Surgery from the University of Aberdeen in 1879. In the same year, he was admitted as a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England by



examination. He then turned to the study of law and was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in May 1879. He was Senior Equity Scholar, Lincoln's Inn in 1881, in which year he passed the finals with flying colours and also married a charming English girl Alice, the eldest daughter of the late John Walkden of Blackheath. On his return to Hong Kong in 1882 with his newly-wedded wife, he first practised medicine but was unsuccessful, because the Chinese at that time were not prepared to avail themselves of western medical treatment unless it was offered free. He then turned to the Bar and since 1882 had practised as a barrister in Hong Kong. Until his death in 1914, Dr. Ho rendered his services freely and ungrudgingly to the Hong Kong Community. For 26 years he was a Justice of the Peace and for 25 years he represented the Chinese community on the Legislative Council. He was awarded the C.M.G. in 1892 and created a knight bachelor in 1912. For details consult: Ling-yeung Chiu, 'The Life and Thoughts of Sir Kai Ho Kai' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 1968), G.H. Choa, 'The Life and Times of Sir Kai Ho Kai' (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1981).

7. Among doctors who gave free professional service to the hospital are Drs. James Cantlie, G.P. Jordan and Frances Clark. Dr. (Sir) James Cantlie, who was Ho Kai's colleague at the Hong Kong College of Medicine took an M.A. in natural science at Aberdeen University, had his medical training at London's Charing Cross Hospital, and graduated M.B.C.M. Aberdeen in 1873. He came to Hong Kong in 1887 to join Manson's practice. After his retirement when he was in London, he came to rescue his favourite student Dr. Sun Yat-sen from captivity in the Chinese Legation in Portland Street, after the latter was kidnapped by the Ching officials. Dr. G.P. Jordan held the position of Health Officer of the Port and Inspector of Immigrants in the medical service but he was also engaged in private practice. As a physician his opinion was much in demand. Being keenly interested in promoting public health in Hong Kong, he had contributed towards such measures as malarial control and improvement of housing conditions. He became lecturer then professor of Tropical Medicine at the University of Hong Kong, and finally he was appointed as a Vice-Chancellor of the University. In the Hong Kong College of Medicine Dr. Jordan taught the subject of Public Health. Dr. Frances Clark was Medical Officer of Health for Hong Kong. This appointment was related to the Sanitary Board. He became the first Dean of the Faculty of Medicine in the University of Hong Kong in 1912.
8. After serving almost twenty years as Headmaster of the Central School, Stewart resigned from the post in 1881. But he continued to hold various important posts in the Hong Kong Government until his sudden death in 1889. He was Police Magistrate and Coroner (May 1881 to March 1882), Acting Colonial Secretary (March 1882 to March 1883), Registrar-General (1883-1887) and Colonial Secretary (1887-1889).

9. Hsianglin Lo, Hong Kong and Western Culture (Honolulu: East West Centre Press, 1963), Chapter Five: 'The College of Medicine for Chinese, Hong Kong', p.157.
10. Ibid., p.158.
11. Ibid.,
12. Ibid.,
13. Ibid.,
14. James Haldane Stewart Lockhart was born at Ardsheal, Argyllshire, Scotland in May 1858. He was educated at King William's College, Isle of Man, George Watson's College, Edinburgh, where he achieved distinction as a Greek medallist, and at Edinburgh University, where he was awarded the gold medal for Greek. In 1878, after success in the competition examination held by the Civil Service Commissioners in London, he was appointed a Hong Kong cadet by the secretary of State for the Colonies. By 1891 he was a member of both the Executive and Legislative Councils and from 1895 was both Registrar-General and Colonial Secretary. In 1901 he was appointed as a Civil Commissioner of Weihaiwei in China. Lockhart had been for a long time in the Civil service of Hong Kong, and earned a great reputation for rectitude and ability. H.J. Lethbridge, Hong Kong: stability and change (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1978), Chapter Six: 'Sir James Haldans Stewart Lockhart: Colonial Civil Servant and Scholar', gives further information on his career in Hong Kong.
15. Li Hung-chang (1823-1901) was born into a well-to-do family of Ho-fei Anhwei. At the early age of twenty four, he gained the chin-shih degree as well as an appointment in the Hanlin Academy. There he studied informally under Tseng Kuo-fan and this connection laid the foundation for his future career. From the age of thirty to forty five (1853 to 1868), Li was in military service suppressing the Taiping and the Nien rebels, rising from a post as staff officer to independent command. As a military commander, he seemed to have usually judged situations correctly and laid down careful plans well in advance. As an official, Li held many high posts, some of them concurrently: governor of Kiangsu (1862-1865), grand secretary (1872-1901), minister of the Tsungli Yamen (1896-1898), commissioner to the coronation of Tsar Nicholas II (1896) and governor-general of Liang-kuang (1900-1901). His principal post, however, was that of governor-general of Chihli from 1870 to 1895, the fateful decades before the defeat by Japan.
16. China Mail, 18th October, 1889, Hong Kong.
17. Bernard Mellor, The University of Hong Kong: An Informal History (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1980), Vol.One, p.19.
18. James Cantlie, Sun Yat Sen and the Awakening of China, 1912.

19. Lo Hsianglin, op. cit., p.162.
20. Ibid., p.164.
21. Ibid.,
22. During his study in the College, Sun Yat-sen provided himself with an environment in which his revolutionary ideas could grow with little check. Sun found three brands with whom he talked freely about revolutionary changes. They got the nickname of the 'Four Big Rebels' or 'Four Outlaws'. They were: Wang Lei (尤烈), Yeung Ku Wan (楊懼雲) and Chan Shiu Paak (陳少白).
23. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, when a student of the College of Medicine for Chinese, showed an all-round brilliance throughout his course. He passed with distinction in Botany, Chemistry, Anatomy, Physiology, Material Medica, Pathology, Medical Jurisprudence, Public Health, and Midwifery, with a total of ten distinctions. On 18th October, 1889, China Mail reported the Second Professional Examinations in Anatomy and Physiology. Sun headed the list in Physiology with 85%, passing with honours, and was equal first in Anatomy with 80% also with honours.
24. Cantlie, op. cit.,  
Plague was endemic on the China Coast. In May 1894 it attacked the Colony, and by 15th May 130 cases, mostly fatal, were reported. For details consult: E.G. Pryor, 'The Great Plague of Hong Kong', Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol.XV, 1975, p.61-70.
25. China Mail, 15th August, 1888, Hong Kong.
26. Emanuel Raphael Belilios, who arrived in Hong Kong in 1862 and initially established himself as an exchange broker, was a Jew of Indian origin. He was the Chairman of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and was on the board of several European-owned companies. He was appointed to the Legislative Council temporarily in 1881, and a member of the Legislative Council in 1892 to 1900 when he resigned. He established scholarships at Queen's College, and at the Hong Kong medical college for Chinese 1887, and helped to build Belilios school. He received the C.M.G. in 1893, the first local resident to be so honoured. He was one of the principal opium merchants.
27. Endacott, G.B., A History of Hong Kong, p.282.
28. Chau Siu-ki was long cognisant of the benefits accruing from marine and fire insurance and served as directors of the Man On Insurance Co. Ltd., the Chu On Fire Insurance Co. and on the Executive of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. He was elected as Chairman of Board of Directors of Tung Wah Groups of Hospital in 1903 and 1911. He was the father of Sir Tsun-nin Chau, C.B.E., 1938, knighted 1956.
29. Dr. Li Shu-fan graduated from the College in 1908. He received further training at the University of Edinburgh under a Chinese government scholarship, 1908-1911. Upon his return to China in 1911, the year of the founding of

the Chinese Republic, he was appointed Minister of Health in the Provisional Government. Later when the seat of the government was moved to Peking, he continued to serve in Canton as Commissioner of Health for the province of Kwangtung. Continued political and civil strife made Li give up his career for a short while before his death in 1966. He was not only a well-known medical doctor, but also a great philanthropist and a leader of the Chinese community. In his auto-biography Hong Kong Surgeon (Victor Gollanz Ltd., 1964), Li gave an interesting description of his early career while he was studying in the Hong Kong College of Medicine.

30. Ng, Lun Ngai-ha, Interactions of East and West: Development of Public Education in Early Hong Kong, p.129.
31. It was a policy of the colonial office that the colonial government should maintain its self-financing support. The policy can be dated back from Lord Palmerson and Lord Stanley. In an instruction given by Lord Aberdeen to Sir Henry Pottinger (F.O. London, January 1843, No.4), Lord Aberdeen stated that 'the principal source from which revenue is to be looked for is the land. A permanent revenue (for the government of Hong Kong) would thus be at once secured to meet the expenses of the Island, with a reasonable certainty also that it would ultimately increase in proportion to the increasing value of the property...'
32. Lancelot Forster, 'The University of Hong Kong' in Overseas Quarterly, Vol.II, No.7, September 1961, p.209;
33. Editorial Board of Tsinghua University, ed., A Draft History of Tsinghua University (Peking: Chung Wah Book Press, 1981), p.5. (清華校史稿 )
34. In Charles Hodge Corbett, Lingnan University, A Short History Based Primarily on the Records of the University's American Trustees (New York, 1963), Part One: The Pre-College Period, gives a detailed description for the founding of the Canton Christian College.
35. In Reimben Holden, Yale in China, The Mainland 1901-1951 (New Haven: The Yale in China Association, Inc., 1964), Chapter One, gives the background for the growing activities of Yale in China.
36. For details consult: Lewis C. Walmsley, West China Union University (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in China, 1973).
37. In China, Britain's commercial and banking interests were greater than those of any other foreign nation. British educational influence in China was far from negligible. For detail consult: Delia Davin, 'Imperialism and the Diffusion of liberal thought: British influences on Chinese education', Ruth Hayhoe & Marianne Bastid, ed., China's Education and the industrialised world: Studies in Cultural transfer (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1987), Chapter Three, p.33-56.

38. China Mail, 15th December, 1905, Hong Kong.
39. Ibid., 18th December, 1905, Hong Kong.
40. Cited in Sir F.J.D. Lugard, Hong Kong University, Present position, Constitutions, objects and Prospectus (Noronha Co. Press, 1912).
41. Kei Shu Saneto, ed., Tam Yu-him & Lam Kai-yin transl., A History of Chinese studying in Japan (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1982), Chapter Two, gives a background history for the Chinese studying in Japan and a very detailed figure for the total numbers of Chinese students in Japan. (中國人留學日本史)
42. 'Third Annual Report of the Ministry of Education published in 1911', quoted by Kuo Ping-wen in The Chinese System of Public Education (New York: New York Press, 1915), p.120.
43. Ibid., p.120.
44. Asa Briggs once pointed out that the ideal behind the nineteenth century civic university was unmistakably Victorian, and, like the ideal of the Victorian city itself, it was best expressed by Joseph Chamberlain, "To place a university in the middle of a great industrial and manufacturing population.", Asa Briggs, 'Development in Higher Education in the United Kingdom nineteenth and twentieth century,' W.R. Niblett, ed., Higher Education: Demand & Response (London: Tavistock Publication Ltd., 1969), Chapter Five, p.98.
45. Ng, Lun Ngai-ha, op. cit., p.119.
46. For details consult: T.N. Chiu, The Port of Hong Kong: A Survey of its development (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1973).
47. Number of tonnage of vessels of each nation cleared at ports in Hong Kong, 1905-1911.

	Britain	Japan	France	Russia	U.S.A.
(year) 1905	5472 / 661034	29 / 34573	50 / 586912	1 / 2903	not available
1907	5296 / 5923703	535 / 950173	502 / 578727	13 / 29090	43 / 252203
1909	4952 / 5725597	NIL	442 / 544435	9 / 19584	43 / 225319
1911	5371 / 6051839	506 / 1340525	444 / 536034	10 / 28803	40 / 209265

48. Margery Perham, Lugard: The Year of Authority, 1898-1945, (London: Collins, 1960), p.338.

49. Mellor, op. cit., p.17.
50. The Colonial office in London referred to the University as Lugard's 'pet lamb'.  
The argument for colonial universities of the Oxford and Cambridge type has been pressed by Mr. Thomas Balogh, a Fellow of Balliol. In The Times Educational Supplement (27th May, 1955) and again in the Universities Quarterly (Vol.9, No.3) under the title 'Oxbridge Rampant' he advised the Colonial authorities not to adopt the belief of the older English universities that the special and mysterious art of administration was best obtained by a judicious mixture of breeding, character and purposefully useless, delectante erudition.
51. Sir H.N. Mody was a parsee, merchant and broker, partner of Sir Paul Chater in a number of enterprises which included the great Praya Reclamation Scheme conceived in 1887. Mody had come to Hong Kong in 1858 at the age of nineteen with a firm of Indian bankers and opium dealers. He established his own opium business and then he turned to exchange brokerage and dealing in shares. He became the director of so many companies that he was known as the Napoleon of the Rialto. His generosity to the university and to charity earned him a knighthood.
52. Ng Ling-hing was a prominent local merchant in Hong Kong and a proprietor of Ng Yuen Hing Co.. In 1902 he was elected the First Assistant Director of the Board of Directors for Tung Wah Group of Hospital.
53. Brian Harrison, ed., University of Hong Kong: The first 50 years 1911-1961 (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1951), Chapter Three: 'The Beginning' by G.B. Endacott, p.25.
54. In 1909, the British delegation of the China Mission Emergency Committee led by Reverend Lord William Gascoyne-Cecil had published a report concerning proposals for education reform in China.  
In his paper, 'An Imperial policy in Education: with Special Reference to the University of Hong Kong', presented in the Third Congress of the Universities of the Empire, 1926, H.G. Earle traced the development of the British imperial policy in education in China. He stated that in the period following the Boxer Uprising (1900-1901) the British were giving more attention to the educational problems of China. There were no less than three schemes proposed for consideration:-
- (1) A scheme known as the Emergency Committee Scheme, for raising £100,000 for the support of existing centres of medical and literacy education.
  - (2) Lord William Cecil's scheme for establishing a University in China, this proposal emanating from a group of Oxford and Cambridge educationalists.
  - (3) The Hong Kong University scheme, presided over by Sir Frederick Lugard.
- Third Congress of the Universities of the Empire, 1926, edited by Alex Hill (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd., 1926), p.113-129.

55. Harrison, op. cit., p.25.
56. Ibid., p.29.
57. Ibid., p.28.
58. Ibid., p.29.
59. Mellor, op. cit., p.32.
60. Ibid., p.37.
61. Ibid., p.44.
62. Hong Kong Daily Telegraph, 11th March, 1912, Hong Kong.
63. Perham, op. cit., p.337.
64. Lancelot, op. cit., in Overseas Quarterly, Vol.II, No.7, September 1961, p.209.
65. Mellor, op. cit., p.41.
66. Earle, H.G., 'An Imperial policy in Education: with Special Reference to the University of Hong Kong', in Alex Hill, ed., Third Congress of the Universities of the Empire, 1926 (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd., 1926), p.117.

## Chapter Three: The Growth of a New University (1911-1945)

### I. Sir Charles Norton Edgcumbe Eliot - The First Vice-Chancellor

Sir Charles Norton Edgcumbe Eliot was born in 1862, and came from a religious family, his father being a clergyman in Oxfordshire. He was educated at Cheltenham College and at Balliol, Oxford.

By the time that he accepted the appointment as the first Vice-chancellor, he had already had three years in the diplomatic service. In 1900, he was appointed as Commissioner for the British East African Protectorate. In Africa, it was said, he revealed himself as a man of action with an open mind and a broad vision. In 1905, he took up appointment as Vice-chancellor of the University of Sheffield, a post he held until 1911. In 1912 he accepted appointment as the first Vice-chancellor for the new born university in Hong Kong and he remained in that post for six years. In 1920 he became High Commissioner in Serbia, and later was appointed British Ambassador to Japan. After retiring from the diplomatic service, Eliot stayed behind in Japan and died there in 1931. He was a prolific and capable writer, his best received publications being:- Turkey in Europe (1900), The East Africa Protectorate (1905), Letters from the Far East (1907), Hinduism and Buddhism (1921) and Japanese Buddhism (1935).

When he took up the headship of the University of Hong Kong, he appeared to be shy and silent, but he was liked by the students. Indeed, in 1924 when he returned to Hong Kong



to receive an honorary degree he was surprised by his popularity and found himself mobbed by an excited crowd of undergraduates who, to his infinite discomfort and embarrassment, drew him in a motor car through the streets of the city.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Charles arrived in Hong Kong in the summer of 1912. He found the university was in a precarious state, with a total revenue of only 90,000 dollars, only two faculties in operation and those two "practically without permanent staffs".<sup>2</sup> He presided over his first university council in June 1912 and at that meeting an appointment was offered to Professor C.A. Middleton Smith to become the first full-time professor in the university in the Civil and Mechanical Engineering Department. At this time no one could say the foundation of the university had been solidly laid down. Eliot saw his prime task as being to work to collect funds. It seemed to him that his visits to China would constitute a necessity for appealing for financial help.

Right from the start the growth of the university was linked with events in the mainland. The university was originally designed, in Lugard vision, to serve both the needs of China and Hong Kong. However, a series of changes and events which had happened in the mainland affected the original mission and goal of the design. For Eliot the main university objective was to place into responsible positions, both in the colony and in Chinese institutions, men who had completed their university education in the medium of English. The standards to be reached were to be equivalent to those prevailing in the civic universities of England. Similarly a subsidiary objective was to provide a like service for other areas in Asia where there were Chinese communities. In order to fulfil her grand mission and to solve the financial diffi-

culties of the university, Eliot had to secure help from China. In the Christmas vacation he and the registrar of the University, Mr. W.J. Hinton, visited Nanking, Shanghai, Foochow and Amoy. Eliot was impressed with the work of the municipal schools at Shanghai, and was fully confident that large numbers of students would eventually come to the university from that source although at present there were not many who had reached the required standard.<sup>3</sup> At Foochow he had called on the Anglo-Chinese College, St. Mark's school, and had seen the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. As a result of the visit several educators went to Hong Kong to secure further contact. At the same time, the registrar received many enquiries from the Straits Settlements.

In the summer of 1915, Eliot made another successful trip to Hankow, Ningpo and Canton. As a result, the Canton Civil Government agreed to establish twenty-five scholarships worth \$300 a year each, five to be back-dated to July 1914 for some Canton students already accepted, and the remainder to take effect in December. The President of the Republic would also provide five president's scholarships for encouraging learning.

However the anticipated student flow was not matched by a corresponding cash flow. By 1915 the university was in financial trouble again. In the summer of 1915 Eliot sent Professor Middleton Smith to England to make arrangements for the transport of machinery promised by British firms, to buy and beg other necessary equipment, and at the same time to see if anything might be done to divert some of the Boxer indemnity millions from the British government into the university. But the responses from the government were discouraging and the London government decided to utilize the grant to further educational work in China, although not in

the colony. Fortunately, backed with encouragement from Lugard, Smith succeeded in collecting the equipment and some small donations.

Had it not been for a generous response from a private benefactor in Kuala Lumpur to a cry for help, the university might well have been bankrupt by this time. In 1915 Loke Yew offered an interest-free loan of \$500,000 to the university, the loan to be repaid in full by 1936. In return the university had to offer four free places from 1916 onward for students from the Federated Malay States and Straits Settlement. At the same time a matriculation examination centre was opened at Penang.

In order to secure students with a common standard of achievement, a matriculation examination equivalent to the Senior Oxford Local was conducted in Hong Kong schools from 1914 onwards. The first examination held in Hong Kong was in December of that year. In 1914 the first overseas centre was opened at Canton. In several of the main cities of China, the university appointed agents to act for it in a variety of capacities, including the organising of similar centres.

In order to take the place of the Junior Oxford examination in Hong Kong schools, as a preparation for a new matriculation examination, the university introduced in 1915 two new schools examinations, a senior and a junior local examination, each held twice annually in a wide variety of subjects. The Hong Kong government made it obligatory for all government and aided secondary schools to enter pupils in the top forms. But these examinations diverted the energy of the staff of the university, despite the aid of teachers from the schools.

At the same time the university was beginning to offer the pre-examination class, particularly in English, and in

some cases in mathematics, general science, geography and western history, for the students from the Chinese schools on the mainland. The Chinese central and provincial governments were persuaded by the university to establish scholarships for students coming to Hong Kong and to attend pre-matriculation classes and examinations.

The first degrees congregation of the university was held in December 1916 in the presence of the Viceroy of Kwangtung. On the same occasion honorary degrees were conferred, among others, on sir Frederick Lugard. A message of congratulation to the new graduates and to the university was read from the President of the Chinese Republic. In the christmas vacation of 1916-1917, Eliot set out again for the Straits Settlement, Kuala Lumpur and Java. In Kuala Lumpur he took the opportunity to confer an honorary degree upon Loke Yew and in Sumatra upon Cheung Iu-hing, an early benefactor of the Faculty of Arts. In March 1917, the Kwangsi Provincial government also announced the provision of scholarships for the next year. In 1918 the Siam government sent Richard Ponsonby Fane, the Governor's Secretary to hold discussions for a permanent relationship with the university. As a result in 1919 five Siamese scholarship each year were promised. In the same year, Eliot was once more in Peking to discuss the possibility of training teachers for the Chinese government schools, and he secured an immediate response with a promise of twenty scholarships tied to education, to be awarded throughout China. The Yunnan Provincial Government later joined in an educational alliance with the Hong Kong government, the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce, the British American Tobacco Company, and Messrs Shewan Tomes which resulted in the awarding of nine scholarships annually in open competition.

The war of 1914-1918 underlined a problem of special importance for a new born university. Since the university was comparatively isolated, both geographically and academically it was difficult to maintain continuity in teaching and administration, and thereby to build up a sound tradition. The vice-chancellor, the registrar, the professor of engineering and soon other full-time staff of the time assumed their duties before the outbreak of the war, but the recruiting of further staff from abroad was affected by man-power shortages. Medical teaching suffered the most because lecturers in the faculty were mainly part-time staff recruited from the Hong Kong College of Medicine. War, too accentuated the difficulties inherent in the university's financial position. The financial crisis of 1915, which the university had only been able to weather by the generous help of Loke Yew, the additional commitments thrown on its meagre staff, and the difficulties of recruiting overseas personnel, all had their effects on the young establishment. Consequently, the university entered upon its post-war period understaffed and underdeveloped.

The university started with seventy-one students in 1912. Seventeen of them were seniors from the College of Medicine, seventeen in the first year medicine class and thirty-seven were in the first year of a four-year engineering course. New entrants to the medical class were admitted to residence on the 14th of September of that year and to engineering on the 15th of October and they were all local students. However no women students were accepted, although several women applied for admission.<sup>4</sup>

When the second academic session opened in October 1913, a number of new full-time staff appointments were made and

further posts in all faculties were to be filled in the course of the year. Students were moved into Lugard Hall, the first university hall of residence to open. Gradually, in terms of staff, accommodation and equipment, a university began to take shape.

In September 1913, the London Missionary Society erected a hostel -- Morrison Hall, on the opposite side of and above the university estate. Next year Eliot Hall, the university's second hostel, was completed and May Hall, in 1915. In all there were then something under three hundred residential places.

By 1912 most of the part-time teachers of the old Hong Kong College -- the nucleus of the Medical Faculty, were appointed lecturers in the faculty of medicine of the new university, but the university intention was gradually to replace the part-time staff wherever possible by full time lectures. In August 1912, Dr. T.H. Mathewman was appointed as the first full-time member of the staff to teach physics and practical chemistry. In October the following year, Mr. G.E. Malcomsen was appointed to a chair in psychology and in January 1914, Professor Kenelm H. Digby to one in anatomy. In 1913, the Ng Lin-hing School of Anatomy was opened and it was the first department in the university to have its own building. By that time, the subjects of physics, chemistry and physiology were all taught in the main building, biology being taught by the staff of the department of physiology. In 1915 the full-time teaching in surgery was introduced. The university's early financial difficulties were somewhat eased that same year by Ho Tung's<sup>5</sup> donation and the Medical Faculty was also a direct beneficiary because the gift carried the proviso that not less than \$2,000 of the

interest be paid annually to the incumbent of a new chair. To this post, the Ho Tung Chair of Clinical surgery was appointed on 12th February, 1915.

The formation of the Engineering faculty dated from the foundation of the university. In 1911, after the university was incorporated, it was initially decided to form two faculties, one for Medicine and one for Engineering. It was the desire of the founders that by the study and application of scientific knowledge, that it would be beneficial to China, enrich the wealth of the nation, and consequently raise the standard of living of the people. The founders and the court had abandoned the original design of incorporating the Technical Institute into the faculty of engineering. Instead the Technical Institute was maintained independently of the university for the training of local technicians. The new faculty of engineering was formed to cater for higher technological studies and to develop on similar lines to that of British civic universities. In June 1912, the Court of the university set up the first Tai Koo Chair of Engineering to commemorate the generosity of Messrs John Swire Ltd. (London) and their Associates, the Tai Koo Sugar Refinery and Messrs. Alfred Holt Ltd. which had contributed £40,000 to the original endowment fund of the university in connection with the development of engineering studies. The opening of the first session in September 1912 constituted a period of strain on account of inadequacy in accommodation, laboratory and workshop facilities. Thus the first problem facing the faculty was the provision of additional floor space and adequate equipment. Space was secured by annexing all vacant rooms in the main building and suggesting that the Hong Kong government should

hand over a pumping station on Bonham Road, east of the main building. The Government agreed to the latter proposal and began to construct a new and enlarged pumping station further to the west for its own usage. An appeal was also made to British engineering firms to provide necessary equipment and machinery. Following an intensive propaganda campaign, some £40,000 worth of laboratory and workshop equipment was donated by various firms, and shipping lines with local affiliations transported it from Britain free of charge. In 1914 a workshop was erected adjacent to the main building at a cost of £10,000 but the building was still thought to be inadequate for its purposes. With a view to ensuring maintenance of the desired standards and for the purpose of recognition by professional and engineering institutions, the faculty adopted the model of the University of London, involving special assessors being sent from that university. An equally high standard of practical training was ensured through provision of Peel Engineering Laboratory which contained excellent facilities and equipment for practical training. In 1916 enrollment numbers in the faculty were one hundred but, in 1921 the figure dropped to about fifty and this was maintained for the next eight years. Those eight years marked a period of great advances in the field of technology, and because of its stringent financial resources, the faculty was hard pressed to sustain appropriate academic standards.

The university was originally planned, as we have seen, with an emphasis upon professional training in the faculties of medicine and engineering, and at the beginning it was assumed that the establishment of a faculty of arts would have to wait until more funds became available. However an arts faculty did commence work, its establishment being mainly



due to the work of several enthusiastic supporters; Sir Kai Ho Kai, Mr. William Hewitt, the first warden of St. John's Hall, and Archdeacon Barnett, the Warden of St. Stephen's, a leading figure of the Anglican Mission in the colony.

After the opening of the university, St. Stephen's College continued to have a good relationship with the university. Both William Hewitt and Archdeacon Barnett, however, wanted the university to start an arts programme for their students. They were told by the Council, that the university would not be able to offer any arts course before October 1913. At the same time, there were several pupils at St. Stephen's who were ready to enter the university in 1912, but only if there were arts courses available for them. After discussing the matter with Eliot in August, Hewitt prepared a proposal that set out a provisional arrangement with the university, in which St. John's Hall would undertake for an additional fee to offer first-year lectures in English, history and Chinese. The students would attend the university's first year lectures planned to start in mathematics, economics and political science with the intention that they would be examined and ready to progress into the second year of a new arts faculty by October 1913. He thought it would be possible to obtain guarantee's for \$10,000 a year for five years against the cost, and expressed himself "sanguine that the amount received in fees would be so considerable that the guarantors would not be called upon to take up their obligation."<sup>6</sup> The university registrar also held the view that the possible outlets for arts graduates would be the Chinese civil service, and teaching, and that if there were greater specialisation in commercial economics, some would enter the commercial world.<sup>7</sup> The Council finally agreed with this proposal. In October

1913, the Faculty of arts was formally established. In May of the previous year, Cheung Pat-sze who had raised \$90,000 in 1909-1910 from the residents of Weichow for an endowment fund and was a foundation life member of the court, joined with his kinsman, Cheung Iu-hing, the Chinese Consul in Sumatra, promising together the sum of \$60,000 to be paid in monthly instalments of \$1,000 over a period of five years, to provide for a start on courses in economics, commerce, economic history and law in a new faculty of arts.<sup>8</sup> Thus from the beginning the courses in the university were wide and comprehensive in scope and science subjects, such as physics, chemistry and mathematics were included together with other arts subjects. Moreover the subjects of ethics and moral philosophy were included in the curriculum so that Lugard's vision would be achieved.

The openings for civil servants in China did not materialise, and it was not until 1936 that the Executive Yuan of the Republican government formally declared the university's graduates eligible to appear at the High Level Service examination. As a consequence the faculty failed to attract many students at the start. In 1916 it decided to re-organise the syllabus to comprise a pass degree, an honours degree course in economic and political science, and a diploma course in commerce. At the same time a Department of Education for teacher training was opened. Chinese studies also commenced in 1912. The programme started in a small way with one-year elective courses in Chinese Literature and History conducted by two Han-lin scholars Dr. Lai Chai Hay, and Dr. Au Tai Tin, but the studies still failed to arouse the interest of students.

In 1918, Eliot was offered appointment for one year as

High Commissioner in Siberia and prevailed upon the university to release him to undertake the assignment on secondment. The following March, he asked for the services of Professor W.J. Hinton, then Professor of Political Economy and previously his registrar, as Commercial Counsellor in Siberia and secured Hinton's secondment for some months.<sup>9</sup> On being offered appointment as Ambassador to the Court of Japan Eliot then resigned from the office of Vice-chancellor on 26th September, 1919 while he was still away from Hong Kong. His place was taken for the time being by Dr. Gregory Jordan as Acting Vice-chancellor.

Eliot's term had been marked by hard work and energy, the assembly of a young and keen staff, and a mounting local interest in the rather grand institution Hong Kong had given itself. The General Medical Council of Great Britain had extended its recognition to the medical degree and Eliot himself had taken a particular interest in the spread of the university's influence through its school examination and provincial scholarship system. Finally a faculty of arts had been formed. Eliot was also credited with designing the Vice-chancellor's academic dress in its early form, later to be described by Hornell as "amazing garments... on the lines of the vestments of some high Buddhist ecclesiastic".<sup>10</sup>

The first full-time professor of the university, Professor Middleton Smith, has provided a well balanced view of Eliot's work;

"He had made a great reputation as a scholar at Oxford University, he spoke twenty-seven languages fluently; he had a knowledge of several others and he had been famous as a diplomat..., although Sir Charles had a giant intellect, he had great diffi-

culty in adding up a column of figures of pounds, shillings and pence... For the first year of work in the university the only full time members of the staff were Sir Charles Eliot, Mr. Hinton (registrar and lecturer in economics) and myself. The finances of the university appalled me, for they showed a mere fraction of the annual revenue of 1939... Fortunately wealthy Chinese in Malaya and Hong Kong increased the endowments, and British engineering firms responded to our appeal for scientific equipment. These successes were largely due to the diplomacy and great influence of Sir Charles Eliot. Much as he disliked mechanisation -- he would never use a telephone and he wrote all communications himself -- yet he gave me great help in the development of the engineering laboratories and workshops".<sup>11</sup>

## II. The succession of Professor G.P. Jordan

After Eliot's resignation, a successor was not appointed immediately and Dr. G.P. Jordan was named as Pro-Vice-Chancellor to head the university temporarily. Dr. Jordan had been running a successful medical practice in the colony. His new appointment forced him to give up his practice. He had acted as Vice-chancellor during the period of Eliot's absence in Siberia and thereafter until Sir William Brunyate arrived to assume the office.

G.H. Thomas, the earliest university graduate, gave a good picture of the personality of the acting vice-chancellor.

He was;

"...In the prime of life and at the height of his fame as the leading medical practitioner of the colony. He was particularly popular with the Chinese community, who almost worshipped him. His name was mentioned with awe, respect and affection. No one who was really ill could afford not to consult him at least once. His personality was no less remarkable than his reputation. He was stout and of short stature, but he possessed a magnificent head and a confidence-inspiring countenance, enhanced by his striking moustache and his deep resonant but soothing voice...".<sup>12</sup>

The new acting vice-chancellor had a hard time to face and a lot of difficult problems to tackle, so difficult indeed that the university was soon to have to make the first of a long series of agonising reappraisals of its position. Jordan was confronted with acute financial problems. In fact costs had risen since the War and much of the endowment fund had been spent on equipment and buildings. Because political conditions in China were not stable, the anticipated flow of students from the mainland had not materialised. The university's policy of conducting its teaching through the medium of the English language had prohibited the recruitment of students from outside the Hong Kong schools system. Even students from local schools possessed at this time only a limited working knowledge of English.

By 1919 the university was kept going only with the help of generous private contributions to its funds; by such support as the donations of HK\$50,000 each from Messrs Ho Fook, Ho Kom Tong, and Chan Kai Ming in 1917 towards the erection and

equipment of schools of physiology, tropical medicine, and pathology; the annual contribution of \$12,000 by the representatives of the late Mr. Cheung Pat Sze to the running costs of the Faculty of arts; and the gift of \$55,000 by Mr. Eu Tong Sen of the Straits Settlements in 1918 to the general funds of the university. All this, together with the annual subvention of \$20,000 from the Hong Kong government and the income from fees, still did not enable the university to pay its way. By the beginning of 1920, the financial position was so serious that some members of the staff had already decided to resign.

A commission of enquiry into the university's affairs was thus set up by the court, under the chairmanship of Mr. E.H. Sharp, K.C., a leading barrister. The commission's report was never published but it put forward several recommendations to the government. It urged that the government should provide an additional endowment of a million Hong Kong dollars, grant a further sum of \$700,000 to pay off the accumulated deficit and provide a portion of the sums owed on buildings and equipment. It should undertake to increase its subvention from \$20,000 to \$50,000. It was further hoped that additional government endowment would "encourage contributions from other sources, especially for further expansion now unprovided for, such as the endowment of special professorships".<sup>13</sup> It was the first time since its establishment that the government had shown so little interest in the university.

The enquiry also raised an important and critical issue; -- i.e. should the university serve the interest of Hong Kong or rather China as a whole? According to Lugard's grand vision, the university should serve the higher educational needs not only of Hong Kong but also of China. At the Fourth

Degree Congregation in January, 1920, Jordan defined the aim of the university, declaring:

"...the university of Hong Kong, has now passed the stage of local interest alone; it combines both local and imperial interests, and as such calls for help from both sources. The university was to be an imperial asset, and therefore an imperial responsibility: this was a theme to be repeated for many years to come, and one that was always certain of a sympathetic hearing from all sections in Hong Kong -- but not, alas, from the Imperial government...".<sup>14</sup>

With increasing financial support being demanded from the government, it was natural that the latter should be somewhat cope about the university and it was expected that further financial contributions would be sought from other sources.

While the faculty of medicine was concerned to increase its use of appointments on a full-time basis, its part-time staff were recruited more and more from the government medical services. Clinical classes were conducted in the government civil and Tung Wah Hospitals and in the government out-patient departments. In December 1919, Dr. C.Y. Wang was appointed as the first professor of pathology and became the first Chinese professor in the university.

After the Sharp commission's enquiry, the Faculty of Arts had to be re-structured to meet the needs of China as well as of the colony. The honours syllabus was cut out and a new range of courses were offered. The two-year diploma course in commerce was converted into a four-year degree course. The Faculty was re-organised into three departments: pure arts and science, teacher training, and commercial training -- each

comprising various groups of studies. In order to make a new degree programme in commerce possible, the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce guaranteed the salary of a lecturer for five years.

In January, 1921, Sir William Brunyate, selected by Lord Milner, the Secretary of State in London, arrived to relieve Jordan's of his heavy burden. By the end of the same years, Dr. Jordan was dead at the age of 63. His uncle Sir Paul Chater, endowed a library in the student's union in his memory and this was opened by Jordan's widow in September 1922.

### III. Sir William Brunyate

Sir William Brunyate, the next Vice-chancellor, came to Hong Kong from Egypt, where he had been in government service for twenty-three years; the last five as judicial adviser. Brunyate was welcomed as an accomplished mathematician, financier and administrator. His qualifications made him an ideal choice for the vice-chancellorship at this juncture in the university's affairs. He was a good speaker, unusually cool, pleasantly ironic, and uncannily deliberate, but by nature aloof and inaccessible. He found it difficult if not impossible to unbend.<sup>15</sup>

Brunyate had had no intimate contact with the academic world since his leaving Cambridge in the 1890s. When he arrived in Hong Kong, he had to face a group of demoralised staff stunned by financial uncertainty and a lack of consistently clear policies. His first task was to re-secure a solid foundation for the new university in financial and administrative terms.



Brunyate's main concern was to find some means to inject more funding into the university. "We are under a big debt of gratitude to the founders of this university", he remarked on the occasion of his inauguration in April 1921; "but", he added drily, "it is clear that they in no way realised, and perhaps fortunately so, what they were committing us to."<sup>16</sup> Staff, buildings, and equipment were so linked together, he declared, that from an increase in any one of these had to follow increases in the others. He was not interested in policy of contraction; instead, he thought, the university should expand.

Brunyate's first year of service was occupied by a business trip abroad searching for scholarships and he went to the Federated Malay States and to the Straits Settlements. All these governments were willing to offer education scholarships for students undertaking to employment as teachers after graduation from the university. The Hong Kong government also provided a number of education scholarships.

In 1921, the university court held the first meeting under Brunyate's leadership, to report donations of \$100,000 each from H.M.H. Nemazee, John Swire & Company and Robert Ho Tung for the general endowment and for the endowment of the Taikoo Chair of Engineering. An appeal Committee for financial help was formed under the chairmanship of Claud Severn, the Colonial secretary. In response to this, the Hong Kong government promised \$400,000 for an endowment.

Brunyate held firm opinions on the university's aims and its mission that the university should spread its influence and reputation far beyond the borders of Hong Kong. In 1921, he visited Peking, Shanghai, Hankow, Penang, Singapore and Java, where university matriculation examination centres had

been set up. He visualised the university, he once said, "as the natural head of a system of British missionary schools in China, and as a British university for China."<sup>17</sup> However the Chancellor, Sir Reginald Edward Stubbs (governor, 1919-1925), was still uncertain about the future of the university and its capacity to achieve. He claimed;

"...in this comparatively small colony, with much of the population not above the level of poverty, we cannot afford to maintain a university to supply the whole of China with leaders, good or bad. If the university were for Hong Kong only it would be a very small affair and probably the government could support it, but if it is for the whole of China, then the whole of China has got to begin by putting its hand in its pocket and assisting it... I think it is wiser that the appeal should be made to a very much wider community than Hong Kong if it is to be a success..."<sup>18</sup>

Though the tone of this sounded pessimistic, it did ensure that the governor wrote home to seek some funding from the Boxer Indemnity. In 1922, the British government decided at last to remit the whole of its portion of the Boxer Indemnity, provided the remitted sums were devoted to the mutual interests of Britain and China, particularly with education and trade in view. On 4th January, 1923, Lugard also wrote to The Times to urge the application of the Boxer Funds for the university's development. In early 1923, Brunyate presented the university case in a Shanghai Conference called by the Associated Chambers of Commerce to discuss views relating to the disposal of the Boxer Funds. But the outcome of the discussion failed to move the British government towards any

final decision. In April of the same year, Brunyate reported to the university court that his appeal was ineffectual and tendered his resignation the following spring before his term of office was completed.

On 4th May, 1923, Sir Paul Chater, contributed \$250,000 donation in response to Brunyate's appeal of the year before. The development of the university was progressing. In January 1922, there were 28 new graduates, a number exceeding that of any previous year and there was a substantial rise in new admissions. The more utilitarian trend of studies continued, the majority of students joining degree courses specially designed for commercial or teacher training. By 1922 it was reported that 59 students in the education department were being supported by the government of Hong Kong, Peking, the Federated Malay States, and the Straits Settlements; and that the demand for teachers exceeded supply. By 1925, out of 126 undergraduates in the faculty of arts, 56 were in teacher training.<sup>19</sup>

In the 1921-1922 academic year women undergraduates were for the first time admitted into the university.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile the Hong Kong girls' schools had quickly modified their curricula. In December 1922 three girls schools matriculated from St. Stephen's and one from the Italian Convent (now the Sacred Heart School) entered the university in January 1923, two as arts and two as medical students.<sup>21</sup> According to an early statute, undergraduates were to reside either in the university buildings or in approved Halls or Hostels provided that in any special or exceptional case, the Council on report from the Senate might grant exemption from the provisions of this statute. The first few women undergraduates however were granted exemption.<sup>22</sup> In late September 1921, two women

students came from mainland China to study in the university, one from Changsha and the other from Hankow. The registrar wrote to Archdeacon Barnett to enquire if St. Stephen's Girls' College could provide them with residence, and the Church Missionary Society replied accepting the responsibility. In 1922 the student from Changsha (Miss Grosvenor) was the first woman to reside in what became known as St. Stephen's Hall; and by February 1923 four of the ten women students were living there, although it was not until the University Council meeting of 22nd June, 1923 that it was granted provisional recognition as an approval hall for women.<sup>23</sup> In 1921-1922 the total enrolment of the university was about 300, women students representing only 1% to 1.5% of the student population.

During Brunyate's term of office, the students activities were related to the reception of distinguished visitors. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the earliest graduate of Hong Kong College of Medicine and the founder of the Chinese Republic addressed the students Union in February 1923 and declared "I got my revolutionary ideas entirely in Hong Kong"; He went on to explain how it was that the extreme contrast between the peace, order and good government of Hong Kong and the disorder and corruption of China itself had turned him into a revolutionary.<sup>24</sup>

The year 1922 seemed to be particularly significant for the faculty of medicine too. Speaking before a large audience of distinguished Hong Kong citizens in 1922 at the Ninth Congregation of the university, the Vice-chancellor announced that the Rockefeller Foundation of New York would consider the possibility of assisting the medical faculty.<sup>25</sup>

In January 1923 the Rockefeller Foundation indicated it

was prepared to support a programme of medical expansion. Meanwhile a visit by Edward, Prince of Wales, was announced, and the university sought agreement for him to be given an honorary degree. At a special Congregation on 7th April Brunyate seized the opportunity to ask the Foundation for swift action so that the grant might be announced on that occasion. The day before the Prince arrived the Foundation cabled a pledge to endow chairs in medicine and surgery in the sum of half a million Hong Kong dollars just in time for the announcement to be made at the Congregation. With the new injection of grant, it seemed that much important work had to be carried out in the faculty, especially in the area of clinical teaching. The need for more full-time staff in all the clinical subjects became an urgent necessity to meet the requirements as demanded by the General Medical Council of Great Britain, which had granted recognition to the medical degree in 1912.

However in the faculty of engineering and architecture complaints were raised about the noise being made from the workshops which were disturbing the academic calm of the Faculty of Arts. With the new benefactions of \$100,000 each from Messers John Swire and Sons Ltd., and Sir Robert Ho Tung, a newly-equipped engineering workshop was planned to be built. With help from military authorities, a plot of land was presented by the army to build the new building. Construction and equipment of the Ho Tung Engineering Workshop was undertaken in 1924.<sup>26</sup>

The Vice-chancellor found himself more dissatisfied with the insufficient cultural elements installed in the curriculum of the faculty of arts. In April, 1921, he made his remarks on the faculty in his inauguration speech;

"...since the war...we have created what is practically a faculty of education; we are committed to what is practically a faculty of commerce...in pure arts subjects it may be that the university has not fulfilled the promise made to the people of China ten years ago... In the study of classical Chinese we have two part-time lecturers, both men of considerable eminence, but is this enough? The same is, I think, true in other pure arts subjects. I think we are bound to make a most serious attempt to do something towards finding a way to mutual understanding between the two civilisations, and that, I think, will mainly be done in the arts subjects."<sup>27</sup>

The education department developed rapidly and the diploma course in commerce was popular at first. The total number of students in the faculty rose in 1918-1919 to 57, and in 1919-1920 to 73. As this increase placed a heavy strain on a teaching staff which in 1919 consisted of three full-time professors, one professor shared with the engineers, and six part-time lecturers, a number of further appointments were made.

As we have seen in 1924 Sir William Brunyate resigned from his post. For the most part, he observed, the results of university education in Hong Kong still lay in the future. "Most of the problems I set out to solve nearly forty years ago still remain unsolved," said Brunyate in his farewell speech to the members of the university. "I have contended myself," he went on, "with the lesson that most problems are susceptible of more solutions than one; that the other man, though very likely a bigot, is none the less probably honest

in his beliefs; that strong conviction is a less valuable thing than the capacity to act when action is called for; and that, in the meantime, sanity and patience are amongst the most precious of virtues. And if, twenty years hence, there shall be in China a dozen men and women who are the more smilingly facing their difficulties in that spirit because of my contact with them in the last three years, then that time, as I think, will not have been spent in vain."<sup>28</sup>

But, writing later in the Union Magazine for 1933, Ponsonby-Fane thought that Brunyate, however devotedly he had worked, had been temperamentally unsuited to be a vice-chancellor, had lacked the necessary tact and urbanity of manner.<sup>29</sup>

#### IV. Sir William Woodward Hornell

William Woodward Hornell arrived in Hong Kong in February 1924 to assume office as the third vice-chancellor of the university. He was no stranger to education or to the East. At the age of forty-six, he had spent ten years in service in Bengal as Director of Public instruction and had wide experience of teaching.

Hornell was a comfortable-looking man and he engaged his charm to impress his students immediately; the editor of the Union Magazine was able to say of him only two months after his arrival, that unlike his predecessor, Mr. Hornell was very accessible to students. He was a man used to a long day. He was accustomed to rising before six to inspect the university gardens, carrying with him a stick with a pointed ferrule on which he impaled loose paper lying under bushes, depositing

it into a basket carried by a gardener who was instructed to follow him. He was often accompanied on his early morning expedition by the registrar, Finnigan.

In February 1924, the two previous vice-chancellors, Sir Charles Eliot and Sir William Brunyate, both attended the university Congregation and were presented for the degree of Doctor of Laws by the new vice-chancellor, in recognition of their respective contributions to the university.

Although some progress had been made, the financial situation of the university remained precarious. The work of all faculties was hampered by lack of proper facilities for teaching and research. But Hornell insisted that a high standard of study and discipline had to be maintained and enhanced. In this respect the university's popularity and influence would grow and then there would be no doubt of the increasing demand for its services in Hong Kong, if not in China.

Unfortunately chaotic and unstable conditions in China still persisted and these affected the enrolment of students from the mainland as well as the recruitment of teachers from China. The university, however, soon began to develop a new task relation with China by chance. Henry Lester, a rich British merchant in Shanghai, had died in 1927 and by his will formed a trust with funds to be used for medical research and the founding of a hospital and a technical institute. In the 1840s the Chinese had founded a hospital on Shan Tung Road, Shanghai. This was conducted from its opening by British interests and management. Lester's Bequest included one million taels for the rebuilding and modernisation of the hospital. Professor Earle from the faculty of medicine was invited to report on the use of the fund for medical research.



The recommendation then emerged that an Institute of Medical Research and Preventive Medicine be formed which would be associated with the new hospital and a number of departments and would embrace a library and a museum organised along the lines of Manson's London school of Tropical Medicine. It was recommended that the Institute would be affiliated to the University of Hong Kong, where in due course Diplomas of Public Health and Tropical Medicine and Hygiene were to be developed. The Senate welcomed the proposals as a supplement to the work of Hong Kong university and of extending the interests of British education in China. The affiliation of the Institute when established was formally approved in December by Council under the statutes.

As with all his predecessors, Hornell had to face the same critical issue of university finance, although his arrival had been accompanied by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation of \$250,000 to endow a chair in Obstetrics and Gynaecology. At this time the inadequacy of university salaries was causing grave concern. The Chancellor appointed a committee under Sir Henry Gollan, the Chief Justice, to look into the position. When his committee reported Hornell was in London pleading the university's case for the Boxer allocation and Gollan was standing in as vice-chancellor. Gollan was thus, in a particularly favourable position to press for an increase. However a fall in the value of Hong Kong currency not only upset a recommended increase in salaries but also confronted the university with a fresh financial crisis. An appeal was made again to the Hong Kong government for an increase in endowment to HK\$350,000. This increase, augmented by the interest on a grant of £265,000 received in April 1931 from the Boxer Indemnity Fund, enabled the University Council

to give effect to revised salary scales and to authorise a limited programme of development.

In 1930 addressing a Congregation, Clementi, the governor, criticised the British colony on how little had been done for the university.<sup>30</sup> He went on to press endowment from the Boxer indemnity for the university. From the moment he became chancellor, he believed that the university had a special task to keep the balance in its studies, between Chinese antiquity and modernity, although it ought not to allow itself to be distracted by the political and social upheavals taking place in China. The Hong Kong university was the only educational institutions in China where the reality of this conflict was really understood and was trying to do something to blend the old China with the new.<sup>31</sup>

In 1931, Hornell was knighted and later appointed by the Chinese government to be a member of the Indemnity Board of Trustees. On 3rd March, 1931, the allocation of Boxer Indemnity was finally settled. the result was discouraging for the university. A sum of £200,000 was to be paid out to the university's China Committee in London and £265,000 handed to the university. Investment of the Boxer money in government bonds generated £12,000 a year. with the new injection of financial provision the university made possible the enlargement of the Chinese section of the library. A new building was made possible by a further \$20,000 of endowment from Fung Ping-shen early in 1929. The allocating of the rest of the Boxer income had to await the formation and report of a special committee on Chinese studies.

In December 1932, the university acquired a section on China of the Hankow Club library, a valuable and rare collection of about 3,000 books. It was suited to the sort of

were granted to two university's graduates, Dr. Woo Kai-fun in medicine, and Lai Po-kan (later Mrs. Catherine Whitaker) in English literature. Speaking at the January 1935 Congregation Sir Andrew Caldecott, the chancellor, announced that he had been mediating in regard to the university's chances of securing further endowments and had decided that, as Governor-in-Council, he would appoint a committee to advise on staffing, organisation and finances. The committee was chaired by the governor himself. The report came out in March, 1937.

The affiliation of the new Institute of Medical Research and Preventive Medicine in Shanghai had effects on the future development of the medical faculty. During Hornell's term of administration there were some important changes and building developments in the faculty. A small area of accommodation for research work was made available for the departments of medicine and obstetrics, but more laboratory space was needed for surgery. To solve this difficulty a small plot of ground between the anatomy school and the government pumping station on Pokfulam Road was reserved as a site for the university department of surgery if and when money could be collected for the building. Professor Digby's efforts to collect the necessary funds, however, were to fall short of the amount required, and eventually the university agreed to supply the balance. The building was opened in September 1934. More appointments were expected to be made in order to fill vacant positions. With all these developments in the clinical and pre-clinical branches of the faculty, the need for expansion in the neglected biological sciences became more and more acute. Biology was still without full-time staff or a department of its own. A new readership in Biology was instituted and a department was reopened in September 1930. Although

the university's medical degrees had been recognised by the General Medical Council of Great Britain since 1912, a representative of the Council did not visit the university until 1933. After the visit of the Council's representative, a system of external examiners was recommended to be established for the degree examinations. Greater consideration was also given to the teaching of public health and allied subjects in the university. The founding of a chair of public health and an Institute of Hygiene and Public Health were proposed.

The year 1929-1930 brought a new period of comparative prosperity for the university, and the faculty of engineering, in particular, looked forward with new hope to the future. The student numbers in the faculty steadily increased, reaching an all-time peak of 145 in 1934. From 1929 John Swire and Company had provided a number of the engineering graduates of the university with passages to Britain, where they underwent paid industrial and engineering training in British firms. The Board readily accepted a similar scheme put forward by the Federation of British Industries in 1935 and extended it to cover advanced studies and engineering research. On 7th December, 1934, the opening of new Peel Engineering Laboratory marked the end of the first stage of an engineering development plan and the creation of a thriving and compact school.

The young Faculty of Arts was just about keeping pace with the needs of the schools for professional school teachers, whether in Hong Kong or in Malaya or the Straits Settlement. In 1925, almost half of the 126 students in the faculty were engaged in the undergraduate education group of studies. In 1934 Hornell warned that "one of the great dangers against which the university of Hong Kong must ever be on its guard

comparatively humanist studies that Hornell sought to cherish and it arrived in 1933 as a symbol of the university's coming-of-age.

In 1933, when the university came of age, it was possible to celebrate the occasion with real, if restrained, enthusiasm. The centrepiece of the university's twenty-first anniversary was a souvenir account written by Hornell with financial support for its publication from Tang Shiu-kin.<sup>32</sup> It reviewed the university's development and its future needs, placing the main emphasis -- once again on Chinese studies. Among other notable happenings in that year was the discussion of a full professional dental curriculum as requested by the government. However the proposal was hastily withdrawn when the extent of the funds required was revealed. The year's highlight was the visit of George Bernard Shaw, playwright and critic who succumbed, somewhat reluctantly, to an invitation to speak to the students in the union.<sup>33</sup>

In 1934 the university was once again in financial crisis. A decision had to be taken to reduce by 10% the salaries of the university teachers in the coming year, to suspend the increments of the clerks, and postpone the making of new appointments. In the midst of all these difficulties, Eu Tong-sen, a university benefactor, who had emigrated from Canton to Singapore where he had emerged as a tin magnate, and had then returned to Hong Kong to live in 1927 was ready to celebrate the arrival of an old friend from Singapore, Sir Andrew Caldecott. As Governor of Hong Kong and Chancellor of the university, Caldecott constructed a new gymnasium for the university.

The university harvested some practical benefit from the Boxer Indemnity. In April 1936 Boxer Indemnity scholarships

is the tendency to starve its humanistic studies for the development of its professional and technical training."

"The faculty of medicine and engineering must be kept efficient and up to date", he said, "but the faculty of arts and its Chinese department, even though they attract fewer students, cannot be neglected without prejudice to all that the university stands for."<sup>34</sup>

In 1931, the Tang Chi Ngong Building was completed and it relieved congestion in the main building by providing quarters for the Chinese, education, history and geography departments. In the same year there were 97 undergraduates in the faculty. In 1939, with a new faculty of science instituted, the departments remaining in the arts faculty were English, Chinese, history, economics and education; and to the teaching programmes of these departments were added courses in geography, psychology, ethics, logic and French, all conducted by part-time lecturers. But before any real development could take place in the work of the faculty as a whole, war had intervened.

One of the greatest contributions Hornell had made to the university was the establishment of the Chinese department in the faculty of arts. In November 1925, Sir Cecil Coat Clementi returned to Hong Kong and took up appointment as Governor of the colony. No stranger to the local community or to the university, he had been a member of the preparatory committee in 1908 and retained a great interest in the work of the university. His arrival coincided with a time at which the government could not have increased aid to the university even had it felt an increase to be justifiable. Hornell found in his new chancellor a scholarly man with a ready ear for the university's plans for development, especially in the

field of modern Chinese studies, and for acquiring the money it needed for their implementation from the Boxer Indemnity.

The environment and the conditions for the formation of a new Chinese department seemed ripe. This was largely on account of three factors: the university's optimism in the matter of the allocation of the Indemnity; the difficult and tendentious problem of adjusting to the results of the Hu Shih movement and the new official ways of speaking and writing Chinese; and a persistent belief among teachers then, and since, that a new building and some equipment were all that were wanted to make a new teaching department.

The first steps towards the organisation of a new department were taken in 1926. Given the government's policy of encouraging bilingualism in the Anglo-Chinese school system, the governor wanted the Faculty of Arts to produce a supply of talent to meet China's need for good translation services and for good interpreters of West to East and East to West. A special committee was appointed to advise on the teaching of Chinese and it recommended that Chinese studies be developed on modern lines as part of the university curriculum. In fact, Chinese studies formed the basic humanities curriculum in most of the Chinese universities and were well supported in the way of library and staffing. There were therefore difficulties in establishing anything viable in Hong Kong. When students could move into China for classical studies, and do so more cheaply than could be provided at home, students were unlikely to be attracted from China into a situation in which they would be pursuing Chinese studies in a more costly and essentially English-speaking ambience. Moreover, the classics were to some extent associated with the idea of Chinese backwardness, not only because the methods of study

had never progressed in the same way as had the study of other subjects but because they had been required in the provincial and metropolitan examinations and carried pre-revolution connotations. Unless Hong Kong could offer something quite different, such as 'comparative' studies, they could only fail.<sup>35</sup>

Within this end in view, Hornell and Lai Tsi-hsi visited the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay states and the Chinese settlement overseas. Their trips were fruitful. In October 1926 Lai Tsi-hsi suggested the founding of the Chinese department. This proposal was accepted by the university. Of the forty thousand dollars contributed by the overseas Chinese, two thousand was spent on the renovation of classrooms, ten thousand on the purchase of Chinese books, and the remaining twenty eight thousand was to be used for the remuneration of Chinese teachers and staff of the department.

Being advised that a Chinese Indemnity delegation (the Willingdon Delegation with R.F. Johnston as its Secretary) was to visit China in 1926, Hornell made his first preparation in December for an assault on the Boxer Funds by publishing a pamphlet outlining the origin and growth of the university up to 1925. The faculties presented the developments they considered necessary for the university to make further headway and improved standards. The development programme was to include a scheme of establishing a faculty of Chinese with comparative studies as its central purpose offering Chinese and western law, history, philosophy, and literature, and a school for the teaching of the Chinese language to those non-Chinese people who were to spend their working lives in China. In the same year, the Hong Kong government opened a Chinese vernacular middle school, in which there was an attempt



to combine practical English with an intensive study of Chinese; the ultimate aim was entry to the university, where the study of Chinese might be continued. However vernacular school students were unable to matriculate as the standard of English was low. The university had therefore to adjust its approach to the problems of Chinese studies to form a concerted attack on the front and on both flanks. The funds collected in Malaya were used to extend the Chinese courses offered in the Arts Faculty to degree level. On one flank they opened a class in Cantonese for a group of missionaries and non-Chinese officers in government service. The attack on the other flank was to be the continuation at university level of the course offered in the new vernacular school. The new graduating examination organised for this school was also to be open to students from China. The university's plan was, given money, to admit selected students who passed the examination into a separate school of Chinese, in which a four-year course in Chinese studies would lead, not to a degree but a diploma, and the hope was that this school might in the course of time develop into a separate faculty of Chinese. To strengthen the university's plan the government asked it to undertake the end-of-school examining from December 1927. In the same year the Chinese department was formally under the headship of Lai Tsi-hsi.<sup>36</sup>

In January 1927 Clementi addressed the Congregation at the opening ceremony of the Department and he clearly pointed out that the founding of the Chinese Department in the university was closely linked to the mission and aim of the early founders;

"...if the sole subject of a man were to become a good doctor or a good engineer, it might be

contended that these subjects could well be taught in two special schools entirely independent of each other and situated in widely separated localities. But the aim of a university is not merely to make one man a good engineer or another man a good doctor; and the special aims of this university are declared by the Ordinance which constituted it to be the promotion of arts, science, and learning, the provision of higher education, the conferring of degrees, the development and formation of the character of students of all races, nationalities and creeds, and the maintenance of good understanding with the neighbouring country of China...".<sup>37</sup>

The Chinese Department began in a small way, but with the help of government and private personages in Hong Kong its curriculum was gradually expanded and its teaching staff strengthened. The Chinese Department was at first without its own buildings and library because of lack of funds. The university library possessed some nine thousand volumes of Chinese books contributed by the Chinese community through the influence of Lai Tsi-hsi. In 1927 a sum of ten thousand dollars from the funds contributed by Chinese overseas was used to buy Chinese books. However the new Chinese Department in the university was not as popular as had been hoped. A leader in a local English newspaper reminded its readers that "...What we appear to have attempted is the altruistic task of presenting to the Orient, from our own resources, the perfect incubator of knowledge -- no small gift. We have not called upon the beneficiaries to help us maintain it: they may not want to... A share of the Boxer Indemnity would solve the problem; but in view of the Commissions' recommendations,

that cannot be expected with any confidence... The university has no natural advantages. The old belief that it occupied a favoured position, and that it had a start over all possible rivals, must go. If there was an advantage, it has been lost. The university must labour for its position."<sup>38</sup>

When the Malayan donations were rapidly consumed, the new department was threatened with financial crisis. Dr. Robert Kotewall and Sir Chouson Chow<sup>39</sup> were asked to raise money to help while the university awaited the announcement of the Boxer allocation. They succeeded in raising \$200,000 in cash, and promises for the endowment of Chinese studies from Tang Chi-shan who also gave a building for the Chinese library and \$50,000 for the purchase of Chinese books. The building was opened in 1932 by the new Governor of Hong Kong, Sir William Peel. Clementi himself contributed an important collection of Chinese books and urged the community to contribute funds for the construction of buildings for the department. A committee of fifteen under W.T. Southern, the Colonial secretary, was set up to advise on the future development of the young department, and it was reflected that the old 'Hanlin type' of teaching should be replaced by modern methods. As a result of the committee's report Kuoyu was officially adopted from 1932 as the medium of teaching in the department; but the teachers were still the Hanlin readers, teaching in the old methods, Wenli writing continued in the school system, supported by teaching in Cantonese. Another outcome of the committee's recommendation was the closure of the school of Chinese opened three years before.

Because of lack of interest among pupils for a full degree course in Chinese alone; the Faculty of Arts decided to introduce two new groups of studies for the degree, one

consisting of Chinese and English studies running in parallel and associated with special translation courses, and the other more specifically concerning upon Chinese studies, but with some English and translation. The diploma course in the school of Chinese was discontinued but against the bitter opposition of those of the older generation who mistrusted the New learning.

In 1934, the university sought advice from Hu Shih, the contemporary great modern Chinese scholar.<sup>40</sup> With his recommendation, Professor Cheng Chao-yi was sent to visit the university and made a thorough study of the possibility of future growth of the department. In his report Cheng recommended that all the teachers in the department should be replaced and a modern scholar appointed to head it. On Hu Shih's advice the university appointed Hsu Ti-shan, a full professor at Yenching university, educated in America and England, and still only forty years old. Professor Hsu was a specialist in Buddhism and a student of Sanskrit and Tibetan. He was the author of many important publications and had collected a large and interesting library. In 1936, Ma Kiam, a professor from Yenching university also joined the department. The curriculum of the department of Chinese was further developed in three groups of subjects: Chinese literature, history, and philosophy. A few months before his retirement, the vice-chancellor was quite happy with the growth of the department.

However Clementi considered the department had a lot to do in order to fulfil its true mission. Speaking at the Royal Empire Society in London towards the end of 1935, the former chancellor said;

"...the university of Hong Kong should become during the course of the twentieth century a famous seat of

Chinese learning, to which men throughout the eighteen provinces would look -- as Englishmen look at Oxford and Cambridge -- for authoritative guidance in the study of their language, their religious beliefs, and the whole fabric of their civilisation..."<sup>41</sup>

The number of women students in the university steadily increased. In 1928 there were 38 women students (22 arts and 16 medical), but the number dropped to 31 in 1931 (23 arts and 8 medical). In 1932 there was a record number of eight girls in the first year of arts. In 1933, of a total student body of 364, there were 37 women (10.2% - 23 arts and 14 medical). The Hong Kong University Ladies Club was formed in the autumn of 1934.

At the end of 1935 Hornell decided to retire after thirteen years of untiring devotion and of struggle against what he saw as overwhelming difficulties in achieving the objects set by Lugard. Speaking at his last Congregation in January he confessed that his whole tenure of office had been a period of frustration - but related specifically to the situation in Hong Kong where, he said, "there are so many dominating factors, so many influences vital to the very life of the University, over which one seems to have no control". "I have often", he confessed, "been sorely puzzled and very lonely."<sup>42</sup> The Vice-Chancellor left over 1,300 volumes as a personal gift to the university library. He had made the care of the university grounds his special concern: "it was due entirely to his untiring zeal and affection for the property that the University compound was made good to look upon and to live in".<sup>43</sup>

His successor, D.J. Sloss, spoke at the Congregation

ceremony in January 1938 of Hornell's "zeal for sound university standards and his unfailing goodness of heart". "He fully realized and insisted," he said, "that a university must stand for the spirit of original investigation and research as well as for teaching".<sup>44</sup>

#### V. Sir Duncan Sloss

In October 1935, the new Vice-Chancellor arrived in the colony. Immediately he had to face a university constitution which he found obsolete and distasteful and he disliked the domination of government officials in the University Council. Each time he entered a University Council meeting, he felt frustrated by the opposition of non-professional colleagues. The Governor who was Chancellor was the Chairman of the Council and he was associated with all the senior officials in the Government secretariat: by the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Treasurer, the Director of Education, the Secretary for Chinese Affairs, and the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services. Behind them were ranged the chief manager of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, a General Chamber of Commerce nominee, the three Chinese members of the Legislative Council, and two others appointed by the Governor. Bringing up the rear were the three elected deans of faculties. The Ordinance also conferred upon the Governor-in-Council an absolute power of veto through the University Court.

In fact, the original design of the university constitution owed much to the influence of Lugard, the founder of the University. He once said that one object of making them ex-officio members (i.e. government officials) was "to secure

continuity of policy and to give the University the advice and prevent conflict and friction between the University as an independent concern and the Colonial Government".<sup>45</sup> But this system could no longer work.

With staff morale in his mind, Sloss began to solicit ideas on new forms of university constitution. Of the government officials, felt that only the Colonial Secretary should remain as a member of the Council. The Vice-Chancellor should assume the chairmanship. The powers of the Court should be reduced and those of the Council and Senate be better defined and increased.

The whole position of the university came up for review once again in 1937, when the Report of the University (1937) Committee was published for discussion.<sup>46</sup> In the matter of financing the university, the Committee suggested that the university could no longer be content to live from hand to mouth but should at the earliest possible moment start to build up a surplus figure of at least \$15,000.00 in every annual budget to go to reserve. The Finance Committee was urged to investigate the possibility of erecting a block of flats in the university grounds for the use of the staff. The exact figure would depend on the numbers to be accommodated, but even on the basis of borrowing funds for the building, "we are satisfied that an approximate saving of \$10,000.00 a year as against the current accommodation allowances would be possible. If the Shanghai mortgage portion of the endowment fund could be realised, that would seem to be a profitable method of reinvesting that portion of the endowment fund".<sup>47</sup>

The extent to which the university had achieved the mission of its early founders was doubtful. In the engineering faculty, the Committee believed a lot remained to be done.

The engineering faculty of the university, in the Committee's view tried to meet local needs and particular circumstance of the local environment; the scope of an engineering faculty in British and American Universities, however, went far beyond anything which could be attempted in Hong Kong. In those universities its functions rightly embraced original work, research and an advisory capacity to industry as well as sound teaching in the principles of engineering. In electrical engineering, for example, it was advised that a technical college even of a high order would concentrate upon such points as operation and repair; whereas a university proper would go in more for research and design. The same was equally true of mechanical engineering. It followed that Hong Kong University did not necessarily imitate the organization of universities situated in England.<sup>48</sup>

The engineering faculty was organized with the three departments of civil engineering, mechanical engineering and electrical engineering - each under its own Professor and with its assistant staff. But there was a clear impression that the departments worked disjointedly. As a result a less elaborate and less pretentious organization would amply meet the day to day requirements of the University. The main conclusions in regard to staffing the faculty were that a single Professor would suffice instead of the existing three; that he would naturally be the Tai-koo Professor of Engineering (who need not by Statute necessarily be a Professor of Mechanical Engineering), that he should be ex-officio, Dean of the Faculty; and that he should be assisted by a staff of Lecturers (partly it was hoped to be recruited from the ablest products of the University itself) who in the various departments would be adequate to give instruction on the lines



required.<sup>49</sup>

It was further suggested that the department of civil engineering, would be one inspired by development and growth. The department of civil engineering had to be evaluated differently because there was not much hope, except very indirectly, of obtaining from it those material benefits which would assist Imperial trade.

As a whole the Faculty failed to achieve the founders' new expectation because the graduates who had profited by local practical training were found to be almost entirely non-Chinese; and even Chinese graduates if they went to Europe readily accommodated themselves to the environment of dock and factory. What the university's founders could not be expected to foresee was that the Chinese undergraduate during vacation or the Chinese graduate after finishing his course would not take orders in Hong Kong from an uneducated foreman; and that the foreman would not give orders to the student.<sup>50</sup>

Thus the committee concluded (a) that the engineering faculty should continue but (b) that its pretensions and its cost should be restricted. It was clear that there was still a vast need for engineering knowledge in China and it was important to retain the present framework of the Faculty ready for an expansion that a closer contact with China (and a greater realization by her of the advantages which Hong Kong University could offer) might well bring in its train.<sup>51</sup>

The Committee, on the other hand, valued the standard that the faculty of medicine had achieved. The University provided a stimulus and an atmosphere which could ill be spared.<sup>52</sup> In regard to whether or not the Faculty could reach the original ideals of the founders to give the awakening Chinese the benefits of western science, the Committee

shared the pessimistic view that even more markedly than in the case of engineering, the same diffidence on the part of graduates to take their knowledge into China was apparent. Private practice in the Colony was reaching saturation point and the local registration of Hong Kong graduates (except for the few required by the university itself or by the Government) might well be restricted or withheld.

On the staffing situation, the Committee did not welcome the idea put forward that the clinical Professors and the medical teaching staff of the University should be government servants, i.e. members of the Government Medical Service whose duties would be mainly professorial. The committee pointed out this kind of system worked efficiently in Singapore, with the fact that the Medical College was purely a government institution designed for the production of doctors for service in that territory only. Instead, the committee felt that the atmosphere of, and the attitude of mind engendered by a government service were incompatible with the traditions of a university.<sup>53</sup>

To the Committee, the Arts Faculty seemed, "...to have attached itself like some half-unwanted stepbrother to those two scientific Faculties which, to the founders at least, gave such promise of a sturdy manhood. It was felt no doubt that the materialism of Medicine and Engineering should be offset by a course which should include Ethics and Philosophy and the Humanities generally..." There had probably been a vague idea that some of the arts graduates would in time emerge as political leaders in China. The Committee stated, however, "...that dream, we understand, has almost entirely failed to come true up to the present, and we doubt if Nanking's recent decision to admit Hong Kong graduates to her examinations for

official posts will materially improve matters; and it appears that the Arts degree is now considered to be little more than the crowning of Hong Kong's secondary education for those whose parents can afford it, together with a certain number from Malaya and the Dutch East Indies..."<sup>54</sup>

A closer liaison with the Education Department of the government was desirable. In particular the Chinese School at the University should become less of a watertight compartment than at present. The Committee contemplated the teaching of Chinese in the Colony, and the relation of that teaching to English studies, as a well-through-out and unified system reaching from the elementary school to University graduation.<sup>55</sup> For the curriculum concerned, the Faculty was following a programme not altogether suited for its "clientele", on account of its heavy modelling on the lines of an English University. An atmosphere of unreality was thus induced. Many of the courses could have no real interest or final meaning for Chinese. Similarly the courses given in the Department of Commerce (Accountancy) bore little real relation to the actual practice of commerce in China, where development of joint-stock companies lagged behind and where few business organizations had been developed beyond the size which could be controlled by members of a single family.

The Committee was also conscious of a lack of co-ordination in the Arts Faculty. In regard to the work of department of Education it seemed to be a very expensive method of turning out a few qualified teacher. It was also too much self-contained and too independent of the rest of the faculty; and it was felt that a Professor of Education was wholly unnecessary once the subject-groups were settled. An "efficient Master of Method available for practical training was all that

was required".<sup>56</sup>

Finally the Committee envisaged that "...an Arts Faculty that would specialise in Political Theory more in its historical and evolutionary aspect". Lecturers would be invited from Chinese universities to keep the historical question in view. Every few years there could even perhaps be a course of lectures from someone from England with sufficient amplitude of mind to realize what was expected of him. Above all there should be that complete freedom of thought, and freedom of discussion which is as vital as fresh air where a university is concerned. If such a dream could even partially be realised it was difficult to see what might not be the consequences on Asia and on civilization.<sup>57</sup>

But to the great disappointment of all the staff of the University, the Committee concluded that "the scale of salaries recommended in the Gollan Report of 1929 was needlessly high."

To the whole administrative structure of the University, re-organization was highly desirable because the existing constitution was too "democratic" and too cumbersome for local needs. In order to fulfil his function as the Vice-Chancellor, the latter should be given definite authority to give orders to his staff and such statutory powers as would ensure, without further ado, that those orders were obeyed.

On the other hand the Senate ought to be rigidly confined to academic matters; all other matters should be liable, under Statute, to be out of order.<sup>58</sup>

To facilitate the recruitment of future staff, a University Employment Committee was recommended. It was to set itself to devise means by which students might be helped to secure suitable employment after graduation. The Committee

might be improved by a wider personnel, such for example as representative Chinese officials, leaders in China's educational service, distinguished Hong Kong graduates.<sup>59</sup>

Close relations between the University and the students should be developed; contact with students after graduation needed strengthening. As a whole the conclusion that could be drawn from the report was that a second-level university was good enough for Hong Kong. Financially the existing position was no unsatisfactory; but on the long view there was much room for improvement and reorganisation. Little wonder that the report was read with astonishment and concern by the University Court.

In 1937, Sir Geoffry Northcote, the newly-arrived Chancellor, tried to head the Senate away from the recommendations of the 1937 report on finance and organization, urging the members to confine their attention to the very few sections dealing with the curriculum. But his attempt was in vain. Sloss held a different attitude towards the future growth of the University from that of the Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor wished to place emphasis upon the shifting aim from the past to future. What concerned Sloss most of all was in what direction should the University henceforth face: towards China or towards Hong Kong. Northcote and Sloss however both shared the common belief that the organisation of the university was far too costly and ambitious if it was to serve the needs of Hong Kong alone; but if its purposes were to remain wider ones, then they could be achieved only with the backing of funds from British sources.

No sooner had the 1937 Committee conclusions been published than they were largely invalidated by the turn of events in China. In October 1938 the Japanese overran North China,

Nanking, Hankow and Canton and the Chinese National Government had to withdraw to Chungking. The University's investment of over 3.5 million dollars in Shanghai seemed likely to disappear. At the same time some 500 refugee students and teachers from the Lingnan University gathered in the tiny Colony. In 1938 it was reported that the University was barely solvent. It had no funds for normal development and expansion. Research was carried on in some departments under heart-breaking conditions, in others not at all. The University, in fact, had reached a critical stage.<sup>60</sup>

The changing situation in China once again called for a re-examination of the aims of the University. The chief issue before the university today', declared the Chancellor, Sir Geoffry Northcote, "is whether it shall continue to regard the training of students from China as being its vocation equally with the education of Hong Kong citizens... up to the standard requisite for a small British colony; or alternatively whether the latter only should be its objective in the future"; But he gave his own view that "we should do all in our power to hold to the noble aims of the founders".<sup>61</sup>

In July 1937, the Sino-Japanese War broke out and it brought about the exodus of people and officials in flight before the Japanese advance west and north. Those seeking refuge included the entire membership of universities, taking with them their books and equipment or as much as they could carry and regrouping in the south-western provinces, in Chungking, in Chengtu, in Kunming and elsewhere. They frequently set up study facilities in association with other institutions established in the places of refuge or in the same plight as themselves.

On 21st October, 1938, Canton fell. A wave of refugees

came from Canton to Hong Kong, including most of the teachers and students of Lingnan University. Three in four of all the students enrolled in Lingnan had their homes in Hong Kong. It was suggested that if Lingnan could make arrangements with Hong Kong's own university for space and some facilities, a rapid resumption of courses would be possible. A long and secret negotiation took place between Dr. Sloss, the Vice-Chancellor, and President Lee Ying Lum, Dean Chu-You-Kuang, and Dr. J.M. Henry of Lingnan. It was however impossible to move the whole University from Kwangtung's capital, but it was essential that certain equipment be transferred. By the beginning of 1939, the operation which had been in steady progress for months was completed and Lingnan was wholly accommodated by the University. Time-tables were rearranged so that the University of Hong Kong could vacate most of the classrooms by half-past five in the evenings to give way to Lingnan courses.

In May 1939, yet another committee was set up to review the whole position of the University and to propose the main lines of its future development. This development committee was composed of the Vice-Chancellor who was himself its chairman and other members included N.L. Smith, the undaunted chairman of its predecessor, Sidney Caine, the new Financial Secretary, Han Lih-wu, the secretary of the Board of Trustees administering the Boxer remission, the Bishop, and three professors.

Reporting its conclusion in May 1939, the committee declared that it accepted the wider view of the University's aims, believing that the higher education of the inhabitants of the Colony of Hong Kong would not alone have justified the establishment of the University, which should aim to be

useful not only to the Colony but to the Chinese people, to students from the interior of China as well as to those from Malaya and the East Indies. "We firmly believe that a university in Hong Kong has its place in any sound plan for university education in China generally. This University should fit into a general scheme of Chinese university development."<sup>62</sup>

The Development Committee reported in its conclusions that while the university had provided well for the needs of Hong Kong itself and of some other areas of South Asia, it had failed to meet the real ideals that had inspired its foundation. It had not succeeded in any significant degree in helping the Chinese renaissance. The Committee at the same time pointed out a second reason for the university's failure to meet its ideals. The University has no significant practical contact with other universities on the Mainland and the scholarships which have brought students from China have been few and spasmodic. There was the problem, too, on the difference in the spoken languages between Hong Kong and much of China. There were differences in the costs and standards of living exacerbated by the general wealth manifest among Hong Kong students, and in particular among the large contingent from Singapore and Malaya. The universities established and forming in China were a source of growing competition, most of them equal in stature and several far better; while this gave students less reason for coming to Hong Kong, it gave all the greater cause for Hong Kong teachers to seek more intellectual intercourse with Mainland teachers. The inhibiting effect of the statutes was ascribed to an explicit admission that the university was constitutionally an arm of an alien government and at the same time a damper lying heavily on the zeal of teachers, especially the livelier among them.<sup>63</sup>



At last, the Committee was convinced that at no time would local needs justify a university; that if the University was not to go on trying to serve China, then local needs could be met at less cost and effort in a system of special institutes: medical, technical, and teacher-training.

However the Committee suggested several proposals to which the university could serve the cause of China. An Institute of Public Health with a diploma would be an attraction for the Mainland. A diploma course was thus started. Electrical and mechanical engineering courses were to be temporarily suspended. The new Faculty of Science was to introduce postgraduate studies in the physics of radiation therapy and develop chemical micro-analysis, offer summer courses in marine biology at the new Government Fisheries Institute, and collect specimens for despatch to Chinese universities. The degree in commercial studies was to be suspended and a new emphasis developed in economics based upon the economic problems of China. The comparative literature of England and China was to form an honours group, and education was to form a postgraduate course with special emphasis on the teaching of English to the Chinese. A course leading to a postgraduate diploma in education was offered. The aim of the course was to give professional training for entry generally into secondary-school teaching. The Ministry of Education, then in Chungking, was to be approached to ease co-operation with Chinese universities, the Secretary of State in London to be requested to establish a studentship or fellowship fund for students from China.

Because of circumstances beyond its control, the university had so far largely failed in its original purpose of providing university education on the British model for . . .

students from China. Its students, the committee recorded, came preponderantly from Hong Kong itself and the immediate surroundings; nearly all the Cantonese-speaking Chinese and the non-Chinese students had been educated in Hong Kong's schools. More scholarships should be urgently established for the benefit of students from inland China, and there should be close co-operation and exchange of teachers between Hong Kong and the Chinese universities.<sup>64</sup>

The Committee also raised the question of the university site. A University Site Committee headed by Arthur Morse, the Treasurer, was formed to consider if the institution could be moved to a new location. The Committee came to favour more intensive development of the present estate and for its extension further up the hill in exchange for a strip fronting the Bonham and Pokfulam Roads. This would mean relinquishing the main building, among others. The site occupied by the Eu Tong Sen Gymnasium and tennis courts alone, was big enough, for a building the size of the Queen Mary Hospital, enough to double the existing working area. There would be ample room for what was required, the Committee concluded, "provided the buildings are erected to a considered plan and to an economical height", conditions which have hardly been met in the forty years following and were only from 1978 matters of accepted policy".<sup>65</sup>

By the end of 1939, as a result of the steady worsening of the international situation in the Far East, the University lost approximately HK\$1.5 million on the value of its investment in Shanghai. In 1940, Arthur Morse, the Treasurer, claimed in the University Court in March of that year, that the University was nearly coming to the verge of closing down. At the beginning of December 1941 there were approximately

600 students on the university's roll, including about 120 women. An additional 500 students from Lingnan University, Canton, were using the classrooms and laboratories in the evenings. A new Science building had recently been opened. The Faculty of Medicine was to include a course of applied physiology at the beginning of clinical studies. In September 1941 a course in physiological medicine was introduced into the curriculum and all junior medical ward clerks were attached to the professor of physiology for their first medical appointment at the hospital for this training.

In 1939, a new Faculty of Science had been formed, composed of the Departments of Physics, Chemistry and Biology, which were reorganised in the new Northcote Science Building opened in September 1941. The newly-created Science Faculty board held its first meeting on 4th July, 1939. The immediate tasks facing the new Faculty were the development of the biological sciences, and the planning of a science building to accommodate biology, chemistry, and physics. It was agreed that separate second-year courses in botany and zoology should be available from September 1941, and that these should ultimately be developed into full degree subjects.

However in regard to the Faculty of Arts, the 1939 Committee noted the Faculty had grown only by the addition of a school of Chinese studies. Its commercial studies had not met with support and should be discontinued, although extension was necessary in other directions. There should be additional posts in English literature, philosophy, history, and geography.

In 1941, Professor Hsu died prematurely, but during his short term of six years he had left an indelible mark upon the Department of Chinese, for which his early death was an

irreparable loss. The next year came the war in the Pacific, for the duration of which the University was closed. The books in both the General Library and the Fung Ping Shan Library were preserved, however, largely owing to the efforts of Mr. Chan Kwan Po, O.B.E. (Chen Chun-pao 陳君葆), assistant lecturer in the department and keeper of the Fung Ping Shan Library. There were twenty graduates from the Department of Chinese before the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong.

To meet the situation of increasing in-take of woman students, the post of Adviser to Woman Students was created in 1939. In the same year, when there were 112 women students, the Chancellor Sir Geoffry Northcote announced that the University had accepted a generous offer from the Reverend Mother Superior of St. Paul's Convent to provide additional residential accommodation which would ultimately house forty women. But, he added, even with the new hostel the available accommodation for women will take sixty only. The new hall, at 8 Po Shan Road, was officially opened on 30th August, 1939 by Sir Geoffry Northcote as Our Lady's Hall. It was never able to admit more than sixteen students, most of whom were medicals; and it functioned only until the outbreak of the Pacific war in December 1941, when the Sisters closed it,

#### VI. The Japanese occupation and the retardation of educational growth

During World War I, Japan presented its 'Twenty-one demands' to China. Then, in 1931, Japan occupied Manchuria and the attempt to detach China's northern provinces led to open war in 1937. Canton fell to the Japanese in 1938,

resulting in a mass flight of refugees to Hong Kong. It was estimated that some 100,000 refugees entered in 1937, 500,000 in 1938 and 150,000 in 1939 - bringing the population at the outbreak of World War II to an estimated 1.6 million. It was thought that at the height of the influx about half a million people were sleeping in the streets.

Japan entered World War II when, on 7th December, 1941, its aircraft bombed United States warships at Pearl Harbour and at approximately the same time Japanese armed forces attacked Hong Kong (8th December, 1941, local time). The Japanese invaded Hong Kong from across the mainland border and, subsequently, the British were forced to withdraw from the New Territories and Kowloon on to Hong Kong Island. After a week of stubborn resistance on the island, the defenders - including the local Volunteer Corps - were overwhelmed and Hong Kong surrendered on Christmas Day. The Japanese occupation lasted for three years and eight months.<sup>66</sup> Trade virtually disappeared, currency lost its value, the supply of food was disrupted and government services and public utilities were seriously impaired. Many residents moved to government services and public utilities were seriously impaired. Many residents moved to Macau - the Portuguese colony opening its doors to them.

During the occupation period, the Japanese reduced Hong Kong's population from 1,600,000 mainly by driving them back into Kwangtung, and often by harsh methods, mainly for reasons of defence and to save the import of food and calls on shipping. It was estimated that some 10,000 were executed.<sup>67</sup> A Chinese Representative Council of three members, later increased to six, and a Chinese Co-operative Council of twenty-

two, later increased to twenty-six, represented Chinese views and interests. Some eighteen District Bureaux spread over the whole Colony kept the Japanese in touch with local opinion.

In 1940, before the fall of the colony, the education system continued to work as usual, but with a few distraction relating to the work of war preparation. However, a number of officials from the Education Department had to relinquish their normal full-time duties to take up part-time war work in addition to their ordinary obligations. In spite of this, the Education Department and the schools managed to carry on. The educational development was not severely retarded. A new Teachers' Training College opened according to plan in September 1939 in temporary premises, and its new buildings were under construction. New regulations regarding the hygiene and sanitation of schools were brought into force on 1st January, 1940. New codes, proposing more financial assistance from Government to English and Chinese schools, were also approved by the Hong Kong Government. Nevertheless, many teachers, who were volunteers, were trained for A.R.P. work and for the St. John Ambulance Brigade. Boy Scouts were organised for emergency work. In the same year, the Trade School also carried out special courses in connexion with war work.<sup>68</sup>

During the Japanese occupation (1941-1945), however much damage was done not only to education in general but also to the university. During the few days immediately following the surrender of Hong Kong, the Japanese removed from the science and medical departments and from the laboratories everything in the way of microscopes, equipment, and textbooks; they ransacked records and files, both official and private. Research and case records, catalogues and specimen collections,

laboriously compiled over the years, were destroyed in a few hours. The systematic looting thus begun by the Japanese was continued later by the starving Chinese. The few buildings that were actually used by the Japanese during the occupation were saved thereby from physical damage, but their contents were lost just as inevitably as they would have been had they been left to looters. The Northcote Science building, the engineering buildings, the surgery, anatomy, physiology, and pathology buildings, the Eu Tong Sen Gymnasium, the registrar's offices, the economics building, the Great Hall and the Students' Union all became roofless skeletons, stripped of equipment, furnishings and fittings, floors and stairs.

The Japanese invasion of Hong Kong spilt the University into four directions: to the prisoner-of-war camp at Shamshuipo, where its activities perished when three of the eight British teachers escaped shortly after being taken prisoner; to the University estate at Pokfulam, where its vital spark was kept alive in the library and in successful efforts to preserve its fabric and books; to the vastness of unoccupied of 'free' China; and to internment camp on the Stanley peninsula.

In order to be in line with the Japanese concept of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"<sup>69</sup> the Japanese military Government began to lay hands on the Hong Kong education system and the university in particular. In the House of Representative at Tokyo, a discussion was initiated concerning the re-organization of the university and its possible re-opening. The Japanese Government admired the academic standards that the university had striven hard to achieve, but they proposed to substitute Japanese and Chinese culture for decadent Western arts in a newly-opened institution, deploring

the occidental influence which had subtly made the students feel inferior and enabled them to forget that they were heirs to an older, more refined culture. The Japanese military Government in Hong Kong started to engage in making the university and the Fung Ping Shan Libraries immeasurably better than before so that the arts and sciences 'might always be kept alive in the minds of old and young'. In these libraries, therefore, 100,000 Chinese and 120,000 English books were accessioned and catalogued anew and still more were prepared with the object of organizing a public library service.

After the cease fire, the Vice-Chancellor contrived to persuade the Japanese to declare the university estate a temporary internment area for those foreign members of his staff who were not in the armed forces, and this arrangement lasted until the end of January 1942, when they were moved to Stanley to join the rest of the enemy aliens. It gave them a short but useful breathing space and time to make and carry out decisions which eased the lives of all the students in their final year and of many others.

On 31st December, 1941, an emergency Senate meeting was held in the old Vice-Chancellor's Lodge at which it was decided to confer war-time degrees in medicine on those whose final examinations were actually interrupted on the morning of 8th December by the Japanese attack. Fourteen names were recommended for degrees; and on the following day, New Year's Day 1942, a special Congregation was held in May Hall when the fourteen degrees were conferred.

On 31st January the internment in the university compound of those members of the staff considered to be enemy aliens ceased. They were all transferred by the Japanese to the Stanley Camp. Many university students, however, managed to



take refugee from Hong Kong and fled to mainland China. The Vice-Chancellor and some fifteen other British members of the staff, including his private secretary, eight professors and four other teachers, the Librarian, and the Registrar, were transferred into Stanley internment Camp, a group in number and range large enough to permit University life to continue there in some form, however restricted. Two medical professors were left in the Relief Hospital and they were Professor R.C. Robertson and Professor Gordon King. The Relief Hospital was closed in April and most of the few students who had remained left for China. Gordon King escaped before he could be interned. Shortly before this, Professor Lindsay Ride had escaped from the prisoner-of-war camp at Shamshuipo.

When the Stanley Camp was started in January 1942, there were about 200 children of school age that required some form of education. Although the Japanese did not make any sort of provision for education, they did not prevent a school being opened. English children in camp were in a minority. The majority of the children were of mixed descent. A meeting of teachers resident in Stanley was called early in February, and plans were formulated. Very quickly a census of all the children was taken and a scheme presented to the camp committee. The classes were conducted in St. Stephen's College, where there had been desks and seats for 300 pupils, blackboards, and scientific apparatus, in fact all the equipment necessary for school work. All this furniture had now been taken away. The classes and the teacher had to sit on the floor. In due course some desks and chairs did return and were sufficient for the teaching purposes, but it was not easy to hold on to them. There was always a demand for firewood and like the old desks, these had a tendency to disappear

in smoke. With equipment also, the needs of the camp in the way of kitchen utensils, saws files, spades, etc., took precedence over school materials.

In spite of many grave obstacles, particularly the shortage of accommodation and paper, and the need to adapt time-tables to the many camp requirements, the school work worked on and good progress was made. The quality of teaching was high, since there were a number of university teachers and specialists from Hong Kong secondary schools and kindergarten experts available, together with several head mistresses and head masters. Matriculation examinations were held in 1943 and 1944, and the third was to have taken place at the end of 1945, when then atomic bomb exploded in Japan.<sup>70</sup>

During the month of January, the Senate held meeting to grant war-time degrees to 15 medical students who had served during the hostilities as medical officers, together with 25 engineering and 38 Arts students, all of whom, with one exception were due to take their finals in June 1942. Three of these degrees, one in medicine and two in engineering, were posthumous. In the Stanley camp, the management continued. The Council and the Court each met once during internment in the Stanley Camp.

The Council met on 23rd January, 1943 to welcome the Colonial Secretary, Mr. F. Gimson, as a new member. He had arrived in the colony to take up his post only a few days before the Japanese attack. The Council took note of the known casualties amongst the staff and student numbers of the university, expressing sympathy with the relatives of those who had been killed; they also recorded notes on the damage sustained by the university buildings. The Senate held eight meetings in the internment camp. In January 1943 it discussed

the need for a dental school in Hong Kong, and set up a sub-committee to advise on plans for the reconstruction of the university after the war. It was also decided at this meeting to hold matriculation examinations in the camp, and these examinations commenced on 5th May, 1943.

Though the life was hard in the camp, the academic activities were not negligible. There were no undergraduates. Teaching took the form of extension classes. Examining was restricted to matriculation, and the Registrar occupied some of his time in organising examiners, papers, invigilators, and all the other paraphernalia of examinations.

In the period of internment, the need for schooling was immediately recognised, and Professor L. Forster of the university's department of education and Miss Gibbons of the Diocesan Girl's school soon started the Stanley Internment Camp school to cater for the young people at all stages of education up to matriculation level. But there was another and even bigger demand for education in the camp, one which came from adults. Although most internees volunteered for camp tasks of one kind or another, many found that for the first time since their youth they had time to study, and this opportunity they eagerly seized. They were fortunate to have the services of almost the whole of the senior academic staff of the University for a variety of lecture courses. Eight European and four Asiatic languages were taught, as well as Chinese, and although there were no laboratories courses were provided in physics, mathematics, industrial chemistry, botany, geology, and geography. Courses in history, economics, mathematics, engineering, philosophy and psychology were very well attended throughout the whole period.

The sub-committee on re-construction met frequently and

regularly to plan out a future blueprint for the university. The development plan was finally draw up in 1944 and it showed some differences from that propounded in the 1939 Development Committee report. At its November 1944 meeting held in the camp, the Senate approved recommendations of the sub-committee for the post war reconstruction of the university and decided that these should be sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies as soon as possible, since it was essential, they felt, that the post-war University should be sponsored by the Imperial Government. They also recommended that the opportunity should be taken to rebuild the university on a new site, either between the Dairy Farm and Aberdeen or over on the Kowloon side in the Clear Water area. They estimated that a new building programme would take three to five years to complete, during which period the university would content itself with teaching the few senior medical students who would be awaiting its re-opening. Only when the new buildings were ready should the university as a whole open its doors. It should not start in a small way but as the fully developed institution it had been in December 1941. The Senate also expressed anxiety concerning the uncertainty of the university's financial position. The development plan held the assumption that there would be an almost complete break with the past; though the break envisaged was largely seen as a physical break. There were to be new buildings on a new and much bigger site, despite the decisions accepted in 1939. Provision would be needed for 2,000 students within twenty years, allowing the first five for building and moving on to the new site. An institution of this size would also need a different sort of staff. The university might need to go into voluntary liquidation in order to pay off teachers who

survived the war. The university's role in China's future was not part of the underlying assumption. The basic degree course would be restructured and should be reduced from four years to three, which would hasten and enlarge the intake of students and output of graduates. There were to be degrees in dentistry, in architecture, in marine engineering, and in pharmacy. These, and postgraduate diplomas in education, social work and public health were to be the magnets to draw students from the Mainland, the new bait to be dangled before the Chinese government when considering employing the graduates. There were to be courses in music and fine arts too.

The interned Senate also seized on the recommendation of the 1939 committee that the university should be declared an imperial commitment. It would be a preliminary necessary to the reconstruction of the university after the war, that the British government should state quite categorically that the university would serve as a medium for the interpretation of British scholarship in China and as a mean of strengthening the bonds of friendship between the two countries. But at the same time in order to fulfil its mission, the university had to, in great measure, be dependent on the support of the Hong Kong government.

The Faculty of medicine met once during the occupation at the Old Lodge (on 24th January, 1942) and five times in the camp; and at these meetings a completely new faculty organisation was recommended, including the addition of a dental school and new departments of pharmacy and biochemistry. No clinical teaching could of course be undertaken in the camp, but Professor K.H. Digby conducted a surgical clinic for fellow-interns throughout the whole of the internment.

The Engineering faculty board held only two meetings

during this period. At the first, in January 1943, the Vice-chancellor gave his opinion that after the war the University would need to cater for 2,000 students, of whom 500 would be in the Faculty Engineering. He envisaged a department of naval architecture (shipbuilding engineering), in addition to the existing ones of civil, mechanical and electrical engineering. If the university were to remain at Pokfulam, it was suggested that the Ho Tung Workshop and Peel Laboratory should be replaced by science buildings, and that when the departments of anatomy and physiology moved, the vacated site should be made available for a four-storied engineering building. Other questions discussed were the possibility of reducing the length of the course from four to three years, and of establishing courses in architecture.

The Japanese occupation, however, had been disastrous for the faculty. After the liberation of the colony in August 1945, a survey of University premises revealed a sorry state of affairs. Of the engineering buildings, the annexe and the hydraulics building were completely demolished. The electrical and material laboratories in the basement of the main building had been looted and virtually destroyed; and of the teaching and workshop equipment installed in the Peel Engineering Laboratory and the Ho Tung Workshop, not a single item remained.

The new young faculty of Science shared the same fate. Two meetings of the Science faculty board were held in Stanley Camp in February 1943. They discussed the rehabilitation and future progress of the faculty; it was agreed that as soon as practicable biology should be separated into two subjects, botany and zoology. The need for the introduction of geology was emphasised. Postwar departments were planned to include -- three professors of chemistry (inorganic and physical, organic

and analytical), three more in biology (biology, botany, and zoology), two in physics.

For the Faculty of Arts, there should be more courses opened and a more solid curriculum should be introduced after the war. Professor L. Forster, who had been dean of the Faculty from 1939 to the fall of the colony in 1941, claimed that insufficient provision had been made in the past for the study of the humanities; and urged that in a reconstructed university the Arts Faculty should be strengthened, with generous provision for the study of psychology, philosophy, ethics, logics, political science, history, English, economics, music and fine arts. During the Stanley internment period, Hong Kong University degree courses were taken by four students in history, geography, French, Latin and English.

A report in Overseas Education gave a good summary picture of the high education during the Japanese occupation.

"...An interesting development in higher education was brought about through the absence of all forms of lighting. Electricity had failed owing to absence of fuel; then, as the blackout never satisfied the Japanese, they disallowed all lights -- though even so peanut oil had become so valuable as a food that no one could afford to use it as a fuel for lighting. Those in charge of large rooms were therefore encouraged to appoint a secretary and to arrange for lecturers or talks from those who had had exceptional experiences. The result was that we were able to listen to thrilling descriptions and personal accounts of such matters as the Gallipoli Campaign, the Harwich submarine patrol of the last war, and the evacuation from

Dunkirk and Atlantic convoys in this war. There was no dearth of speakers. Not all the talks, of course, were quite so exciting as these, but none the less the others, many of which dealt with the Far East in its manifold aspects, were always interesting and authoritative, for they were based on first-hand knowledge. And the surprising feature of these talks in the darkness, by ex-petty officers, ex-corporals, ex-sergent-majors, and so on, was the ease and fluency with which the accounts were given. They seemed, as they were talking, to be visualising vividly and living again through the whole experience...".<sup>71</sup>

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## Chapter Three:

Footnotes

1. Bernard Mellor, The University of Hong Kong: An Informal History (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1980), Vol.One, p.48.
2. At the beginning, most of the staffs were the part-time lecturers who were engaged with the Hong Kong College of Medicine in the former days.
3. Mellor, op. cit., p.52.
4. In early June 1912, Miss Carden, Principal of St. Stephen's Girl College enquired from the university if it would admit girls. The matter was considered at a discussion meeting, and finally the university resolved to turn down the request. In 1917, the Diocesan Girl's School again requested the university to consider admitting one of its pupils if only as an external student, but this was refused. In December 1918 two sisters from the same school succeeded in passing the senior local examination with all matriculation requirements, but their applications were turned down too.
5. Sir Robert Ho Tung was born in 1862, and was the son of a Belgian merchant named Bosman who later formed a London-based trading company with James Whitthall, a former partner in Jardine's. Ho Tung was appointed to the position of Jardine's compradore in 1880 at the age of eighteen. Ho Tung made a considerable fortune with Jardines before he retired in 1900 on grounds of ill-health. He was a well-known philanthropist, was knighted in 1915 and came to be regarded as Hong Kong's 'Grand Old Man'. For Sir Robert Ho Tung's early life, see Irene Cheng's (Ho Tung's daughter) Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her family and Her Times (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1976), it gives good details about Ho's family and the early career of her father; see also Colin N. Crisswell, The Taipans: Hong Kong's Merchant Princes (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1981).
6. Mellor, op. cit., p.60.
7. Brian Harrison, ed., University of Hong Kong: The first 50 years 1911-1961 (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1962), Chapter Eleven: 'The faculty of Arts' by Brian Harrison, p.127.
8. Mellor, op. cit., p.60.
9. Ibid., p.61.
10. Mellor, op. cit., p.60.
11. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Four: 'Sir Charles Eliot' by Edmund Blunden, p.41.
12. Mellor, op. cit., p.162 (From Union Magazine November 1931).

13. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Five: 'The Years of Growth' by Brian Harrison, p.48.  
The full report of the Commission was never published, but a statement in the Government Gazette reads as follows:-  
"The Commission, among its recommendations, strongly advises that the University should be carried on under conditions which make for efficiency and success: that if it is to reach and keep a position worthy of the Colony and the British Empire, and if it is to take its proper part in the developments now in progress in China, it must maintain a standard fully as high as, or higher than, in the past, and must expand soon and widely. The Commission recommends that the Government should assume financial responsibility to an extent sufficient to carry on the work of the University efficiently, and proposes that the Government should contribute not less than one million dollars to the endowment fund as well as largely increasing its present yearly grant." Cited in H.G. Earle, 'An Imperial policy in Education: with Special Reference to the University of Hong Kong', in Alex Hill, ed., Third Congress of the Universities of the Empire, 1926: Report of Proceedings (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1926), p.119.
14. Ibid.,
15. Ibid., p.50.
16. Ibid.,
17. Mellor, op. cit., p.64.
18. Ibid., p.66.
19. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Eleven: 'The Faculty of Arts' by Brian Harrison, p.128.
20. It was at this time that the Director of Education, Mr. E.A. Irving had a daughter taking a social certificate course at Bedford College, London, and who wanted to complete her education at the University of Hong Kong. Miss Rachel Irving's application for admission was first referred to the Attorney-General, who pointed out that in accordance with the Statutes, 'any person who has passed the prescribed examination and is over 16 years of age may, on payment of the prescribed fee, be admitted to the university'. The matter was considered by the Senate, and on 23rd June, 1921 it resolved to grant to Miss Irving exemption from the Matriculation Examination on her Cambridge University Higher Local certificate, to accept her Social Science certificate as equivalent to the Intermediate Examination Part II, and to exempt her from residence. The Council confirmed the action of the Senate in admitting women students to the university.
21. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Fourteen: 'Women students and Graduates' by Irene Cheng, p.149.
22. According to an early statute of the university, undergraduates should reside either in the university building or in approved Halls or hostels.

23. Harrison op. cit., p.153.
24. A direct translation from the Chinese Chronologies of Sun Yat Sen's Life, edited by Academy of Social Sciences of Kwangtung Province and History Department of National Sun Yat Sen University (Peking: Chung Wah Book Press, 1980), p.310. ( 孫中山年譜:中華書局出版 )
25. The Rockefeller Foundation was America's largest charitable foundation. It was established under trusts and set up by Mr. John D. Rockefeller in 1913 with the broad object of furthering the well-being of mankind in all parts of the world. The greater part of the funds had been disturbed in support of the advancement of knowledge at universities, research institutes and other qualified agencies, for endowment, buildings, equipment, research, fellowships, travel and advice.
26. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Ten: 'The Faculty of Engineering and Architecture' by Sean Mackey, p.117.
27. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Eleven: 'The Faculty of Arts' by Brian Harrison, p.128.
28. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Five: 'The Years of Growth' by Brian Harrison, p.52.
29. Mellor, op. cit., p.69.
30. Sir Cecil Clementi was the first governor of Hong Kong coming from the Cadet training scheme in Hong Kong. Sir Cecil was fluent in Chinese. In 1899 he came to Hong Kong as Cadet officer; then posted to British Guiana as Colonial Secretary (1913-1922); then to Ceylon as Colonial Secretary (1922-1925). In 1925 he came back to Hong Kong as the governor. He was knighted in 1926. From 1930-1934 he served as Governor of Straits Settlements and High Commissioner Malaya.
31. Mellor, op. cit., p.79.
32. Sir Shiu Kin Tang was born in Hong Kong and was educated at both Queen's and St. Stephen's College. In 1933 he founded the Kowloon Motor Bus Company, of which he has been Chairman and Managing Director ever since. At the age of 23, he was appointed the Director of the Tung Wah Hospital, and in 1928, he was elected Chairman. In 1927, he was a director of Po Leung Kuk and in 1932 he was appointed as Chairman. He has served as a member of the District Watch Force Committee from 1928 to 1941, and as a member of the Urban Council for four years. He has also served as a Magistrate, and in 1929 was appointed an Unofficial Justice of the Peace. In 1934 he was awarded MBE, OBE (1947), and CBE (1957).
33. Mellor, op. cit., p.24.
34. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Eleven: 'The Faculty of Arts' by Brian Harrison, p.129.
35. Hsianglin Lo, Hong Kong and Western Cultures (Honolulu: East West Centre Press, 1963), p. 243.

36. At the same time Ou Ta-tien was appointed as full-time lecturer and Lin Tung as an assistant lecturer teaching translation. Wen Su and Chu Ju-chen, two Han-lin scholars and Lo Chi-tang and Tsui Po-yueh were successively appointed part-time lecturers when Lin Tung died in 1934, Chan Kwan Po was appointed to fill the vacant assistant lectureship.
37. Lo, op. cit., p.248-249.
38. South China Morning Post, 13th January, 1927, Hong Kong.
39. Sir Chouson Chow (1861-1959) was born in Hong Kong. He held various posts in Railways and Customs services in China during the early period of the Republic. He was assigned to Korean Customs service from 1882 to 1894, and Chinese Consular Service in Korea from 1894 to 1896. In 1910, he was appointed as Counsellor in the Foreign Ministry in Peking 1910. He was appointed as Unofficial member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council from 1921 to 1931; and of the Executive Council from 1926 to 1936.
40. Hu Shih (1891-1962), a scion of the famous early ching scholar Hu Wei (1633-1714), received a classical education in his youth. After graduating from the Chinese Public Institute in 1909, he won a government scholarship to study in the United States, earning the B.A. (1915), and PhD (1917) in philosophy from Cornell and Columbia universities, respectively. Influenced by John Dewey and Thomas Huxley, he firmly believed in pragmatism, scientific methods of thought, and the evolutionary improvement of society. His seven-year sojourn in the United States thoroughly exposed him to American literary and social movements; new humanism, new nationalism, new history, new art, new poetry, and new women. Influenced by Harrison Monroe's Poetry: A Magazine of Verse, which promoted verse-writing in plain language, Hu's own idea of substituting the vernacular language for the classical in literary writing assumed greater importance in his mind. For details consult: Jerome B. Grieder, Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance: Liberalism in the Chinese Revolution, 1917-1937 (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969).
41. Lo, op. cit., p.262.
42. Mellor, op. cit., p.88.
43. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Five: 'The Years of Growth' by Brian Harrison, p.54.
44. Ibid.,
45. Mellor, op. cit., p.90.
46. The terms of reference for the 1937 Committee were:-
1. to investigate the present, and probable future, financial position of the Hong Kong University and to advise whether any changes are desirable in its staffing, personnel, salary scales or organisation,
  2. to inquire and advise whether any such, or other, changes are desirable in the interest of its utility or prestige,

3. to tender any other advice or suggestions for the future of the university.  
Hong Kong: Report of the University (1937) Committee  
(Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer).
47. Hong Kong: Report of the University (1937) Committee  
(Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer).
48. Ibid.,
49. Ibid.,
50. Ibid.,
51. Ibid.,
52. Ibid.,
53. Ibid.,
54. Ibid.,
55. Ibid.,
56. Ibid.,
57. Ibid.,
58. Ibid.,
59. Ibid.,
60. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Five: 'The Years of Growth' by Brian Harrison, p.55.
61. Ibid.,
62. Ibid., p.62.
63. Mellor, op. cit., p.92.
64. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Five: 'The Years of Growth' by Brian Harrison, p.55.
65. Mellor, op. cit., p.95.
66. For more details in the Japanese occupation, the following books provide a very good and informative description of this period:  
Oliver Lindsay, The Lasting Honour: The fall of Hong Kong, 1941 (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978); G.B. Endacott, and edited with additional material by Alan Birch, Hong Kong Eclipse (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1978).
67. Harold Ingram, Hong Kong (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1952), p.242.
68. 'The War and Hong Kong Education' in Oversea Education, Vol.XII, No.1, October 1940, p.20.
69. This was a diplomatic policy adopted by the Japanese after June 1940 to conclude the treaty of friendship between

Thailand and most of the southeast Asia nations in rebuilding the new order in Asia.

70. Lancelot Forster, 'The University of Hong Kong', Overseas Quarterly, Vol.II, No.17, September 1961, p.252.
71. H.R. Cheeseman, 'Educational work in the Singapore and Hong Kong Internment Camps', Oversea Education, Vol.XVII-XVIII, 1945/47, p.248.

## Chapter Four: Post-War Reconstruction

### I. Expansion of Education

Education had to be reconstructed after the Pacific War because many schools had been destroyed. The ravages of War and the occupation by the Japanese considerably damaged school buildings in the colony. Among government schools alone, the three largest, King's and Queen's Colleges and Belilios Girls School as well as two others were completely destroyed.<sup>1</sup> There was also a heavy loss of school books, equipment and furniture, much of which was used as firewood. The Chinese children who remained in the colony during the occupation found it as difficult to continue their education as to obtain sufficient food. A Japanese report had boasted there were 7,000 children in school in 1944, and by August 1945, the number had shrunk to 4,000. In such schools as remained open the teaching of English was forbidden. In fact, the great majority of children received little education during the four years of the War and very few indeed had any teaching in English. The largest number of pupils receiving education at any time during the Japanese occupation was less than one-tenth of the 1941 total of 120,000.<sup>2</sup> A far-reaching effect of all this was a serious increase in juvenile delinquency, observed during the months immediately following the liberation of the colony. The gravity of this increase lent urgency to the efforts of the government to repair the colony's educational structure. Demand for schooling exceeded supply. Confident in the ability to retain pre-war knowledge was

shown by a large number of candidates who immediately came forward for the London matriculation examinations and the local school-leaving certificate. 63 candidates sat for matriculation in January 1946 and 197 for leaving certificate. However only 16 students gained matriculation and 9, in addition, passed Part A. In the leaving certificate only 49% passed as against a normal 75%.<sup>3</sup>

The end of the Second World War brought a new spirit to Hong Kong with a new concern about social welfare and education. As in the social welfare field, educational development was achieved by a partnership between government and aided and subsidized schools under voluntary agencies. Ideas which had been developing actively for several decades, ideas about equality, about education for all, about medical attention for all, began to be taken seriously. But the problems were very great, and exacerbated by the civil war in China when more and more people flocked into Hong Kong. By October 1949, the Communists had attained sufficient success in the civil war against the Kuomintang Government to establish the Chinese People's Republic. The advance of the Chinese Communist armies to the borders of the New Territories led to a feeling of unease in Hong Kong.

It was estimated that in 1945, immediately after the Japanese occupation, Hong Kong's population was less than 600,000. By 1958, the number had increased by over 2,000,000. During this same period the enrolment in all schools in the colony increased from about 4,000 to more than 400,000. With the liberation of the colony, the first task for the government was to rehabilitate school buildings that were destroyed during the war, to adapt other buildings for educational purposes; to replace equipment, including textbooks, as quickly



as possible; and to make good by an emergency training scheme the loss of teachers which had occurred. All this had to be done quickly to cope with the rapidly increasing population. By 1946 the population had more than doubled and school enrolment had risen to over 87,000. By the end of 1948 the population had reached 1,800,000 and school enrolment was almost back to the pre-war total of 118,000. The bulk of this enrolment was accommodated in private schools most of which were in adapted premises not built for school purposes. In order to meet this unexpected population increase, the government had to adopt an expedient policy of allowing schools to operate on a three sessions base (i.e. morning, afternoon and evening sessions).

In 1950, a ten-year school building programme was adopted with the intention of providing accommodation for all children of primary school age, with a sufficient number of secondary schools for those who might be expected to continue beyond the primary stage. Before the ten-year plan could get fully under-way, however, it was severely affected by events outside the colony. The stream of immigrants in the years following the war was boosted by refugees and reached flood proportions during 1949 and 1950. The flood of refugees not only inflated the school population beyond expectations, but also necessitated heavy public expenditure on social and security measures. The difficulties created by this unnatural inflation of the population were intensified by a high and increasing birth rate. By 1953, the population had exceeded 2,200,000. In 1954, the government became gravely concerned about the rapidly increasing number of children. The pressing problem of providing sufficient primary school places was given first priority in educational development and in 1954 the ten-year

plan gave way to a shorter but much more ambitious seven-year plan for expansion of primary education.

A rough comparison of the rate of development under the ten-year plan with that under the seven-year plan could be made from the following table of enrolments in all types of schools at 31st March, 1950, 1954 and 1958 :-

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1958</u>
Government - Maintained	10,000	18,000	43,000
Government - Aided	42,000	62,000	109,000
Private	98,000	156,000	219,000
-----			
TOTAL :	<u>150,000</u>	<u>236,000</u>	<u>371,000</u>

Adapted premises had made a big contribution to the total available accommodation, but newly built schools were rapidly absorbing an increasing proportion of Hong Kong's pupils. School buildings of all types completed during the four year periods ending 31st March, 1954 and 1958 are shown in the following table :-

	1950 - 54	1954 - 58
Government - Maintained	12	15
Government - Aided	46	81
Private	23	46
-----		
TOTAL :	<u>81</u>	<u>142</u>

In 1953 a special committee was also set up to recommend students wishing to go to Britain for higher study. The Director of Colonial Scholars in London arranged students' placing, and a liaison officer was responsible for their general welfare.

The provision of educational opportunities for all would be fully realised in 1961, if the seven-year programme of primary school expansion went according to plan. The seven-year primary school expansion plan was aimed at ensuring that, by the end of 1961, the number of primary school places in all day and night schools in the colony would be equal to the number of children known to be of normal primary school age at that time. It was based on the premises that primary schooling would begin at the age of six years (European reckoning); would be of six years' duration, and would be available to all children of the appropriate age. However, education was not free, owing to lack of funds, school buildings and teaching staff.

The Hong Kong Government's seven-year plan to provide places for all children of primary school age was progressing satisfactorily in 1957. The target figure was 33,000 new places a year; during 1957, over 17,000 in new aided schools. Primary school enrolment increased by 24,000 to total of just under 240,000. However, at the half-way point in the seven-year plan (31st March, 1958), the increase in enrolment achieved was nearly 100,000 which was rather less than half the target figure. That the programme was slightly behind the schedule was attributable in part to difficulties in finding suitable building land, particularly in the earlier stages when sites required for schools were often occupied by squatters. It was due to the fact that 80% of the population was concentrated in the very few square miles of relatively flat land bordering the harbour.

On the other hand, the government was aware of the need for a balanced provision of secondary, technical and higher education and of the need for more teachers. In secondary

education and higher education, the government's part had been mainly directed to assisting private enterprise by the free grant of sites, financial grants and interest-free loans. Five government-aided, five private secondary schools and two new post-secondary colleges had been completed in 1935 to 1958. In regard to technical education, the new Technical College was opened in 1957. Apart from the university, teacher training was the responsibility of the government. The Grantham Training College was built in 1952 and it was designed to accommodate 100 students. In 1956, it was planned to extend to 300 students. Northcote Training College was reprovioned in new premises with accommodation for 400 teachers in training and with residential accommodation for 200. The University of Hong Kong also started a course for the Diploma of Education in 1952. The total enrolment for full-time teacher training courses in 1959-1960 was 732 while enrolment for in-service training courses for unqualified teachers was 1,260.

The enrolments at the end of 1958 in all primary and secondary schools and in government adult and post-secondary institution, but excluding pre-primary classes and private post-secondary college, are shown as below :-

Primary Schools

Government	37,000
Grant - Aided	6,000
Subsidized	107,000
Private	158,000
-----	
TOTAL :	308,000
	=====

Secondary Schools

Government	6,000
Grant - Aided	13,000
Subsidized	3,000
Private	39,000
-----	
TOTAL :	61,000
	=====

Adult and Post-Secondary

Teacher - Training Colleges (including in-service courses)	1,200
Technical College (including all part-time classes)	6,300
Evening School of Higher Chinese Studies	150
Evening Institute and Adult Education	7,600
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TOTAL :	15,250
	=====
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GRAND TOTAL :	384,250
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In 1961, the total number of children in schools inspected by the Education Department exceeded 600,000.<sup>4</sup> A further development of the education system was the opening of the European schools to all races. The children admitted were to be sufficiently fluent in English and also to benefit from the instruction. The standard of English was considerably

higher than in most Anglo-Chinese schools. There was, however, no distinction of race.

Events in China, in addition to bringing more people into Hong Kong created a demand for more schools and led to certain colleges moving from the mainland to the colony. Thus a number of post-secondary colleges was set up, and they provided post-secondary education in the Chinese language. These refugee institutions were practically the sole outlet for students who had fled from China and for local students who would have moved into Chinese universities had conditions been different. The influx of population not only strengthened the bi-polar character of the system at the secondary level but also imposed the same pattern at tertiary level, under the pressure of political change in China.

The heavy educational task was shared by the government, by organizations sponsoring aided schools and by entrepreneurs who established private schools. Enrolment in government secondary schools had increased from 3,147 to 19,062 between 1951 and 1976<sup>5</sup> while enrolment in the aided schools, the major part of the expenses of which were borne by the government, had increased from 6,898 to 87,710. The bulk of the increase, however, was in the private schools, the number rising from 15,308 to 261,883, between 1951 and 1971.<sup>6</sup>

## II. The changing international environment and the development of higher education in the British Colonies

### 1. New policies for the development of higher education in the Colonies

Britain's postwar years were primarily devoted to reconstruction after the long destructive war. Its effort overseas were directed at a progressive policy of decolonization, partly in response to international pressure. Partly for economic reasons, Britain began in earnest to dismantle the Empire and divest herself of the trappings of a world power. The general principles laid down by the state department for the post-war development of higher education in the colonies originated in the Asquith commission of 1945 and the Report of the Commission on Higher education in the Colonies June, 1946 and was based upon a series of commissions which dealt with particular regions. The Asquith commission began its work, in close consultation with the University of London. It was the underlying principle of the commission to reconcile the relevance and quality of these universities in British former colonies: "on the one hand the necessity for adaptation to indigenous needs and conditions in tropical communities, and on the other hand the necessity to maintain degree standards at a level equivalent to those in Britain".<sup>7</sup>

The Asquith commission, the report of which was published in June 1945, had the following terms of reference:

"To consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education, learning and research and the development of universities in the Colonies; and to explore means whereby universities and other

appropriate bodies in the United Kingdom may be able to co-operate with institutions of higher education in the Colonies in order to give effect to these principles."<sup>8</sup>

The Asquith commission's,<sup>9</sup> function was one of co-ordination to advise on the principles on which higher education in the colonies could be developed as soon as opportunity presented itself after the war. The members of the committee, with Mr. Justice Asquith as their Chairman, included many prominent educators such as: Sir Donald Cameron, one time Governor of Tanganyika Territory and of Nigeria, Miss Margery Perham, expert in African sociology, and member of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Lord Hailey, who after retirement from the Indian Civil Service produced his widely used Survey of Africa, Sir Fred Clarke, late Director of the University of London Institute of Education, and member of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies who had first-hand experience of university work in South Africa and Canada, Sir Richard Livingstone, a Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University and Dr. Raymond Priestley, Vice-Chancellor of Birmingham University.

The Commission included within its terms of reference not only the Colonies as such, but also British Protectorates and Protected States and the Mandated Territories within the Colonial Empire. It included the High Commission Territories in the Union of South Africa and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (at the request of the Government of that territory). Within the areas covered by their terms of reference, a population of more than 66 millions and an area of more than 3 million square miles were under consideration, but the only universities were those of Malta, Jerusalem, Hong Kong and Ceylon.



In principle, the Asquith commission recommended that there should be universities established within the colonies, but that these universities should be set up according to certain outlined principles:-

"Universities had to be of first-class standards, nothing bogus about them, nothing second rate; They were to be real universities, because there could be no greater dis-service rendered to the Colonies than to equip them with institutions which the rest of the university world would not recognize as universities, members of the family."<sup>10</sup>

As the commission (report page 13) said,

"An institution with the status of a university which does not command the respect of other universities brings no credit to the community which it serves... Universities were to have a broad range of studies, and not to be just technical shops; not an isolated medical school producing doctors, or a separate engineering school producing engineers; they should be multi-faculty institutions. ...Since in a multi-faculty institution there would be that interplay of interests, not only at student level, but also at the staff level, with all the possibility of joint activities that produce fertilization of interests and co-operative efforts in research which could arise naturally within an institution that has a broad range of studies and was investigating a broad range of problems."<sup>11</sup>

Thus the aim of university should be to "produce not only doctors, but educated agriculturists;"<sup>12</sup> and to this end it was declared, "universities ministered far more effectively

than specialised institutions."<sup>13</sup>

In order to play its role as an institution of high learning and academic research, an university had to be autonomous. The university was not to be a government institutions, but entirely self-governing, otherwise there would be no hope of attraction the type of man needed to staff it, no hope of its finding its own feet. Universities were not merely to "be centres of research and teaching, but centres of learning."<sup>14</sup>

The Asquith commission in its verdict courageously rejected the easier and more popular solution of the problem, pointing out "In the interests of higher education in the Colonies it is essential that universities should be established at as early a date as possible in those areas which are now served by an existing university. The immediate objective is to produce men and women who have the standards for public service and the capacity for leadership which the progress of self-government demands, and to assist in satisfying the need for persons with professional qualifications required for the economic and social development of the colonies."<sup>15</sup>

## 2. The decline of British interest in the Far East

The declining British influence in the Far East, together with the rise of the communist regime in mainland China affected policy makers in London in formulating their plans for the reconstruction and redevelopment of higher education in the colony of Hong Kong. In the eyes of the State more sensibly be disbursed among those peoples of the Commonwealth

emerging into new nationhood; whatever was given to Hong Kong was in reality destined to help in China's reconstruction and could only be at the expense of India, British Africa, Malaya or the West Indies, whose need for native administrators and professional people was pressing and formed a particular responsibility upon Britain to meet. Britain's real interest in China had ceased in 1943 when it signed the treaty that surrendered the remnants of its privileges there.

With America's strengthened position in world politics, the U.S.A. gradually increased its interest and influence in the new Asian countries. When the civil war broke out in China and the Communists were likely to overrun the mainland, the British government was less enamoured of the nation or of spending money with the deliberate objective of assisting a Chinese renaissance.<sup>16</sup>

The future political status of the colony of Hong Kong was rocked in the boat of political expediency and fundamental rivalry between communists and nationalists. The possible return of Hong Kong to the Chinese government seemed not to be an immediate issue. But what of the future? On 14th January, 1947, The Times, explicitly pointed out the significance of Hong Kong as a trading port to both British and Chinese governments:-

"...The existing status of Hong Kong has many advantages for the Kuomintang, and there is therefore tacit agreement to leave in abeyance the question of Hong Kong's future. But the British right to stay will not remain unchallenged indefinitely, and it is time that the British Government and people determined their policy towards China and Hong Kong..."<sup>17</sup>

The importance of Hong Kong lay not in its trade, as the press pointed out, its significance was its relation to China because "...Hong Kong is the shop-window of Britain in China... and ... is the only trading centre in China proper which remains in European hands. It is a unique responsibility."<sup>18</sup> Thus as a matter of high priority the press encouraged the British Government to make Hong Kong a model of a progressive, democratic community while it was still in control. This could be achieved in several ways.

The first step lay with the British Cabinet to determine the future status of Hong Kong in consultation with the Allies. Secondly, it was necessary to build up an administration that had the drive and imagination to carry out a progressive and creative policy. Thus a five-year or ten-year plan for the social and economic development of the Colony should be worked out and "...finally, the plan must consider ways in which social changes can be linked with an advance to self-government and the development of political education. Special emphasis should be placed in the plan on the question of education and technical and cultural relations with China"<sup>19</sup>

The Times thought that since Britain took the lead in forcibly opening China to the impact of western civilisation, "...It is surely her duty to do everything possible to ensure that the seeds which she planted will bring benefits rather than destruction to the Chinese people."<sup>20</sup>

Such optimism was shortlived as a result of the gradual success of communism in overrunning the vast land of the mainland territories. The threat of communism was increasing day by day. The political position in Hong Kong undoubtedly attracted much more attention in the British cabinet than

ever before. The Times of 2nd June, 1948 published a well-balanced picture of the policy and positions held by the British and Chinese governments. Hong Kong's recovery from the ruins of the war was impressive. "In one way it was reported Hong Kong has benefited from the chaotic conditions prevailing in China since the end of the war. Many businesses and much capital from the north have taken refuge in this Colony; much trade that would, otherwise have gone direct to Shanghai or Canton had been routed through it. Much illicit trade also has brought big profits to local traders. In the past, because of its geographical position and the excellent shipping, banking and warehousing facilities which it had to offer, Hong Kong made the best of both world: it thrived whether conditions on the mainland were stable or unstable. A prosperous China pre-supposes a strong and stable Chinese Government; any Government of this kind, whether of the right or the left, would aim at the retrocession of the Colony."<sup>21</sup>

However Hong Kong was vulnerable to twofold pressure. A blockade from mainland China would soon cause its entrepot trade to suffocate. It would then be easy for the Communist regime across the frontier to infiltrate and gain control of the Chinese population in the Colony. Similarly the Kuomintang denounced British rule in Hong Kong as an infringement of Chinese sovereignty.

But what would be the future policy for the British? The press went on to trace back historically the traditional practice of the London government.

"...British policy has been marked by conciliation.

All Japanese war material found in Hong Kong was handed over to the Kuomintang. Chinese troops used the port to embark for North China and were for many

months quartered in great numbers in Kowloon. Every effort was made to expedite the trans-shipment of goods to China. Kuomintang agencies and newspapers have been allowed to function in the Colony without interference. More recently, to help the Chinese Government control the flow of illicit goods, the two Governments signed an agreement permitting Chinese Customs officials to operate in the Colony. These and many other expressions of good will have not been reciprocated by the Chinese Government. If the Kuomintang recovers its position and becomes a strong and stable Government, this campaign against Hong Kong will be intensified. There is also a danger that if things continue to go as badly for the Nationalists as they are at present, the Nationalist leaders will try in desperation to create a diversion at Hong Kong and regain a little "face" with the people."<sup>22</sup>

But what about the local Chinese? The press pointed out most of the Chinese inhabitants had no desire to see the chaos prevailing at Shanghai introduced into Hong Kong. They were not pro-British, but they wanted a continuance of British administration. Their trouble was that they were frightened; they wanted to be on both sides. Their fear had been accentuated by the apparent indecision of His Majesty's Government. "...A good modern airport will cost about £5m. The Colonial Government is able and willing to put up £1m., but the balance would have to come from Britain. Ever since the end of the war this question of the airport has been hanging in the air. It is easy to understand the reluctance of the Treasury to gamble on the future of Hong Kong in the present unsettled

state of Asia. Conversely, it is natural that the Chinese should have doubts about British intentions... there has been no declaration of policy and intentions toward Hong Kong since the end of the war..."<sup>23</sup>

### III. Dr. Sloss and reconstruction of the University of Hong Kong

When the Asquith Commission was in session, Hong Kong was under the Japanese occupation and no information about the university was available.<sup>24</sup> In Hong Kong, the Japanese capitulated on 14th August, 1945 and order was restored under the British military administration. But some looting persisted the acquisition of fuel being one of the main objective of the looters. Looting of woodwork from buildings, spasmodic during the years of occupation, became wide-spread during the short period of anarchy. The looters removed the tiles and wooden laths from the roof of the Great Hall of the university, and squatters were in undisputed possession of many other buildings of the university. The only buildings which escaped serious damage were the main floor of the university on which was housed the main university library, the Fung Ping Shan Library and the Tang Chi Ngong School of Chinese Studies. Fortunately the libraries suffered least. The Fung Ping Shan Library remained almost intact. No less serious than the material damage suffered by the university was the grievous loss sustained by the teaching staff.<sup>25</sup>

The University began re-assembling immediately, from internment and prisoner-of-war camps, and from China. Duncan Sloss made for Pokfulam forthwith to take preliminary stock

of the situation. His assessment of the cost of building repairs was £46,000, and the replacement of equipment be estimated at a cost of £70,000. A total of about \$2 million was needed to put the university physically back to its 1941 shape.<sup>26</sup>

A formal meeting was called immediately by Sloss in the Gloucester Hotel in Hong Kong (demolished in 1977) to make arrangements for the immediate future of six of the University's professors: one released from prisoner-of-war camp, three of the group released from Stanley, and Ride and Gordon who had arrived from China, attended by the Registrar. In the meeting Sloss reported on his findings and Gordon King on his activities in China. The recognition of medical training in China was to be sought and the Federation of British Industries was to be asked to award apprentice scholarships in Britain to engineering graduates.

By early September the professor and others from the camps were busying themselves with seeking out their students. An undergraduates' club was formed for mutual assistance and it continued in existence until the University reopened in 1946. The task of initiating the rebuilding and the restarting of the University was undertaken by Sloss, who had set up the Hong Kong University London office in Queen Anne's Gate in April 1946.

On 18th September, Sloss set off for London and Dr. Ride took charge of the University temporarily.

In his farewell to the students, Sloss was proud of the contribution that the university had played and commented upon the new roles that he anticipated she would play in future. He said,

"...Those students who went into China in various



services and into the Universities, with very few exceptions, have won a high name. They have done more than anything achieved before to give Hong Kong University a reputation throughout South China. Those who stayed behind have helped us who were prisoners of war and interned in a way that has made the difference between survival and extinction, and this at great risks to themselves. With all its modest scope and exterior, the University has justified itself. If, as many of us contend, the chief function of a University is to produce sound men and good citizens, then our University can proudly claim to be justified by its fruits..."<sup>27</sup>

On 31st December, 1945, the Secretary of State for the Colonies followed the plan recommended by the Senate in Stanley to appoint a strong and influential committee under the chairmanship of Christopher Cox to advise on the future of the university.

The Cox Committee was to look into the question of whether or not the University of Hong Kong, should continue to exist and if so the policy which should govern its resuscitation and; what steps would be necessary to re-start such of the work hitherto undertaken by the University as was essential for the needs of Hong Kong.<sup>28</sup>

This Committee reported in July 1946, but at the end of the year questions of long term policy were still under consideration. No steps could in the meantime be taken to fill the large number of vacant senior posts. However, the Cox report was never published. In the opinion of the Committee, the University in peace and in war had amply justified itself and it advised rehabilitation and ultimate reopening.

The recommendation, that the university should be re-established as soon as possible, was accepted by the British Government, but not until two years later. The one essential condition that there should be a firm financial basis, upon which standards should be built to bear comparison with those of universities in Britain and China, the Government did not accept. However, the committee warned that an inadequate financial basis would be detrimental to British prestige in the Far East and if the University was not to be restored at a worthy standard it should not be revived at all.<sup>29</sup>

Discussion and examination of the Committee's report continued throughout the year, particularly in regard to the financial aspects of the proposals, and by the end of 1946 it had still not been possible to make any announcement regarding the future of the University. The administration of the University continued on a temporary basis, as in 1946, and the Provisional Powers Committee functioned throughout the year as the supreme authority. The usual functions of the Senate were discharged by a University Interim Committee. By the end of the year progress had been made to the extent that it was hoped to reconstitute, very early in the New Year, the Court, Council, Senate and the Boards of the Faculties.

In June 1946, London University agreed to set its General Schools Certificate Examination in Hong Kong and thus the classes were able to open. There was a good pass list. On 23rd October the University reopened its first year classes leading towards courses in medicine, engineering, arts and science, the enrolment for the autumn term being as follows:-

	Men	Women	Total
Medical students or students in science leading to medicine.....	32	9	41
Engineering.....	8	-	8
Arts.....	18	18	36
Science.....	20	4	24
	--	--	---
TOTAL.....	78	31	109
	==	==	===

Steps were taken during the year to rehabilitate the Northcote Science Building, one of the hostels and four staff residences, and at the end of 1946 a further programme of rebuilding was under consideration.<sup>30</sup>

A nucleus of prewar teachers had reassembled in Hong Kong during the summer and early autumn, and were strengthened with part-time arrangements to tackle a syllabus which for the time being remained much the same as that for 1941. The libraries were well stocked for undergraduate study, though texts were out of date. Essential repairs were made to some working buildings, pathways patched up but left unlit, waterpipes were replaced, grass was cut. But squatters were still in possession of buildings and looting had not been stopped.

In December, Sloss returned from London to direct the institution's rehabilitation. A start was made in collection pathology specimens, and equipment, modern texts, and journals were arriving from England and elsewhere. To meet the initial expenses were the unexpended income from endowments accruing during the war years, the fees, the Government's grant of 4 million dollars, and its annual subsidy running at \$450,000 for the year 1946-1947. The suspension of the University as a corporation in 1946 was accompanied by the transfer of its powers to a provisional committee and was followed by the

formation of other committees charged with overseeing the reopening of the institution, taking academic decisions and arranging for matriculation examinations to be held from 1947 onwards. All of them were chaired by Sloss himself.

The University continued to expand on a modest scale. The first year classes, already begun, were in the autumn of 1947 augmented by the resumption of second year classes. Many of the students came from Malaya. So great was the number of applicants for enrolment that it became necessary to restrict the number of students admitted to the Faculty of Medicine. The following was the total enrolment at the end of 1947.<sup>31</sup>

	Medicine		Engineering		Arts		Science		Totals	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1st Year	98	18	26	-	10	18	10	1	144	37
2nd Year	54	11	11	-	8	12	7	4	80	27
TOTAL...	152	29	37	-	18	30	17	5	224	64

The staff was further strengthened by the appointment of Readers in Anatomy and Bio-Chemistry and by the return from leave of the Professors of Physiology, Obstetrics and Physics. Rehabilitation progressed during 1947. In August the upper floor of the Ho Tung Workshop was released by the Royal Naval Medical Department. The Anatomy and Physiology Departments were restored. A part of the basement after renovation was turned over to the Student's Union which resumed its life in the autumn. Five new residences were commissioned and hostel accommodation was augmented by the renovation of May Hall. Although the gymnasium was put in order it had not yet been possible to restore the pavilion, and one of the greatest immediate needs of the university was adequate provision for

recreation and sport. The salaries and terms of service of the staff engaged attention as recruitment began to take precedence over other matters, and in December 1947 Dr. J.R. Jones was appointed to head an independent committee to look into them.

In February 1948 the decision was taken to remove the University from its state of uncertainty and to reactivate it as a corporation charged with the granting of degrees. At the beginning of the year, a University Salaries Committee under Jones made its recommendations, and increased scales of pay were announced. The Jones report which was presented in March 1948 enunciated several new principles governing the salary and service policy. It recommended that regardless of the place of birth, the salaries of all staff of the same level were to be equal; retiring age was to be raised to sixty; the private practice of teachers was to be restricted by limiting the amount of fees they could pocket; pay at non-teacher levels was to be maintained at Government rates; An expatriation allowance was added for staff from overseas; and the principle of equal pay for men and women teachers was reaffirmed and applied.<sup>32</sup>

Besides, the British Government announced, in a statement dealing with compensation for war damage, that it was prepared to make a free grant of £250,000 to the University as a further expression of its willingness to assist Hong Kong.<sup>33</sup> But the university's idea that it would be best employed to meet capital combined with recurrent needs over a period of fifteen years was not well received in London, where agreement on how it might be spent was postponed until an examination could be made of the university's needs over the next three years.

Eligible applications for entry into the Faculty of

Medicine far exceeded the number of vacancies, and it was necessary to restrict entry. In 1948 the staff had been increased by the appointment of new Professors in Surgery, Medicine, Pathology and Mathematics; by the return after retirement of the Professor of Civil Engineering, at the invitation of the University; and by the appointment of new Lecturers in English and in Electrical and Mechanical Engineering; Part-time Lecturers and some temporary Lecturers were also appointed, in addition to an Adviser to Women Students and a Registrar to succeed Mr. S.V. Boxer who retired.

Eight further staff residences, staff garages, the School of Commerce, quarters for University coolies, Lugard Hall, St. John's Hall and Morrison Hall were completed, and work was begun on the Pathology building, the student's pavilion and sports ground (donated in a generous response to an appeal by the Vice-Chancellor), the provision of a testing resource in the Peel Laboratory, a small temporary hostel for women students, and the completion of the Eu Tong Sen Gymnasium, for which the family of the late Mr. Eu Tong Sen gave \$50,000. One hundred and fifty nine cases of books were recovered from Japan and returned to the Library. Progress was slow but steady in re-equipping the Library and the Laboratories.<sup>34</sup>

For the financing of the re-establishment programme, the Hong Kong Government made available a special fund of \$4,000,000, and to meet the inflated running expenses, and increased its annual grant from \$455,000 to \$1,500,000 per annum. In late summer the Chancellor announced the magnificent gift of \$1,000,000 from Sir Robert Ho Tung for the construction of the long-needed Women's Hostel. As a measure of relief to the urgent need for funds specifically for development, the Treasury made an ex-gratia grant of £250,000, which made it

possible achieve a portion of the development recommended by the Committee appointed at the end of 1945 by the Secretary of State.<sup>35</sup>

Sloss announced his retirement in March 1949. Professor L.T. Ride, CBE, Professor of Physiology was elected by the Court of the University to succeed him.

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## Chapter Four:

Footnotes

1. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1946 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer, 1946), p.45.
2. The Educational Department, Hong Kong, 'The effect of the war years on school children in Hong Kong', Oversea Education, Vol.XIX-XXI, No.3, p.69, p.947-950.
3. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1946, op. cit.,
4. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1952 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer, 1952), p.88.
5. Quoted in Arthur Hinton, 'Secondary Education' in 1951-1976: A Quarter Century of Hong Kong: Chung Chi College 25th Anniversary Symposium (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1977), p.145.
6. Ibid.,
7. Eric Ashby & Mary Anderson, Universities: British, Indian, African: a Study in the Ecology of Higher Education (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1966), p.212.
8. Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas, 1946-1954, p.4.
9. The story of the Asquith Commission can be traced back to 1942, when the Cabinet discussed the steps to be taken to guide the development of British colonial policy. In the past the government had frequently proclaimed an intention to equip native populations for the responsibility of self-government, but had done very little to help them to achieve the purpose. Despite the anxieties of the war, the government had established the Asquith commission in 1943 and it met in London. The commission was under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Asquith.
10. Report of the Commission for Higher Education in the Colonies, 1945-1947.
11. The Colonial Review, Vol.VIII, No.3, September 1953, p.67, Walter Adams, 'Colonial Universities To-day', abridged extracts from the Holland Memorial lecture by Mr. Walter Adams, Secretary of the Inter-University Council, delivered to the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society of Arts on Thursday, April 23, 1953.
12. Ibid.,
13. Ibid.,
14. Ibid.,
15. The Colonial Review, Vol.III, No.3, September 1953, p.68.
16. Mellor, Bernard The University of Hong Kong, An Informal History, Vol.One, p.110.



17. The Times 14th January, 1947.
18. Ibid.,
19. Ibid.,
20. Ibid.,
21. The Colonial Review, Vol.V, No.7, September 1948, p.202, abridged extract from an article in "The Times" of June 2, 1948 by their special correspondent in Hong Kong.
22. Ibid.,
23. Ibid.,
24. A.M. Carr-Saunders, New Universities Overseas (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1961), p.54.
25. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1946, p.48-49.
26. Mellor, op. cit., p.106.
27. Ibid., p.107.
28. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1946, p.49
29. A.M. Carr-Saunders, op. cit., p.54.
30. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1946, p.50.
31. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1947, p.69.
32. Mellor, op. cit., p.113.
33. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, February 1948.
34. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1948, p.73.
35. Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas, 1946-1954, presented by the Secretary of State for the colonies to parliament by command of Her Majesty, June, 1955 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office), p.24.

## Chapter Five: A New Line of Development

### I. Succession of Professor Lindsay Ride

Sloss was succeeded as fifth Vice-Chancellor by Professor Lindsay Ride, head of the Physiology department since 1928. Professor Ride was a highly respected scholar and teacher who had also served on three occasions as dean in the faculty of medicine and on the University's numerous committees. His distinguished war record held special appeal to the people of Hong Kong.<sup>1</sup> For the graduates he was a strong and vital link with the past, at a time when continuity, much of it sacrificed to war, had been proclaimed anew by the State and a clear sign was expected from the University itself.<sup>2</sup> He was a decisive man, and had some ten years ahead of him in which to exercise these qualities.

The new Vice-Chancellor was greeted by the announcement of the British Government that it would provide a free grant of £250,000 for the University. At the time of Ride's appointment, the University was rapidly becoming the open door not only for the pursuit of good local careers, but also as a place of study for refugees from further afield in China. For a Hong Kong-based Chinese family, the new communist regime in the mainland denied any possible chance of going back. A University qualification was a means of acquiring recognition and status in Hong Kong society. Throughout history, Hong Kong was a haven from political upheaval in the mainland. With a vast new population came secondary school pupils, teachers, college students and professors from a wide range of institutions, all on the move and looking for somewhere to pursue

their studies.

On 1st October, 1949 the Communist People's Republic was proclaimed in Peking. In January next year Britain formally recognised the new government. On 15th December, 1948, however, the U.S.A. had imposed an embargo on the export of strategic goods destined for China including building materials, and treated Hong Kong as a Chinese port, a position which the United Nations endorsed the following May. Thus soaring inflation of the prices of building materials pushed up the cost of construction in the physical re-establishment of the University. The Inter-University Council in London backed up the proposal that the British Treasury should help the University to form an effective endowment. In the summer of 1951 an influential Hong Kong lobby gathered in London for talks with the Colonial Office for an increase in the subsidy. As a result the British Government agreed to endow the University with one million pounds out of the Japanese assets in Hong Kong, surrendered by Japan under the peace treaty in compensation for war damage.<sup>3</sup>

The academic year 1949-1950 was devoted to the planning of a development programme involving the institution of forty two new senior teaching posts, provision for Honours courses in the Faculties of Arts and Science, additional accommodation for staff and extensions to accommodation for teaching in the main building and in the Science and Medical Buildings. In March 1950, speaking in the war-scarred roofless Great Hall of the university, Ride also made reference to the impending visit of two representatives of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, to discuss the problems of reconstruction.<sup>4</sup> The establishment of new departments of European Languages, Architecture, Social Medicine, Medical

Research Statistics and Social Study, were envisaged and an extension of teaching arrangements in Philosophy lead to the development of a full department of Philosophy. Proposals were drawn up for the enlargement of the Great Hall and the building of a new Student's Union and Dining Hall. Construction had already begun on a new engineering and architecture building, two floors of which were designed to house engineering units and one floor of which would provide accommodation for courses in architecture which it was proposed to begin in 1950. Work was also begun on the new hall of residence for women students.<sup>5</sup> The development programme was then submitted to the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies and to the University Grants Committee, after a satisfactory visit by two representatives from the United Kingdom.

In early 1950 the Secretary of State appointed Dr. Bernard Mouat-Jones, Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, and Sir Walter Adams, secretary of the Inter-University Council, to make a visit to Hong Kong and report to him on the university, primarily for the purpose of deciding how the free grant was to be disbursed. During their visit, the visitors were impressed by 'the local pride in the University and the spirit of keenness to build it up into a worthy institution.'<sup>6</sup> In preparation for the visit the Vice-Chancellor invited the teaching departments to present minimum development plans for the next three years, plans to comprise items which they regarded as essential on academic grounds. The collated set of these items was known as the Senate Recommendation 1950.

In the Senate Recommendation there was the general assumption that there would be 850 students by 1953 and it was planned to provide only as many teachers as would be necessary

to furnish adequately but without frills the teaching required in the syllabus. There would be three new departments. Architecture would be directed from the chair approved the previous year and accommodated in the new Duncan Sloss Building opened in March; Philosophy would be recorded full status; and Statistics would serve a wide variety of service needs in other departments. But rehabilitation of the University was far from completed: work was still required on paths and pathlighting, on stormwater drains, on the upper rooms of the main building which still lacked floors, on the Great Hall, and on other buildings not yet called back into use; the re-equipping of laboratories had slowed down; and back numbers of the learned journals, undelivered during the war years, were proving difficult to obtain and costly. The Visitors proposed to meet all this with an increase of income to bring in an additional £64,000 in 1950-1951 rising to £96,000 a year by 1953-1954, which would be met by fee increase, and an augmented local government subsidy, together with an additional endowment.<sup>7</sup>

Compared to the last academic year the income of the University during the academic year 1948-1949 was \$2,183,694, and expenditure \$2,095,504, giving a surplus of \$88,189. The government made an annual grant of \$1,500,000 towards the cost of running the University.<sup>8</sup> Early in 1949 the University entered the Fulbright Agreement by which funds from the sale of American surplus war supplies to Great Britain were made available for the exchange of facilities for research between American and British institutions. Arrangements were made for the first American under this scheme to visit the University for research in Far Eastern Economics.<sup>9</sup> Negotiations were also in progress for the foundation of a British Institute

of Far Eastern studies, chiefly for language study and research into all Far Eastern branches of work. It was hoped to enlist the interest and cooperation of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London in the project.

In February 1950 the construction of the Duncan Sloss School of Engineering and Architecture was completed and it was officially opened by the Chancellor on 1st March. The foundation stone of the new hall of residence for women students was laid on 16th August by the officer Administering the Government. For the academic year 1950-1951 the total enrolment was 715 students compared with 638 in the previous year. Of these 361 were studying Medicine, 172 Arts, 119 Engineering and 53 Science. There were 206 women students, of whom 119 were in the Arts Faculty and 64 in the Faculty of Medicine.<sup>10</sup>

The academic year 1950-1951 saw the beginning of large-scale development in the University. A grant of £250,000 was made from Colonial Development and Welfare funds, which, together with a previous grant of £250,000 could cover the capital needs of a programme of development supported by the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies. A further grant by the British Government of £1,000,000, from Japanese assets in the colony, was announced as an addition to the University's Endowment Fund.<sup>11</sup>

In the same year, the University declared its intention to re-organise its degree programme in arts, science, and engineering from four years to three years and the medical degree to five years for students entering in and after 1954. The entry level was then to rise by one year, so that the Anglo-Chinese schools would effectively gain a new senior year in place of the year lost to the University. The new

curricula would include examinations in honours classifications. From the University's own viewpoint the advantages for this change were two. One was that it would bring itself into line with the more advanced Commonwealth countries. There would be a new incentive for its graduates to enter the teaching profession. The advantages for the community at large were many. The university would be able to expand its intake and therefore its output of graduates by a little under one-third at no significantly extra cost; the honours classification would be a clear indicator of the academic standing of each graduate for the use of potential employers; to the individual students the cost of university education would be cut by about a third; admission direct into a whole new range of Commonwealth universities, as well as into the sophomore year of many American colleges, would be open to pupils of schools; and those in the new upper-sixth forms would be able to gain exemption from the preliminaries in a wide range of Commonwealth professional and sub-professional examination systems, by passing in a single local examination with syllabuses of relevance to Hong Kong itself.<sup>12</sup>

On 1st September a new Faculty of Architecture was inaugurated and the Court approved the institution of the degrees of D.Sc., M.Sc., B.Arch., B.A. (Hons), B.Sc. (Hons), and of a Diploma and a Certificate in Social Study. Plans were made for the raising of entrance qualifications in 1954. During the year Lady Ho Tung Hall, a residential hall accommodation over 800 women students, was opened by Lady Grantham. A new Lodge for the Vice-Chancellor was completed and the foundations laid for a new block of eight flats. The total enrolment for 1951 was 871. Of these 423 were studying Medicine, 216 Arts, 83 Civil Engineering, 74 Architecture, 62 Science and

13 were training in Chinese languages in the Language School of the British Institute of Far Eastern Studies. The students of the University were of 19 different nationalities originating from 28 different countries.<sup>13</sup> Thus in the 1951-1952 Academic year, the rehabilitation of the University building was almost complete, and extension to the Main Building and Great Hall were nearing completion.<sup>14</sup>

In the 1950s Hong Kong's population had been expanding rapidly and the number of political refugees had increased day by day,<sup>15</sup> following the re-establishment of normal administration after the Reoccupation. China was still Hong Kong's largest trading partner. With the wealthier of the refugees from the coastal ports, principally Shanghai, had come capital, energy and experienced skills in search of local outlets in light industry. Hong Kong in fact offered all the advantages of a free port and an open currency exchange market supported by a rapidly growing maturity in the banking services. The demand was rising for graduates to man the upper reaches of the public services, commerce, and the professions. The University was then becoming a local necessity as never before. Pressure for places was high; standards were rising; the number enrolled was twice that before the war; of every four local students, one had originated in China, and for the first time students from China outnumbered those from Malaya and Singapore. The Lugard vision of large numbers of students from the Mainland was being realised in a quite unexpected way.

It was this situation that prompted Sir Alexander Grantham, the governor, and the Chancellor of the University, to set up a committee under Sir John Keswick to look at student supply and demand in general and to professional higher studies for the colony.



## II. The Keswick Committee and the report of the Committee on Higher Education in Hong Kong

The Keswick committee faced many problems that had never been experienced before. It held, indeed, forty five meetings over nine months in order to reach conclusions. There were no examples for its guidance and the secondary system had just been hastily reassembled out of its pre-war chaos. Upon these schools and from the confusion which the refugees had brought with them, some sort of edifice of higher studies had to be built to satisfy the needs of students who had hitherto been to Mainland universities, and it was the Committee's task to draw up plans.<sup>16</sup>

The Committee<sup>17</sup> was appointed in October 1951 with the following terms of reference:-

"To consider:

- a. what demands there are in the Colony for general and professional higher studies, how far these demands are at present being met or planned for, and what further facilities would be required to satisfy these demands;
- b. what measures are recommended to satisfy such requirements as are determined under (a) above, and whether the measures could best be applied through existing institutions and organisations or through the establishment of new ones;
- c. to what extent the scheme could be self-supporting and self-accommodating, and from what sources any additional support or accommodation necessary may be obtained."<sup>18</sup>

Its report was submitted to the Governor on 28th July, 1952. In gathering information for study, the committee had held a press conference in order to bring problems to the

notice of the general public. Questionnaires were sent to the heads and senior pupils of secondary schools. Interviews were conducted and correspondence initiated with a large number of interested people, either as individuals or as representatives of associations in matters pertaining to the inquiry.

The committee members were impressed by the number and variety of witnesses who stressed the need for further facilities for higher education and by the fact that none considered present facilities adequate.

In preparing the report, the Committee adopted the fundamental principles of the Asquith Commission and other related reports.<sup>19</sup> The committee members, however, appreciated the geographical and political uniqueness of Hong Kong and especially that Hong Kong people seemed to have a more advanced cultural background than people in many other Colonies.

The Report explicitly pointed out several general matters that had to be taken into consideration before formulation any recommendations and policies for the development of higher education for Hong Kong. The members shared the grand view of the University's founder, Lord Lugard, that the aims of higher education in Hong Kong were considerably influenced by the relationship of Hong Kong to England on the one hand and to China and the Far East on the other. It was in the field of higher education that the interaction of English and Chinese thought could stimulate and enrich both peoples and make for mutual understanding.<sup>20</sup> Besides, Hong Kong should be a centre for the diffusion of English ideas and for interpreting the West to China. She should also be a centre for interpretation Chinese concepts to England and the West, a centre where Chinese and English thought could meet at all levels, and where comparative studies of language and philosophy could be

developed.<sup>21</sup> Thus a bipolar system was advocated because a higher educational institution which was purely English or purely Chinese in its organisation and teaching could not provide a proper meeting place for the exchange of Chinese and English thought.

The Keswick Committee was the first body to propose publicly that higher education provided in Hong Kong should be primarily for the purposes of Hong Kong itself. It was well aware of the contribution of higher education, as a cohesive force, to the formation of an identity for Hong Kong in the new situation. Hong Kong's lack of appreciation of the value of higher education not only detracted from the contribution it should be making to the development of the Far East, but was detrimental to the advancement of its own individuality. Thus future growth in higher education in the colony needed to be related to Hong Kong's own needs, professional, technical and cultural.<sup>22</sup> Graduates with a diversified cultural training background in Hong Kong could fill useful posts in China and the Far East where their knowledge and training would be sought.<sup>23</sup>

In order to maintain world recognised and acceptable academic credibility the standards of degree courses in Hong Kong should be closely related to English norms. The recognition of the Hong Kong degree by British professional associations was essential. The General Medical Council had already recognised the graduates of the Medical Faculty as qualified to practice in the United Kingdom, and it was hoped that graduates in Engineering and Architecture would later be recognised by the Institute of Civil Engineers or by the Royal Institute of British Architects. In order to meet the demands of the majority of Hong Kong students who wished to continue

their studies in Chinese, or in other subjects through the medium of Chinese, the development of Arts studies in Chinese would serve a valuable purpose in redressing a certain balance within the University. In order to enrich the corporate life of students, the members valued very highly the part a residential university would play in fostering a sense of community service and in developing tolerance and human understanding.

The report further pointed out that Hong Kong was standing at a crossroad for the development of higher education, since there had been a large influx of secondary and post-secondary students from China. While Hong Kong should value her education in the light of the role she was hoping to play in the Far East, she needed to adopt a positive policy to assist the refugee students. Should they prove to be only temporary visitors and finally return to China, then they would provide a valuable means by which high standards and the best of Western and Chinese concepts might be diffused to wider areas; should they remain in Hong Kong, then they would become Hong Kong residents fully entitled to all that the colony could provide. Many of them formed a select group of intellectuals from influential families, and it might be expected that their academic ability and advanced training would win for them important positions. To neglect these students, the Committee thought would be to lack vision and to miss an opportunity to do what was fundamentally right.<sup>23</sup>

As a result the committee produced full details of recommendations and guidelines for the development of the University and other institutions of higher education. The first recommendation related to degree courses at the University in the medium of Chinese. The Committee had considered the relative advantages of opening a separate Chinese University, of

expanding the University of Hong Kong to include courses in Chinese as an integral part of its structure, and of developing one or more existing institutions to form constituent colleges of a new Chinese university, (either as affiliated colleges of the Hong Kong University or as separate institutions of University equivalent status). The committee rejected the idea of a separate Chinese University because the members thought that the founding of such a university would be to deny the principles which should govern all higher education in Hong Kong. It would indicate a failure to comprehend the colony's unique advantage as a meeting place for Chinese and western thought and ways of life. It should be one of the first functions of a University to build cultural bridges. The major function of a University in providing the soil in which the needs of Chinese and Western culture could come to full flowering side by side could only be achieved within the walls of one university. The emphasis on the development of higher education had to be on partnership and common purpose rather than on rivalry and delimitation of aim.<sup>24</sup> However the committee recommend that the major and urgent need for full degree courses in the medium of Chinese could be met by extending the facilities already existing at the University of Hong Kong. New courses could be fully integrated with courses already offered in existing departments. The Committee were aware that these recommendations were, to some extent, not in line with the fundamental principles that a colonial university should fulfill its commission only through the medium of the English language. In 1945 the Asquith Commission made the assumption that:

"In some of the areas with which we are concerned,  
the mother-tongue of students will be a well .

established language with a long history, assured standards and a wealth of literature. In some cases it may be the medium of at least part of the instruction. There should be no difficulty in such instances in planning suitable courses of university study leading, it may be, even to an honour degree. In such cases the institution of courses would not have to await the results of research and the production of literature... Nevertheless, research will have an important bearing on the course of instruction; it would in particular be valuable if it took the form of comparative study of the mother-tongue and English."<sup>25</sup>

To the Committee members it was fallacious to assume that a good knowledge of the English language was a prerequisite. A student could learn a great deal about life by living, working and playing as a member of a community within the University even though his knowledge of English might be inadequate to permit him to profit from instruction in that language.

The introduction of courses in the medium of Chinese implied a recognition of the prestige of the Chinese language and of Chinese thought which many Chinese welcomed and it served as a further step towards the goal of mutual understanding. The Keswick Committee finally proposed that:

- "1. pass degree courses in Arts, Commerce, and Science should be established at the University of Hong Kong in the medium of Chinese.
2. Courses in Arts and Commerce should start in September, 1952 and courses in Science as soon as possible.

3. Entry requirements for the courses should be based on the marks obtained at the Chinese School Certificate Examination, or at a special examination set by the University, and a knowledge of English should not be compulsory. Special cases should be considered on their merits by the University as at present.
4. The new courses should be included in the existing departments and faculties of the University, and should be closely correlated with the corresponding courses given in the medium of English.
5. A substantial annual grant should be made to the University of Hong Kong Press for the translation of suitable English texts into Chinese and for the publication of these translations.
6. Fees for the new courses in Chinese should be the same as for corresponding courses in English.
7. Facilities should be provided for all students to study English whether as part of their degree requirements or not."<sup>26</sup>

A new department of Extra-mural studies was proposed. The committee supported the argument put forward by The Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies (1945) that

"The fostering of extra-mural studies would in particular do much to guard against a danger, of which we are fully conscious, that the university graduates might become a separate community within a Colony, divorced from the concerns and aspirations of their fellow-citizens. The universities as we conceive them have on the contrary a vital contribution to

make to the development of the community as a whole. The university colleges should maintain direct contacts with those members of the population whose studies must necessarily be restricted to the leisure left from their other work. We consider that a strong and fully staffed department of extra-mural studies should be regarded as one of the normal features of a Colonial university. We hope too that opportunity may be given, through refresher courses and 'summer schools' to persons engaged in administrative work, teaching, the health services, agriculture and other activities, to refresh, extend and bring up-to-date their knowledge, and to think, learn and to study anew..."<sup>27</sup>

The Committee members saw that the conditions required for opening a department of extra-mural studies were favourable. There was, for instance, a large and densely concentrated population; the two languages in common use were those of highly developed civilisations; the Chinese who formed the great majority of the population, had a traditional love of learning; and there was evidence of a very striking cultural renaissance in the colony. The growth of interest in music, art and drama had developed mainly in the schools, though some of the original inspiration probably come from the many refugees from China, who included an abnormally large proportion of the intellectual and the artistic.<sup>28</sup> The scope of the Department might be expected in the initial stages to be broader than was customary and to include courses which would normally be given by a Technical College. In addition, the Government Evening School of Higher Chinese Studies was to be re-organised under the proposed department. It was also



possible that the Department could be used to try out courses whose claims to be included in the University curriculum as full degree courses but which had not yet been firmly established. For the administrative machinery of the department, there was no need for any appreciable capital expenditure. To begin with a director of professorial status, an assistant director and two clerks would be enough. Most of the lecturers would be part-time staff who would be paid by the lecture or by the course.<sup>29</sup>

In regard to other diploma and certificate courses the Committee recommended that the University should establish full-time and part-time provision through the media of Chinese and English. Students from colleges outside the university could be admitted to diploma and certificate examinations as external students provided that the university was satisfied with the organisation, syllabuses, standards of instruction and facilities. The university had already successfully established diploma courses in Education and Social Science and proposed to introduce one in Pharmacy. An extension in this field of activity was urgently required to meet the needs of both part-time and full-time students. There was no uniformity in duration or standard, for the first two were one-year post-graduate courses and the other was a two year post-matriculation course. Nevertheless, for any course which led to a university qualification a reasonably high standard had to be set, and safeguards had to be applied to see that it was maintained. Most of the courses would be for non-graduates and the standard of admission was lower than that required for admission to degree courses.

The University should make more provision for organised research particularly in Chinese studies and in Education.

All the Departments of the University should have regular annual financial allocations for the purposes of research. Business interests, philanthropic and educational institutions in the colony and abroad, and Government itself should be approached by the university and asked to consider the establishment of research fellowships.<sup>30</sup>

An Institute of Far Eastern studies was proposed but it was not to be guided by the directions which similar institutions in British universities had taken. An Institute should be under the authority of a Director who should be a member of the Senate of the University of Hong Kong, and its functions should be:

- a. to pursue research in close harmony with that being conducted under the aegis of the three professors of the departments of Chinese studies of the University of Hong Kong;
- b. to provide facilities for research students and distinguished scholars from the United Kingdom, China and other countries;
- c. to provide instruction in oriental languages.

The institute should be housed in its own permanent accommodation with its own library, so that the Director could keep in close touch with all its activities.<sup>31</sup>

In view of the situation of educational research in the colony, the Committee suggested that there would be a single organisation which had the authority and the resources to carry out educational research. An institute of Education should be established which should be charged primarily with this function.

The Institute would have four main functions:

- a. to conduct educational investigation and research;

- b. to provide a library service open to teachers and anyone else interested in education;
- c. to act as a centre for the collection and exchange of information about all educational matters; and
- d. to assist in the training of teachers at all levels.

The Department of Education should be an integral part of the Institute.<sup>32</sup>

With the proposal of setting up of a School of Dentistry; the Committee had less sympathy. It thought the scheme should not be given high priority because the cost involved would be very heavy, and it would be impossible to recruit staff of high quality. Facilities already existed at the University of Malaya, and very few students wanted to become dentists.<sup>33</sup>

In regard to a School of Law it was advisable the Department of Extra-mural Studies should consider offering evening courses in Law initially to meet the needs of students working for qualifications in accountancy. But a School of Law would ultimately be established.<sup>34</sup>

Lastly for the status and the finance of the university, and its relations with the Hong Kong Government, the Committee recommended that the present organisation be maintained. There should be greater concern for the role of the university, greater care in the selection of entrants to academic secondary courses and an adequate number of scholarships and free places should be provided to ensure that opportunities were available for all pupils of sufficient aptitude. Government should adopt a more positive policy to assist students from the mainland of China. Scholarships should be made available for selected students from neighbouring countries to take courses at the University of Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Government, the Imperial Government and neighbouring foreign Governments

should be encouraged to co-operate in establishing such scholarships. The University of Hong Kong should be the sole degree conferring institution in Hong Kong and Government should appoint a special committee to advise on the provisions needed for Adult Education.

The Hong Kong Government should increase its present annual recurrent grant to the University from HK\$1,550,000 to \$2,800,999 by an immediate increment of \$500,000 and three annual increments of \$250,000 to support the proposed courses in the medium of Chinese. Tuition fees should remain unchanged, provided that enough scholarships were awarded to make it possible for needy students to attend the University.

In granting the subsidies to the university it would be advisable to deal by means of a block grant that would be large enough to meet all normal recurrent expenditure and the cost of any essential developments. This grant would be adjusted every five years so that it could meet changing costs and at the same time give government a precise knowledge of commitments. The university would then have an adequately assured period for the development of its policy.<sup>35</sup>

Finally the Committee recommended the university to establish a good image and good relations with the public. The Court of the University should appoint a committee to organise a public appeal for funds. The appeal would be directed to all sections of the community. A public appeal would, on the other hand, give the opportunity for the university to come into closer touch with the community and for more members of the latter to learn that their university was an institution of which they could justly be proud.<sup>36</sup>

The Keswick Committee failed to settle the fundamentals upon which to base its proposals for extension of higher

education. Until the start of the Sino-Japanese War at 1937 it had been official educational policy to promote primary education in the medium of Chinese and secondary in the medium of English, with Chinese studies assuming a major role in the curriculum throughout. The government's object was to people the professions with citizens versed in the two languages. A new, but what was hoped would be a temporary need, to offer secondary education in the medium of Chinese on syllabuse acceptable to the Ministry of Education in Nanking had arisen in the emergency of 1937 for those refugee students who sought an education in Hong Kong which would serve them on their eventual return to China. At that time there had been no trace of a suggestion that this system might extend to the university level. Then what was the Government's policy in 1952? Did it deliberately intend to maintain a wholly Chinese system of education, now to be permanently extended into the secondary sector? Beyond that, was it really prepared to contrive a division in the educated Chinese population deliberately based on language? Thus the Report provided no answers to these crucial questions. Instead it turned to the Lugard ideals of 1910 and interpreted them in a way which to him would have been anathema. The Report in fact employing an irrelevant extract from Lugard's words, reached the opposite conclusion that bipolarity was essential. Higher educational institutions which were purely English or purely Chinese in their organisation and teaching could not provide a proper meeting place for the exchange of Chinese and English thought. It was hardly surprising that the University Council finally turned the proposal down, with the sour statement that what was needed after the great expansion which had already taken place was a period of consolidation.<sup>37</sup>

Consolidation was necessary, not only in terms of internal need but also because of the need to increase the output of teachers into the schools for the new upper-sixth forms. In all of this, the Government was vitally interested. The Chancellor as Governor arranged for his Economic Secretary, Mr. Arthur Grenfell Clarke, to join the University's administrative officers in a detailed and realistic appraisal of what capital and recurrent funds it required. With the University's agreement, the chancellor appointed two eminent university administrators to take an independent look at its financial, functional, and constitutional requirements. At the same time he imposed a limited freeze on the building programme and on further appointments to the staff. The final version of the Keswick report was eventually tabled in the Legislative Council less than a fortnight before the start of the first term of 1952-1953 academic year, the term in which this important development had been intended to begin.

### III. Jennings & Logan Report, 1953

On 19th August, 1953, Sir Alexander Grantham, Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong, invited Sir Ivor Jennings, a noted constitutional lawyer, at the time Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon and later of Cambridge, and Sir Douglas Logan the Principal of London University, to "examine and make recommendations on the constitution, function, and financial requirements of the University in the light of the Cox and Mouat Jones/Adams Reports and any reports and developments since."<sup>38</sup>

The two visitors arrived on the morning of 8th September,

1953, and were met by the Vice-Chancellor Dr. L.T. Ride, the Registrar, Mr. B. Mellor, and the Assistant Registrar, Mr. A.C.T. Rowe-Evans and the Treasurer, Mr. Michael W. Turner. They had a discussion with the Chancellor. The Jennings & Logan Report was submitted to the Government at the same month. The report was not in line with Lord Lugard's ideal for the objectives of the University. It stated clearly that:

"The Establishment of the University was welcomed by those who are interested in the maintenance of British prestige in the Far East; upon the colony (and therefore, presumably, upon the University) develops the dignity of upholding the British name and fame in the Far East; the use of English as a medium of instruction would promote British interests, and indeed one of the reasons for using English was that British influence in the Far East may be extended; and the university would promote a good understanding and friendship between British and Chinese. If these quotations merely indicated the reasons for the active assistance given by the Governments of the United Kingdom and Hong Kong they would not be our concern. If they were taken to mean that the University was to regard itself as an instrument of propaganda or that its nature of work were to be determined by political motives, we should think them unfortunate."<sup>39</sup>

Instead the Report was in favour of the idea that a university had to be designed to serve the people of a particular area and derived much of its character from them. It further pointed out that the university should belong to the republic of learning.

"Arguments like those used by Lord Lugard may sometimes be used by University administrators to encourage liberality in the provision of funds, but they should not affect the work of the academic staff... in our view, the objectives of the University of Hong Kong are the same as those of the Universities of which we have the honour to be members..."<sup>40</sup>

But now, the objectives of the university should be an emphasis on Hong Kong, China, Asia, and relations with Europe in a varying degree of emphasis and detail. On the basis of this principle the university then should give considerable emphasis to Chinese studies and to Asian studies generally, and should continue its tradition of being an outpost of western culture.

Thus, the University of Hong Kong ought to be as far as possible staffed by people who would understand the social background from which its students came. Some lecturers would be Chinese or other permanent residents. Some would be 'foreigners' who had studied the environment and understood it, while those who were appointed from abroad ought to be prepared to learn to understand their students not only as individuals but also as products of a particular environment.

In regard to the use of Chinese as a medium of instruction, the Report did not see a compelling need. In principle, the visitors agreed that there was no doubt at all that the problem of leading the student from what he understood to what he did not was made much easier when it was explained in his primary or home language instead of a language which he had painfully to acquire and which was normally used in a different social context. However, English, "...was not merely the language of the English but an international



language..." thus, at the time being it did not seem essential as a matter of necessity that English should be replaced by Chinese.<sup>41</sup>

A closer relation between public opinion and the University should be linked up in a population of which half consisted of recent immigrants. But the Report pointed out it was desirable to develop more contacts between the university staff and the local population. That the constitution of the university had created a close relation between the Government and the university was perhaps something of an impediment.<sup>42</sup>

In regard to faculties, the Committee criticised the existing structure of faculty groupings because it had created confusion and imbalance of growth. The report further pointed out that:

"...The University has five Faculties: Medicine, Engineering, Science, Arts and Architecture. The Faculty of Arts has eight departments -- Chinese, Economics and Political Science, Education, English, Geography, History, Modern Languages, and Philosophy. There is also an Institute of Oriental Studies which has not been put into the Faculty organisation, though we cannot find anything in the Statutes to justify depriving the Faculty of Arts of the responsibility for the teaching in the Institute. The Faculty of Science has five departments -- Biology, Chemistry, Pharmacy, Mathematics, and Physics. The Faculty of Medicine has seven departments -- Anatomy, Medicine, Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Pathology, Physiology, Social Medicine, and Surgery. The Faculty of Engineering has three departments, but Mechanical and Electrical Engineering were not

restored after the liberation. Architecture was added, but more recently the Department of Architecture has become a separate Faculty. As a consequence, the Faculties of Engineering and Architecture have only one Department each. It is of course convenient for a Department to become a Faculty so that it can go direct to the Senate and the Council but the process is often wasteful in time and money. Also the academic representation on the Council becomes unbalanced...".<sup>43</sup>

Thus the report suggested that in future no separate Faculty be established unless it had at least three Departments.

In the recommendation made for the Faculty of Arts, the Report pointed out a new scheme of courses and examinations had come into operation that session, though the full teaching burden would not be experienced until the following year. Taking the teaching load on a Faculty basis and comparing it with that in other small universities, it did not appear heavy. In respect of quantity and quality, the staff of the Faculty was probably about adequate to provide the Honours courses for the year.<sup>44</sup> However the report pointed out there were adverse comments to be made on the quality of some of the students in the Faculty. It was regarded as the least-favoured Faculty because the prospects of employment for its graduates were not good. Thus recruitment was attacked. The faculty, sometimes was given no choice but to accept applicants rejected by other faculties. Although students were allowed to repeat courses after failures, the percentage of failure was very small.<sup>45</sup>

For the Faculty of Science the Report agreed with the Senate in the existing division of Botany and Zoology, within

the department of Biology. But the same differentiation should apply in the provision of accommodation. So far as numbers were concerned, the main function of the Faculty of Science was to give preliminary scientific training to medical, engineering, and pharmacy students. The number of Science students, in the narrower sense, was small and would not in itself justify the heavy expenditure. But according to the report the output of the Science graduates ought to be increased. In view of the urgent needs of other Faculties, the process of further development in the Faculty of Science had to be slow.

The Report recommended that the Faculty of Medicine was entitled to the highest priority in development since there was no sign of slackening of demand for medical practitioners. The report held the view that not only had the population of the Colony more than doubled since 1941 but also the popularity of what in Asia was called Western Medicine had increased. However, the immediate problem, the Report pointed out, was to strengthen the Faculty by providing an adequate medical education for its present students. It further pointed out that the Department of Anatomy was clearly under-staffed and under-financed. The University should soon fill the vacant Chair. More funding was required in the department of Pathology because the department had to be responsible for much of the Pathology work for the Queen Mary Hospital.

The visitors were in some doubt about the demand for engineering graduates. It seemed to them that Hong Kong could not absorb more than a couple of civil engineers every year and that the demand was for structural engineers, for which there was little provision in the university. But at the same time there was a substantial demand for engineering

graduates in the area served by the University, for example, in Malaya and Singapore.

The faculty had an option; either be brought up to the standard required by the Institution of Civil Engineers or be closed. To the visitors, it seemed a serious matter to close a Faculty which had been so long established, and it would be short-sighted to close it if the demand for graduates was likely to grow. Thus the Report recommended that a small committee be appointed, with a chairman nominated by the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies to advise whether or not the Faculty of Engineering should be continued, and if it was to be continued, what steps were to be taken to bring it up to the standard required by the Institution of Civil Engineers. If the committee was in favour of continuing the Faculty, it might also advise whether and when the teaching of mechanical and electrical engineering should be undertaken.

On the other hand the Faculty of Architecture had proved much more popular than was anticipated. The size of the student entry caused some concern to the visitors. The optimism of the Dean of the Faculty that all the graduates could be absorbed was not being shared by others whom the visitors met in Hong Kong. It was however, desirable on financial grounds that the further expansion beyond next year's intake should be avoided. The Report remarked that the Faculty was advantageous to the University in that it improved the general education of the students by creating an interest in art. Therefore the Report suggested that since the students were willing to take the risk of unemployment or under-employment as graduates, there was a case for admitting them. However, it would be possible that the intake would fall of its own

accord as the market became more nearly saturated. Thus it was not desirable to expand staff and accommodation of the Faculty if there was a risk that the student body was likely to fall in numbers after a few years.<sup>46</sup>

In regard to the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Visitors pointed out that on academic grounds there were grave disadvantages in separating it from the Department of Chinese. Considerable expansion was desirable because the Faculty of Arts was at present rather overweighted on its 'European side'. The Faculty should take up more responsibility in promoting and developing Chinese culture and this would become one of the more important functions of the university.

In order to fit into the local environment and needs of Chinese students, the Report further recommended that application for exemption from residence in Hall might be made and granted. The existing rules and regulations however did not state by whom the application was granted and cases were usually brought to the Senate. To the visitors, this procedure placed an unnecessary burden of the Senate agenda, and the function ought to be delegated to a Student Welfare Committee.<sup>47</sup>

The lack of facilities for student recreation was one of the major concerns of the Report. Neither the University nor the Report for the year 1950-1952 had made mentioning of facilities for physical education and recreation. There was no Director of Physical Education; the gymnasium had been pulled down and had not been replaced; the tennis courts nearby were unusable; the single playing-field would be too small for a girl's school. Although the demands upon the university's exiguous financial resources had been so many yet the physical education and recreation, as the visitors

insisted, should not be ignored. Thus they recommended that a building for the students' Union was entitled to a very high financial priority because the present accommodation in the semi-basement of the main building was unsuitable. The new building should contain a room for society meetings and dances, two rooms for games, a room for the library and periodicals, a committee room, and a couple of offices for student officials.<sup>48</sup>

As far as the students' health was concerned, the part-time status of the medical officer could not meet the increasing needs of students. Since there were so many students coming from homes outside the colony and where there was nothing comparable to the National Health Service in the United Kingdom, several recommendations were made in order to guarantee that sufficient services provided:-

1. it was usually considered necessary for medical students, who were in close contact with disease, to be medically examined every six months;
2. the desirable practice was to examine all other students once a year;
3. since there was no Dental School, it would seem desirable to arrange for periodical visits by a dental surgeon;
4. the collection of statistics of student health was an important function of a Student Health Service, and they should be included in the University's annual report;
5. A full-time Medical Officer and a small staff were needed.<sup>49</sup>

Furthermore the Report urged the planning of a new Library Building. Indeed, the Library Building was second in order

of priority. But the erection of the library could not be delayed more than three years. The idea of setting up separate departmental libraries was not supported by the visitors. The Report also did not agree with the suggestion of the Faculty of Arts that departmental allocations should be made in the form of block grants for five years in order to offset annual target-expenditure because the visitors thought that the University could not afford to keep a number of surplus balances. The Report further pointed out a portion of the annual vote for library purposes should be unallocated so that there could be an annual intake of general works not likely to be specifically ordered by Heads of Departments. To the visitors the Science Departments' proposal for departmental libraries was excessive, because if the scientific sections of the library were departmentalised, serious problems would arise, and probably, heavy expenditure be incurred when Departments of Biochemistry, Parasitology, and Bacteriology were established. Departmental libraries in the Faculties of Science, Medicine, and Engineering should be restricted to those few books which were needed for day-to-day reference.<sup>50</sup>

In regard to the teaching load of the staff, the report pointed out that, compared with universities in England, the staff of the University of Hong Kong had in general a fairly heavy teaching load. It was fairly heavy not only in respect of the number of hours of teaching, but also in respect of the variety of subjects taught. The number of expatriate staff entitled to long leave abroad helped to increase the teaching load. The report suggested that one way to diminish this problem was to increase the proportion of locally-recruited staff and another way would be to alter the leave conditions for expatriate staff appointed in future.<sup>51</sup>

An Establishment Committee was recommended and its main function would be to conduct an annual review of the whole staff. It should, however, be the duty of the Establishment Committee to ask questions about the whole of the staff of a Department, so that the prospects of promotion could be kept in mind or inter-departmental transfers (e.g. among the clerks) could be effected.<sup>52</sup>

For the constitution of the University, the report further pointed out that:

"The University has now been in existence for more forty years and had developed a tradition of its own. It has a status in the republic of learning which enables it to act as a focus of culture more efficiently than could be done by governmental direction."<sup>53</sup>

As a consequence the university should have more autonomy in its academic and financial management planning. The constitution of the University thus needed amendment to meet changed conditions. The Report pointed out that the misunderstanding between the Government and the university, which had resulted in the financial problem, could be attributed to a defective machinery of government. The constitution of the university in fact ought to reflect more its tradition and the influence of its environment.

The constitution of the University of Hong Kong contained certain unique elements. The report recommended that in spite of its wide powers, the University Court had not played a very effective part in the affairs of the university, perhaps on account of its 'too official' nature.<sup>54</sup> A large body was also not a convenient instrument for the exercise of what were in great measure executive functions. But the University



was unique, too, in having the Colonial Secretary as a member of the University Council while the Financial Secretary was an ex-officio member of its Finance Committee and by convention a nominated member of the Council. Such arrangements might result in an inevitable confusion of functions and an equally inevitable, though less well recognised, government's control of the university. Thus it was recommended that the Colonial Secretary and the Financial Secretary should not be members of the University Council, because of their concern with finance when proposals were submitted by the Vice-Chancellor, on behalf of the Council, to the Government. They should be in a position to advise the Government on such proposals without the embarrassment which might arise from the fact that they had already approved the proposals as members of the University Council. The new structure would help to ensure that proposals from the university were formally submitted and decisions of the Government were formally communicated to the university, so that misunderstanding arising from informal communications would be avoided.<sup>55</sup>

To a certain extent, the Jennings & Logan Report was not consonant with the recommendations that had been made by the Keswick Committee of 1952. In relation to the objectives of the University, Jennings brushed aside the 'imperial chip', that was inspired by Lord Lugard, with the assertion that the University had to belong to the republic of learning and that if there would be any question of maintaining British prestige in the Far East it could be best done by a university whose objectives were the same and whose standards were comparable with Universities in the United Kingdom.<sup>56</sup> The Jennings Report did not favour the idea of setting up an Institute of Education, and it regarded this proposal as 'premature'.

Instead it inclined to the view that if the money was available, it should be used to enlarge the staff of the University's Department of Education.

The Jennings Report did agree with Keswick that the idea of a separate Chinese University should be rejected and that the courses in Art, Commerce, and Science be provided in the University of Hong Kong through the medium of Chinese. In regard to the incorporation of the Institute of Oriental Studies into the Department Chinese, Jennings suggested that such arrangement would be a transitional one but in due course the Department of Chinese could split into three. There were, however, two conditions precedent to these development. The first was that the Government's own educational policy should be settled. The second was that the university should be put on a sound financial basis.

The Jennings & Logan Report and the Keswick Report embraced the same idea towards the role of the Extra-mural Studies within the university. But Jennings made several reservations about the structure and content of extra-mural studies. The visitors doubted the wisdom of asking the university to undertake courses of a polytechnic character. They also doubted if adequate space could be found in the University for the development until a Library building was erected. Thirdly the new department would require considerable funds, not only to employ tutors, but also to provide equipment for art, music, and the drama.<sup>57</sup>

Compared with Keswick, the Jennings & Logan Report was detailed and comprehensive. It effectively produced a new climate in which the university's property needs and financial plight might be viewed with official sympathy. The proposals gave rise to a number of important developments during the

decade that followed and notably to a new Ordinance the main feature of which was to remove all but one of the Government officials from ex-officio membership of university bodies.

Both Keswick and Jennings had strongly recommended that the number of university bursaries should be increased. Both reports had discussed whether such bursaries should be awarded by the government or by the university. Keswick was of opinion that they should be awarded by the government because "the decision as to how many qualified poor students, and which ones, should, in fact enter would be one for politicians to make".<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, Jennings noted that the university disliked the system of earmarking because it introduced rigidity into university finances and placed particular aspects of university education under government control. However, the Hong Kong Government inclined to follow the advice suggested by the Keswick, and it was to use the bursary scheme to produce university graduates in accordance with its perceived social needs of the colony.<sup>59</sup>

The visitors' recommendations on recurrent funds were of immediate value. The government's speedy response was to meet the actual deficit for 1952-1953 of a little over 1 million dollars, add 2 millions to its recurrent subsidy for 1953-1954, and promise an increase for 1954-1955 which would bring its subsidy to the level of 4 million. It also agreed to set aside for as long as was necessary an annual sum of 3 million dollars for expenditure against individual projects in the building programme, each project needing separate approval at the appropriate time, and gave its full backing to applications then being made to the British Treasury for money with which to erect a new library, to which was later added a new students' union building (for both of which a site would

be cleared by demolishing the Eu Tong Sen Gymnasium), and a new building for pathology at the Queen Mary Hospital. This was the first time that the Hong Kong Government declared a direct financial interest in the physical development of the university.

On the important issue of degree courses in the medium of Chinese, a question was raised by the visitors separately and put to the Governor. Was it really Government's declared policy to adopt a bi-polar system of education throughout the secondary school sector? Their criticism of the Government for its failure to declare a policy on Chinese secondary education reinforced the university's refusal to meet the need for higher education in the medium of Chinese even in the sixties.<sup>60</sup>

The visitors offered the Governor their own suggestion for a solution, the building of a bridge between the Chinese middle schools and the University; and this was to become a starting point for separate dialogue.

The Jennings & Logan Report of 1953, a document of 113 pages contained recommendations and suggestions touching on almost every aspect of the university's organization and activities. The University thus had to appoint a special Committee to consider the suggestions proposed by the visitors during 1954-1955.<sup>61</sup>

But discussion and action arising directly from the Report did not cease for six years. Other committees were at work on the constitutional revisions needed, on the preparing for a contoured survey of the site and an overall plan for site development, on staffing and standards of staff housing, finances, improving relations with the public, and student welfare, with problems in architectural education. The ground

was prepared for the formation of a Department of Extra-mural Studies, foreshadowed by the Keswick Committee in 1952, and this was formally established in 1957. To improve the University's relations with the public, the first distinct move was made in 1954 with the start of the regular publication of a University Gazette, a formal and straightforward vehicle of regular information about academic activities. The University decided to strengthen the bonds with its graduates by forming Convocation, a body composed of the graduates and teachers with formal lines of communication to the University's Court, Council, and Senate. It was the University's first formal attempt to restore its connections with those of its members who were part of its past.<sup>62</sup>

In large measure, the University acquired the characteristics that the Asquith Commission had set for it. It began to establish and strengthen a conception of standards, both in the sense of professional work and in the sense of intellectual attainment. It discharged its political and social functions so successfully that they proved to be one of the strongest links with Britain and other colonial territories when with the approach of the stage of full territorial independence. Contacts within the university world were set to survive political change.<sup>63</sup>

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## Chapter Five:

Footnotes

1. During the Japanese occupation in Hong Kong Lindsay Ride got an opportunity to escape from prisoner-of-war camp into China after he was arrested. He spent the war years in establishing and operating the British Army Aid Group, charged with the daunting task of assisting in escapes from Hong Kong. Members of the groups were also established on the border outside Hong Kong at Macau.
2. Bernard Mellor, The University of Hong Kong: An Informal History (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1980), Vol.One, p.141.
3. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, 1943-1945, September 8-15, 1945, p.7422.
4. Annual Reports by the Director of Education, 1949/50, p.43.
5. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1950 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.48.
6. Mellor, op. cit., p.114.
7. Ibid., p.115.
8. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1949, op. cit., p.75.
9. Ibid.,
10. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1950, op. cit., p.75.
11. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, 1948-1950, June 11-18, 1949, p.10047.
12. Mellor, op. cit.,
13. Annual Reports by the Director of Education, 1951/52, p.101.
14. Ibid.,
15. There are no accurate figures on the number of migrants who reached Hong Kong during the post-war (World War II) influx, but a United Nations Report estimated that 1,285,000 people arrived in the colony between September 1945 and December 1949.  
In 1941, the total population was 1,639,337, whereas in 1951 the population was increased to 2,015,300. In 1948 to 1953, the estimated migrational increase was about 255,656.  
For details consult:  
David Podmore, 'The population of Hong Kong', in Keith Hopkins, ed., Hong Kong: The Industrial Colony (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1971), p.21-54.  
Shuh Ching Fan, The Population of Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Swindon Book Co. Ltd., 1974), Chapter 1 & Chapter 2.
16. Mellor, op. cit., p.120.  
In his book: Systems of Higher Education in twelve countries: A comparative view (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981), p.111, Nell P. Eurich also points out that some

countries effectively use ad hoc commissions to study issues, collect information, and prepare recommendations for governmental action. It is customary to have academic representatives on the commissions for the expertise and knowledge they can bring to the issue, and for their value in serving as interpreters of the recommendations - a bridge - back to the educational community. In the United Kingdom, ad hoc commissions are customarily the first step toward innovation on a wide scale.

17. The Committee members included Dr. Lam Chi Fung, founder of the Baptist College, two of the Chinese University's distinguished honorary graduates Sir Kenneth Fung Ping-fan (who became the chairman of United College's Board of Governors), Dr. R.C. Lee (a member of the university council), Mr. A. De. O. Sales (the former chairman of the Urban Council), and Mr. Leonard Geoffrey Morgan, Professor Kenneth Ewart Priestly, Christopher Paul D' Almadae Castro, and Bernard Mellor. David McLellan was secretary.
18. Report of the Committee on Higher Education in Hong Kong, 1952, Preface i.
19. The Committee also took into consideration some of the findings from the Report of the Commission on University Education in Malaya, 1948, and the Report of a Special Committee on Education for Commerce, 1949.
20. Report of the Committee on Higher Education in Hong Kong, 1952, op. cit., p.4.
21. Ibid.,
22. Ibid.,
23. Ibid., p.5.
24. Ibid.,
25. Ibid., p.26.
26. Ibid., p.47.
27. Ibid., p.31.
28. Ibid.,
29. Ibid., p.32.
30. Ibid., p.48.
31. Ibid., p.33.
32. Ibid., p.34.
33. Ibid.,
34. Ibid., p.35.
35. Ibid., p.41.

36. Ibid., p.45.
37. Mellor, op. cit., p.122.
38. A Report on University of Hong Kong, 1953, p.3.
39. Ibid., p.11.
40. Ibid.,
41. Ibid., p.17.
42. Ibid.,
43. Ibid., p.17.
44. Ibid.,
45. Ibid.,
46. Ibid., p.24.
47. Ibid., p.36.
48. Ibid., p.39.
49. Ibid., p.41.
50. Ibid., p.47.
51. Ibid., p.50.
52. Ibid., p.51.
53. Ibid., p.62.
54. In the court, the governor of Hong Kong presided as Chancellor, and he was supported by the Chief Justice, all the members of the Executive and Legislative Council, and three officials.
55. Ibid., p.66.
56. The Times Educational Supplement, April 2, 1954, p.468.
57. A Report on University of Hong Kong, 1953, op. cit., p.113.
58. The Times Educational Supplement, October 8, 1954, p.938.
59. Ibid.,
60. Mellor, op. cit., p.125.
61. Annual Reports by the director of Education, 1953/54, p.78.
62. Mellor, op. cit., p.132.
63. The Colonial Review, Vol.VII, No.3, September 1953, p.70.



## Chapter Six: The Chinese University for Chinese

### I. Political Upheaval in the mainland and the founding of Chinese Colleges in Hong Kong

Since 1949 social and political conditions in China had undergone a great change. When the Communists overran mainland China, most of the famous and distinguished universities were closed. Many university professors and students took refuge abroad, and a large number of them went to Hong Kong. In the colony they attempted to carry on their educational work, under great difficulties and with meagre resources. The Times provided a lively description of the effects of political upheaval in the Mainland on the development of education in the Colony:-

"Hong Kong, the most crowded place on the earth, has a population of 2,000 for every inhabitable acre. Since 1949 when China was taken over by the Communists, 800,000 refugees have swollen the population to nearly three million. Among these there are thousands of destitute and near destitute children. A number of educated refugees help to supplement their very meagre incomes by running non-registered 'schools'."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the large number of young men and women of college age who could no longer return to China for their higher education as earlier generations had done, there were thousands who emigrated from mainland China to the colony. The population of the colony had increased from 800,000 after World War II to nearly 3,000,000 in 1950.<sup>2</sup> The growth of the

population in the colony from less than a million to nearly four million between 1949 and 1963 accentuated the need for a second university.<sup>3</sup>

In the colony over 99% of the population was Chinese. There was only one university, the University of Hong Kong, which had less than a thousand students and all its classes were conducted in the medium of English. Graduates of Chinese middle schools were at a great disadvantage when they sat for the university matriculation examination in English. Most university students came from Anglo-Chinese schools, in which the teaching was in English. However the Chinese Middle schools taught in Chinese, offering English as a foreign language, and their graduates usually had to take two years of additional work in English before they sat for matriculation. There were thousands of students who passed the Chinese School Certificate Examination each year, most of whom had found no opportunity for higher education. It would be not only wasteful, but also dangerous to society, should the ablest youths who passed the Chinese School Certificate Examination lack suitable avenues for university education with the exception of those who could afford to study abroad.

Among the immigrants to Hong Kong there were a number of refugee educators and missionaries, formerly teachers in universities or colleges on the mainland of China, who began to find colleges of their own. Professors gathered small groups of students around them in their lodgings, like the professors of the first European universities hundreds of years ago. Some of the original programmes had disappeared, and others soon combined for greater service and strength.<sup>4</sup> Thus the Chinese post-secondary colleges were formed and attempted to meet the needs of the students who were looking for some sort

of higher education through the medium of Chinese. There were students from Malaya, Singapore, Thailand, Borneo, the Philippines, and other South East Asia countries and it seemed to indicate these institutions were meeting a need.

In 1950 there were approximately thirty four or more privately-owned tertiary institutions teaching through the medium of Chinese and devoting themselves variously to the art, commerce, theology, and science. The lengths of course and their standards and intensity varied widely. A few of them had day classes but most of them taught at night. Some courses lasted three, some six, twelve, or eighteen months a few longer courses covered two, three or four years. The total enrolment was 1,900, the largest single enrolment being 260, and the smallest only 3. Some premisses housed as many as four different institutions operating at different hours of the day; some were accommodated in ramshackle huts erected in defiance of safety precautions and legal requirements on the tops of tenement blocks. The standard of achievement of the students admitted was varied.

The Department of Education applied pressure to control these colleges and to enable them to raise their standards and improve their facilities. Among the colleges, four were particularly well-organised and they were: the United College, the Baptist College, the New Asia College, and Chung Chi College. These four colleges together formed a complex more than double the size of the University of Hong Kong. The government exercised fairly strict control over the colleges. It prevented them from using in English or Chinese the title of "university", and from awarding anything which might reasonably be mistaken for a degree.

New Asia College was founded in 1949 by a group of refugee

professors and students from the Chinese national universities, and at first it used rented flats in a slum district of Kowloon. Its president Dr. Chien Mu was a distinguished Chinese scholar.<sup>5</sup> The college intended to provide for students a knowledge of Chinese cultural heritage and of modern western learning. It offered a four-year course, with only rudimentary science, and organised a Research Institute which had sponsored some significant research and had produced an excellent journal and publications. The College began in humble surroundings but soon attracted local and overseas support, notably from the Yale-in-China association,<sup>6</sup> the Harvard Yen-ching Institute, the Asia Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation.

In 1954 arrangements were concluded by which the Yale-in-China Association would provide financial support to New Asia College and the Association was impressed with the fact that the New Asia was, in no sense, a Commercial enterprise. The authority was especially complimentary about the President Chien Mu.<sup>7</sup>

In 1953 there were about 100 students in the dingy rented Kowloon quarters on the top two floors of a four-storey building which served as classroom, dormitories, offices, and refectory for the entire college. Ten years later over 500 students were enrolled, many from countries of Southeast Asia, as well as from Hong Kong. The curriculum consisted of both oriental and western studies. Development in the sciences was slow because of lack of facilities, only biology, chemistry, physics, and mathematics were taught. English language and literature, fine arts, history, sociology and philosophy were key courses in the curriculum, and there was also a strong economics and commerce faculty. A clinical and medical programme were added in the autumn of 1959, and an intensive

summer English course in 1961 and 1962 jointly with Williams College's Operation Haystack and Yale-in-China cooperation. In 1962 the college became well-established in a small but attractive campus in Kowloon with a student body of 448 and a full-time academic staff (excluding demonstrators) of 41 in 12 departments and an Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies and Research. In 1963 it had a faculty of 59 (of which 48 were Chinese) and it was equivalent to a small liberal arts college in America. The medium of instruction was the Chinese language (mandarin) although the majority of students were cantonese.

Among other institutions established on similar lines to New Asia to see the needs of refugee students was, Chung Chi. The college brought with it the staff and traditions of the great Chinese christian universities that were formerly set up on Canadian and American foundations. The Chung Chi College was established in 1951 by the representatives of various Protestant churches in Hong Kong, as an institution of higher learning that would be both Chinese and Christian. It inherited the traditions of the thirteen christian colleges and universities in China. In fact Chung Chi was the first christian institution of higher learning to be established in Hong Kong to meet the urgent needs of the students from the Chinese language secondary schools.<sup>8</sup> It offered full liberal arts and science courses and gave its own certificates on completion. In carrying on the work of the christian universities, the colleges strived to be a worthy heir to their traditions. The continuity of these traditions was assured by, and in the person of Dr. Lee Yinglin,<sup>9</sup> former President of Lingnan University in Canton, who became the first President of Chung Chi. The college tried to avoid mere imitation however, as the

needs of its studies and local situation demanded.<sup>10</sup>

The college had a very modest beginning with 63 students enrolling the first year. It used borrowed and rented premises. Expansion was made possible by financial assistance from the United States and Canada through the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia and the Trustees of Lingnan University and Britain through the Asia Christian College Association. Local individuals and business also gave considerable support. In 1956 the college move to its permanent site in the New Territories, in the beautiful Ma Liu Shui valley. The government assisted the college with a grant of land and the building of a railway station.<sup>11</sup> On the new campus there were to be a range of academic and residential buildings, a college chapel, and student's centre and sport facilities. By October 1962 it had advanced to a student enrolment of 531 in 10 departments and it possessed a full time teaching staff of 40, excluding tutors, demonstrators and visiting teachers.

The United College of Hong Kong was created in 1956 by the amalgamation of five 'refugee colleges' that decided to pool their resources. These five colleges all had roots on the main land prior to 1947. They were: Canton Overseas College, Kwang Hsia College, Wah Kiu College, Wen Hua College and Ping Jing College of Accountancy. In responding to the appeal of Dr. Grayson Kirk, the President of the Columbia University, they agreed to form an amalgamation, but each college maintained its own independency and integrity. The administration was run by the Committee Board composing representatives from five colleges. The main premises were situated at Caine Road, and there was a teaching centre in Kowloon.<sup>12</sup>

Initially there were seven departments in arts and

commerce, and there were both day and evening sessions. In 1959, however, day and evening sections were separated and the day section became a post-secondary grant college. The controlling authorities were also re-constituted and the new college was formally inaugurated on 16th February, 1960. Further changes in organisation and administration were effected in 1961<sup>13</sup> and new accommodation on a temporary basis was provided by the Government in the Helen Liang Memorial School until in May 1963 when the college moved to the premises that formerly accommodated the Northcote Teacher's Training College. During these vicissitudes the number of students fluctuated but in October 1962 the College had 110 students in 9 departments with a full-time teaching staff of 18.

In spite of adversity, however, devotion to learning kept these colleges going, and with the overseas help and that of society at large, and by their own persistent efforts, all three colleges developed steadily. However they had to strive hard for survival in an hostile environment. These Chinese colleges were not permitted to offer work in teacher education. They were not recognised by the government for the award of degrees. Since they offered four-year courses, and followed the pattern of credits traditional in a Chinese university which was a system closer to the American than to British usage, it was difficult to secure recognition from the British government. The colleges were attempting to arrange procedures and methods to meet Chinese needs rather than to prepare students for careers in England.<sup>14</sup> Because of the uncertainty of the local situation and the difficulties hindering Chinese intellectuals from securing employment in Hong Kong, many of them, including professors, were simply waiting until they could get visas to go elsewhere. This was

a handicap in providing any assured continuity in teaching.

Financial support for the colleges emanated from a variety of sources, according to the bodies which had sponsored them. None of it came from public funds. Faculty salaries were low. More money needed to be spent on library books and equipment. Some potentially substantial givers in other countries had expressed concern about the uncertainty and indefiniteness of the future of Hong Kong, and also about the lack of support from the government. Many of the faculties had professors who had been employed in the same sort of positions in mainland universities of high standing. A large proportion of them had graduate degrees from universities in Europe or America. There were a few British or American professors too, some of them visiting for one year, others on a more permanent basis. These helped the cross-fertilisation of new ideas, and facilitated the transfer of students to universities in other countries.

The students in the colleges were bright and eager, and appreciative of the opportunities offered to them. They possessed a strong feeling for education in their native tongue, and felt that something alien was forced upon them by a higher education presented wholly in a foreign language. Most of them spoke, read and wrote acceptable English.

Though the Chinese colleges all experienced the feeling of danger that some day the communists might take over the colony and close them down, they could be proud of many things, not least of providing an opportunity for higher education in Chinese. While they would certainly face disappointments, they might eventually achieve recognition.



## II. Hong Kong Government Policy and the roles of the Chinese Colleges

On the part of the Hong Kong Government, official policy towards the colleges did not crystallise quickly, because the influx of refugees was thought to be a transient problem and because the expansion of primary education was a most pressing concern of the time. Gradually, however, a combination of circumstances focused attention on the colleges. First, in due course, the students who enrolled were seen to be residents of Hong Kong who had received their secondary education in Chinese-medium schools in Hong Kong and not on the mainland. The output from such schools was expected to grow. Secondly, there seemed little prospect of Hong Kong University ever fully catering for Chinese medium students unless some radical changes occurred. There would thus be a residue of students who, if they were to obtain higher education, could only do so by being exposed to an educational tradition other than the British. Taiwan was attracting some students, a university for overseas students was said to be opening in Canton, and within Hong Kong itself American academic traditions were strongly represented in some of the post-secondary colleges. Moreover some of their diplomates were gaining admission to post-graduate courses in the United States and Canada. Thirdly, the colleges themselves, with so much accomplished in spite of daunting difficulties, could not be expected to surrender their achievements or their aspirations. Registered as schools, they wanted an improved status which would show that they were officially recognised as institutions of higher education.

In fact the need for a university teaching through the

medium of Chinese existed for many years. The Report of the Committee on Higher Education in Hong Kong in 1952 had firstly touched on the idea of setting up a separate Chinese University but it was not well received and not recommended. The vast majority of inhabitants in Hong Kong were Chinese, and the Chinese had a traditional love of scholarship, and a highly developed language, literature, and artistic sense. Hong Kong should certainly be a centre for the East and the West to meet not only commercial advantage, but also cultural exchange. To accomplish this, a university with Chinese as the medium of teaching was considered as important as a university with English as the medium of teaching; each would make a valuable complement to the other.<sup>15</sup>

Ever since the inception of the University of Hong Kong, even among the British residents in the colony, there had been many who advanced the idea of establishing a university which would teach through the medium of Chinese, or a university which would teach through the medium of both Chinese and English, in all branches of learning. Private colleges had played an increasingly important part in post-secondary education and had showed increased enrolment. At the end of 1956 at the initial suggestion of the Rev. Charles H. Long, Jr., Representative of the Yale-in-China Association which was assisting New Asia College, the Right Rev. R.O. Hall, Bishop of Hong Kong, called a meeting of representatives from Chung Chi, New Asia and United College to discuss joint policies and action for the achievement of their common objectives. The Provisional Committee for Joint Action by the Chinese Colleges of Hong Kong had several meetings and finally a Chinese College Joint Council was established on 25th February, 1957, with Chung Chi, New Asia and United Colleges each having

three representatives. Bishop Hall and Dr. C.L. Chien of the education department were co-opted as advisers. Dr. F.I. Tseung of the United Colleges was elected the first Chairman. In the same year, these three institutions petitioned to the Hong Kong Government for the authority to award degrees. The petition was sympathetically received.<sup>16</sup>

The objectives of the Council were to raise standards in Chinese higher education; to develop joint policies where possible, to work for the achievement of objectives of common interest and to represent Member colleges in joint negotiations with Government. The Director of Education, D.J.S. Crozier, was informed of the organisation of the Joint Council and he showed sympathy with its aims. Conferences between the Council, the Director of Education and Sir Christopher Cox, Educational Adviser to the Colonial Office, in 1957 offered the hope that there might be a possibility of government support for a new university which would teach through the medium of Chinese - but only when the colleges had achieved the necessary standards. In October 1957, the Council appointed a Committee to discuss standards for admission and for graduation, standards of teaching staff, library provision and equipment and the administration and control of the colleges. Their recommendations were summarized in a Memorandum published in 1958.

This Memorandum seemed to be sympathetically received by the Government and finally a Committee composed of L.G. Morgan, then Deputy Director of Education, Dr. C.L. Chien of the Education Department, Dr. F.I. Tseung, Chairman of the Joint Council and President of United College, Dr. L.G. Kilborn of Chung Chi College, Dr. A.S. Lovett of New Asia College and J.C.L. Wong, then the Executive Secretary of the Council, was

set up to consider a Post-secondary Colleges Ordinance, as well as Grant Regulations to define the conditions under which Government would give financial assistance to selected colleges.

### III. New government policy and the formation of a Chinese University in Hong Kong

By 1959 there were eight colleges of varying standards in operation -- Chung Chi College, New Asia College, United College of Hong Kong, Chu Hai College, Hong Kong Baptist College, Houg Kong College, Hong Kong Arts and Commerce Night School, and Canton Evening College. Chung Chi and Hong Kong Baptist were sponsored by Christian bodies. Chung Chi, New Asia, Hong Kong Baptist, and Houg Kong were day institutions, United College and Chu Hai College offered both day and evening sessions, and the other two provided night classes only. These colleges offered tuition to 2,406 day students and 1,119 evening students in various four-year courses.<sup>7</sup>

In June 1959 the government of Hong Kong took a decisive step in dealing with the Chinese post-secondary colleges. It announced that the government had in mind the eventual establishment of a university in which Chinese would be the principal medium of instruction, that those colleges meeting certain conditions would be given an improved status, though not yet that of university colleges, by being re-registered under a new post-secondary college ordinance, that selected colleges would be helped financially to raise their standards to a level at which they might qualify for university status, probably on a federal basis, and that the government would

in due course appoint a commission to advise whether any of the post-secondary colleges were ready for advancement to university status. Action quickly followed in accordance with this declaration. Financial assistance began that year. Post-secondary College Grant Regulations were drawn up to provide terms for financial assistance to the colleges, to ensure satisfactory conditions for staff, and to provide adequate financial control.

New Asia, Chung Chi and United College were admitted to government aid under the new grant regulations. The regulations also provided for a joint entry examination controlled by a Joint Entry Examination Syndicate, a joint diploma examination controlled by a Standing Post-secondary Colleges Joint Examination Board, and a Joint Establishment Board to advise the Director of Education on teaching establishments and teacher gradings. These colleges held their first joint entry examination at the beginning of August 1959; 804 candidates sat for the examination and 374 of them satisfied the requirements for entrance. Government scholarships and bursaries were tenable for a four-year course at these three colleges. The holders of bursaries took either an arts or science programme and then received a year's training at a government teacher training college.<sup>18</sup> The Joint Establishment was set up in August 1959 to advise the Director of Education on the staffing of colleges, and to assist in assessing grants for establishments.

As proposed in the declaration of June 1959, a number of experts in university education were invited to the colony and gave valuable and encouraging advice both to the government and to the Colleges on their development. In October 1959 the government invited J.S. Fulton (later Lord Fulton),

Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sussex to act as a consultant to the post-secondary college and to advise on the creation of a second university for Hong Kong which might fulfill the aspirations of Chinese-speaking students. In particular he was asked to look into the potentialities of the three colleges as the university's first constituents. His report was submitted and published in March 1960. In the same year a draft ordinance for the Post-secondary colleges was prepared. The government announcement heralded a period of five years in which the three colleges advanced to university status. Their three heads were invited to Britain in 1960 and, in the course of preparations for the visit, World University Service offered them a seminar on the organisation of Britain's universities, during which they received working material and information about the British Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, the Association of University Teachers, the Association of Commonwealth Universities, and the University Grants Committee, almost all presented by members of the staff of the University of Hong Kong. In the same year was started the practice of inviting individual members of the staff of the university of Hong Kong to join the Boards of Governors of the colleges. The new Post-secondary College Ordinance was completed and the bill was given its first reading by the Legislative Council, in March 1960.

Under the Grant Regulations all the approved Post-secondary Colleges were to select students for admission to first year courses from among those attaining an approved standard at a Joint Entry Examination, and to participate in a Joint Diploma Examination. The Joint Diploma Board was established in February 1960 and preparations were begun for

the first joint diploma examination to be held later in the year. These Examinations were controlled by standing Committees composed of members nominated by the approved Post-secondary Colleges on the Grant List and members nominated by the Director of Education. The Diploma awarded by the Board would be confined to Arts, Science and Commerce subjects. The Colleges were also required to participate in the formation of a Joint Establishment Board for selection of staff. In the first year 169 students entered the Joint Diploma Examination, of which 138 passed.<sup>19</sup>

The Post-secondary Colleges Ordinance, 1960, provided for the registration and control of the colleges and for their consequent exemption from the Education Ordinance. The object of this new ordinance was to give statutory recognition to those institutions whose status approached, but did not yet attain, that of a university.

In December 1960 L.G. Morgan, the Deputy Director of Education, was appointed Adviser to the Post-secondary Colleges and a committee was established to help with sites and building. The proposals in the Report for the development of the Colleges towards university status underwent serious study in the Colleges. One of the matters that received very close attention was that of redrafting the courses and syllabuses of the individual colleges, both to make them more suitable for colleges of university standing within a federal structure, and to ensure that they would meet the needs of Hong Kong. Consultants from Britain and America visited the colleges to help them frame courses in arts, science, economics and business administration and advised on the development of their libraries. The Government, acting upon the Colleges' suggestion, in March 1961 approved three special advisers,

Sir James Duff, latterly Vice-Chancellor of Durham University, Dr. R. Mellanby, Head of the Department of Entomology at Rothamsted Experimental Station and Professor F. Folts, of the Harvard School of Business Administration. They were invited to Hong Kong to advise the three colleges.<sup>20</sup>

In June 1961 the Chinese University Preparatory Committee, chaired by C.Y. Kwan,<sup>21</sup> was appointed with representation from the University of Hong Kong. Its terms of reference were to advise on a site for the central university buildings and on the accommodation required. A group of advisers was invited to review the college curriculum. In due course a site in the Upper Shatin Valley, not too far distant from Chung Chi College, was selected and the Government was persuaded to set aside 250 acres for the new University.

The Post-secondary Colleges Grant Regulations were amended in July 1960. New salary scales were introduced with effect from 1st August, 1961, and the Joint Establishment Board was reconstituted in September. These changes were designed to give greater recognition to the services of existing staff and facilitated the recruitment and grading of staff in relation to accept university practice. In July 1961, the three grant colleges held their Joint Entry Examination. During the year they held their Joint Diploma Graduation Ceremony in December 1961.

In January 1962 J.D. Pearson, Librarian of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London was invited to visit Hong Kong and to advise on the organisation, administration and development of library facilities. The Post-secondary Colleges' Joint Establishment Board's recommendations of February 1962, on improved salaries had been, by then, implemented. The report of the special committee appointed



to define more exactly acceptable minimum qualifications for the non-teaching staff of the three grant colleges and to recommend essential establishments for non-teaching staff had also been received. Grants made to the colleges totalled \$9 million for 1962-1963.<sup>23</sup>

#### IV. The Fulton Commission

In May 1962 the Governor appointed a Commission headed by John Fulton, to make more detailed recommendations for the establishing of a new university, in which the medium of teaching would be mainly Chinese.<sup>24</sup> The Commission visited the colony in July and August. It stayed in Hong Kong from 26th July to 15th August and re-assembled in London on three occasions between November 1962 and January 1963. The Commission's interim report, submitted in August, recommended that, if its report was accepted, a federal university based upon the three grant colleges would be formed. In 1962, the British Council presented \$96,000 worth of books and periodicals to the three grant colleges including a micro-film copy of the famous Tunhuang manuscripts now in the British Museum.

In fact the appointment of the Commission was the direct result of the culmination of a series of steps taken in recent years to pave the way for the foundation in Hong Kong of a federal university in which the chief medium of instruction would be Chinese.

The Commission's terms of reference were set out below:

"Having regard for the desire of the Government of Hong Kong to establish a suitably constituted federal-type Chinese University at the earliest

possible date, to advise the Government on the steps which are necessary in order to achieve this aim, and to make such recommendations as the Commission may consider necessary or desirable. In particular, to advise the Government whether all or any of the post-secondary grant colleges are fitted to become constituent colleges of such a university, if so

- (a) to recommend the effective date when such a university should be established and the date when the first degree examinations should be held;
- (b) to prepare a draft constitution for the university;
- (c) to recommend, after consultation with the Government suitable initial arrangements for governmental support for capital and recurrent expenditure by the university;
- (d) to recommend such transitional arrangements as it considers desirable."

The Commission assembled in Hong Kong in excellent office accommodation provided by the government in Wellington Barracks, and it concluded the first stage of its work there on 15th August. During this period the Commission consulted the Governor and the principal members of the Government. The Commission also visited Chung Chi College, New Asia College and the United College of Hong Kong and held discussions with members of governing bodies, Presidents and staff. But at the same time, the Commission found that the three grant colleges were widely different in their traditions, size and style of development.

Among the three colleges Chung Chi College was the largest; in October 1962 it had 531 students and 10 departments,

embracing arts, science, economics and business administration, social studies and religious education and, subject to certain limitations in respect of the library and dormitories, it had all the necessary general amenities on site.

New Asia College was a little smaller, having (in October 1962) 432 students in 12 departments in the faculties of arts, science and commerce and an Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies and Research. It had attractive premises, though space was restricted. The library had pride of place and the general atmosphere was impressively typical of a college genuinely devoted to scholarship.

United College had far fewer students and, in fact, its numbers had been falling. There were only 155 students at the time of the Fulton Commission's visit and this number dropped even further to 110 by October 1962. The College had three faculties (arts, commerce and science) and 9 departments, but the number of students reading science was very small -- only seventeen in the session 1961-1962. There were obvious weaknesses but rigorous re-organisation and government encouragement were pointing the way to better times.

To the diversity of their development and tradition was added a further, and perhaps more crucial, complication, namely the distances which separated them from one another. Chung Chi College was in the New Territories, New Asia College in Kowloon and the United College in Victoria across the Harbour. They had deficiencies in common, too, such as shortage of senior academic and technical staff and a lack of adequate laboratory accommodation, and these pointed to the wisdom of the pooling of resources, especially in science.

The Fulton Report was divided into five parts and covered in detail various aspects of the proposed university. Among

the subjects it discussed were: The academic record and standards of the three Colleges; The establishment of a federal university; The functions and nature of the university; Proposed division of academic responsibilities within the University; The government, organization and procedures of the University; Teaching, examinations and degrees; The date for conducting the first final examination of the University and for the awarding of degrees; The University site; Finance, and the machinery for review of grant; and the interim and transitional arrangements.

The first task that the Commission had to do was to consider which, if any, of the Post-secondary Colleges were ready for inclusion within the new University in the light of the desire of the Government of Hong Kong to establish a suitably constituted federal type university at the earliest possible date. But the Commission thought it was unreasonable to expect any college which was without university status to be able to achieve university standards and the prior achievement of such standards should not be made a pre-requisite for the inclusion of a college within the new University.

The Commission had to look for those features, qualities, resources and achievements in each of the Colleges which would provide evidence of their capacity to become effective constituent members of a new University and to estimate their potentiality for work of university standard. At the same time the difficulties of forming the new University based on any or all of them could be appreciated in proper perspective. In constituting the driving forces, which gave individually to the Colleges with a view to preserving what was good and to carrying it over into the new University.

Chung Chi College sought to promote religion, learning

and research (stated in the College's Constitution of 7th July, 1961). It had 4 departments in science: Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, Biology and 6 arts departments (Chinese Languages and Literature, English Language and Literature, History and Geography, Sociology and Social Work, Economics and Business Administration, Theology and Religious Education). The college had a 'non-departmental course' on the Philosophy of Life. It was planned to give some insight into the philosophical traditions of both East and West including the development of scientific and social thought. Entry to the College was not restricted to Christians. The College had made very determined efforts to ensure that the students who had successfully completed its four-year course should be bi-lingual with a reasonable degree of competence in English as well as in Cantonese and Kuo-Yu.

In the academic programme, there were limited numbers of options for the student's choice of minor and elective subjects. In every case the Dean's supervision ensured that the student had an integrated programme of studies. Many members of the teaching staff were noted for evident enthusiasm in teaching and service in higher Education. In all departments, the work of the College was shown by the Joint Diploma Examination results to be satisfactory and where science teaching was concerned Chung Chi was the best established of the three Post-secondary Colleges. However, seating capacity of the Library was not sufficient, and the dormitories were overcrowded judged by foreign standards, making it difficult for students to study.

The College which had established a link with Dartmouth and Wellesley Colleges in the United States of America had also a succession of Visiting Professors (three in 1962-1963).

The President had it in mind to seek aid from Fulbright and other sources to continue bringing American scholars to the College each year or from time to time.

The Commission recommended that subject to reservations about the Library and dormitories, the College had all the necessary general amenities for its day-to-day purposes.

New Asia College was initially established to preserve traditional Chinese culture and to balance it with western learning. The College calendar set out 'A Creed for New Asia Students' which embodied the spirit and ideals of the institution. The College had three faculties made up of 12 departments.<sup>25</sup>

The minor and elective subjects had to be chosen with advice from the Dean of Studies and others, so that they were related to the student's major field of study. New Asia College had been admitting students for mathematics and biology in the last two sessions and students for physics and chemistry only since October 1961. In addition there was an Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies and Research offering a two-year 'post-graduate' course in Chinese History, Literature and Philosophy.

The College was making an attempt to equip the teaching laboratories and to recruit more teaching staff. Much of the spirit of a university animated the work of New Asia College. The Commission was particularly impressed by the pride of place given to the library and the outstanding sense of responsibility for scholarship. These gave the College a university atmosphere.

The United College of Hong Kong was rather different from that in the other two colleges. The College at first combined evening school work with the post-secondary college work, but

since February 1960 the evening school had been separated and the United College was then concerned almost entirely with four-year full-time courses leading to The United College Diploma and the Colleges' Joint Diploma examination. The College had three faculties and 9 departments.<sup>26</sup>

The College was formerly housed in premises in Caine Road but had now moved to premises in Bonham Road. The problems of accommodation had affected the recruitment of students and the College had no residential facilities. It had no new students for science in the 1961-1962 session and was going through a period of rigorous re-organization. It was also making strenuous effort to recruit good staff in sufficient numbers for science teaching.

The Commission pointed out that the Colleges differed widely in their origins, traditions and development, but that they held a genuine determination to provide a link between the cultures of the East and the West and to send out young men and women who had some understanding and appreciation of both, in addition to giving them a training in one of the conventional disciplines. Although they had their geographical origins in the Chinese mainland and came to the Colony as 'refugees', the Colleges all saw their future purpose as being the promotion of teaching and research of university standard for the people of Hong Kong and especially for the growing number of boys and girls who would be attending the Chinese Middle Schools in the coming years and who would be anxious to have, and were intellectually qualified to benefit by, studies of university type and standard.

Furthermore, from the confidential reports of the examiners for the Post-secondary Colleges Joint Diploma Examination in 1960 and 1961 and from their talks with examiners and with

members of the College staffs, the Commission was of the opinion that a proportion of the candidates passing in the various subjects had attained the standard required for a pass in a general degree examination.

The Fulton Commission, like previous educational reports, had defined a function for a contemporary University in the light of the special role that had to be taken up by the one in Hong Kong.

The Commission explicitly defined the role of a University; "What was the role of a university in the community? ...The duty most generally recognized to lie on universities everywhere to-day was to produce sufficient graduates qualified to offer a wide and diversified range of services in the learned professions, in the public services, in commerce and in industry. The modern community called for more and more highly educated men and women in all spheres of life, and in particular for more and more graduates...".<sup>27</sup>

Society's interest in higher education was deeply involved and its heavy investment in universities reflected this. It followed that university places could not be just for the asking. Thus "higher education cannot just be bought; those who wish for it are subject to tests of qualifications and suitability; and encouragement should be given to suitably qualified young people by a generous system of grand and subventions who would otherwise be unable to afford to enter a university."<sup>28</sup>

But universities too had a duty to young people which went beyond just preparing them for their professional careers. The universities were also the home of fundamental enquiry and a disinterested search for truth. Universities have an obligation to help in maintaining intellectual standards in



the community as a whole.<sup>29</sup>

"The New university will not be sending its graduates out into the world in substantial numbers until the second half of the present decade," the Commission declared "but the demands which will be made on it to provide for Hong Kong special kinds of services through the men and women who have graduated there in 1970s., 1980s and onwards have not been sufficiently indicated to enable us to give clear guidance for the future..., bearing in mind that even the first graduates of the new University will be still engaged in their professional service during the first decade of the XXI century. The measure of what is needed is the future -- not the present still less the past."<sup>30</sup>

The Commission recommended that a federal University should be established in Hong Kong, incorporating as Foundation Colleges, Chung Chi College, New Asia College and the United College of Hong Kong; and the date for the establishment of the University was to be not later than 30th September, 1963.<sup>31</sup> The new University would from the beginning, draw strength from the varied experience of the colleges and would be collegiate: the Colleges' would be constituent and foundation colleges within the University. In general the colleges would be teaching and researching bodies. The University responsible for co-ordinating the functions and the activities of the constituent colleges would have teaching and research functions and would be the examining and degree-awarding body.

There were several advantages for this federal type of University. As the Commission report further pointed out experience of federal universities showed that "the university as a whole gained in stability if each individual college avoided looking anxiously inwards at its own interests and

thinking of itself as 'we' and the other colleges as 'they'... the colleges in any federal university must carry out individual tasks in teaching and in research; but unless they come together for academic tasks which they jointly undertake and carry out in common through machinery which only the existence of the university offers the association will not bear full fruit or enjoy the strength which should flow from the rich diversity of their parts. When they accept full responsibility for one another, the members of the colleges breathe life into the university. They largely provide its government and largely inspire its policies by their association in joint tasks they look outwards as well as inwards, and they grow in strength and stature both as individual colleges and as partners in the University enterprise...".<sup>32</sup>

Besides the special character of a collegiate life, the university should confer important academic advantages. Living, learning and the social activities of the students would more easily be integrated in a college than in a much greater community. Thus a college provided the real benefits of a small scale community to help in focusing loyalty and to assist in the intellectual development of the young. The partnership between colleges in a federal university offered the advantages of large scale organisation and cooperation between colleges and could make possible the offering of a range of academic subjects which none of the colleges by itself could hope to supply. The central resources of the university could supplement the academic resources of the colleges in the most costly fields of work.

The commission report pointed out that it would not be wise for each college to teach precisely the same range of courses as its partners because it would be a wasteful use

of teachers and of physical resources. The most searching test of the new University would be found to lie in the ability of the Colleges to throw themselves whole-heartedly into reciprocal arrangements for the teaching of their students. Inter-collegiate lectures -- and inter-collegiate arrangements for supervision and for tutorials -- would open to all students the whole range of academic talent which the new University could attract and in undertaking these responsibilities for one another the colleges would bring the University into its fullest life.<sup>33</sup>

For the organisation of this new university, each college had to play a significant part. The status of the Colleges would be that of constituent colleges enjoying, as such, rights under the constitution of the University to participate in the management and control of university affairs. The three colleges, Chung Chi, New Asia and the United College would be Foundation Colleges, a distinction which would mark them off from any other sister colleges which might subsequently be admitted to membership of the University. Each college could have its own College constitution. But should there be conflict between the provisions of the constitutions of the Colleges and that of the University, the University Ordinance and Statutes were to prevail. It was desirable that some provision should be included in the constitutions of the Colleges whereby the Committee set up to fill any vacancy in the office of President of a college should include two representatives of the University, one of whom was to be the Vice-Chancellor.

From the nature of the governing body of the University it was the task of the Vice-Chancellor to take up the overall responsibility. The Vice-Chancellorship was to be a permanent

office and held to the exclusion of any other appointment. He or she should be the natural executive and academic leader of the institution as a whole and accepted by the Colleges as such. His influence on the making of policy in all spheres would be a primary one; he would be free from the possibly restrictive loyalties which might result from his attachment by a specially close tie to any one of the constituent colleges; he was to be aware of the constituent colleges; he was to be aware of what the University thought in all its parts and at all its levels; the advice he offered to University bodies whether they were academic or financial was to be based upon this insight; he should possess an intimate knowledge of the University, of its desires and of its needs; he should not only be its representative, vis-a-vis the Government and the public but its acknowledged spokesman, advocate and champion. The Vice-Chancellor had to be sympathetic to the Colleges and he had to work so that the progress of the University would be expressed through the growth and progress of the colleges. His relationship with the Presidents of the Colleges should be close, frank and friendly. It would be no part of this relationship that he should give instructions or orders but it would be his duty to give the kind of lead to which academic might be expected to respond.<sup>34</sup>

At the same time an Academic Planning Committee was proposed. It was composed of the Presidents of the Colleges together with the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman. It was hoped that a close working relationship would grow between the Presidents of the Colleges and the Vice-Chancellor in carrying out the tasks. It would be a permanent working party whose planning and preparation of University business, would ensure that the deliberations of the University Council would be as

well-informed.<sup>35</sup>

The formal organisation of the university consisted of (1) the Senate, (2) Faculties, (3) Boards of Studies, (4) Teachers. The Senate was going to play a leading responsible and unifying part in the affairs of the University from the outset. It would be the University's academic parliament. The University Council would consult the Senate before decisions of policy were taken. The Senate would include six members drawn from the non-professional staff.

The University Faculties would be composed of all 'Appointed Teachers' and 'Recognised Lecturers' in the relevant subjects, together with the Vice-Chancellor and the Presidents of the Colleges. Each Faculty would nominate for appointment by the Senate two of its members (one of whom should be the Dean) to be members of a 'University Higher Degrees Committee'. This Committee would consider all applications for registration of candidature for higher degrees and make an appropriate recommendation to the Senate about the award of any higher degree.

In order to enable the Senate to receive the views and advice of the teachers about the academic work and courses, there would be established a number of Boards of Studies, each of which would report to and make recommendations to the Senate. Each Board would include in its membership all Appointed Teachers and Recognised Lecturers. Each Board of Studies would have in its membership at least one Director of University Studies, and this Director or one of the Directors if the Board included more than one, would be chairman of the Board and would present the reports of the Board meeting to the Senate. The Senate would have power to set up Boards of Studies, to define their responsibilities and to seek

their advice. In this way all the Appointed Teachers and Recognised Lecturers in the colleges would have the opportunity to play a part in formulating the schemes of study. They would have a share in academic decisions. The Director of University Studies in a subject would from time to time consult all the teachers from all the colleges in his subject.

The teachers in the new University would be in one of three main categories -- 'Appointed Teachers', 'Recognised Lecturers' and 'Other Teachers'. Each Appointed Teacher and Recognised Lecturer would be a member of one or more University faculties. He would be a member of the faculty or faculties to which his post had been assigned, and, on the recommendation of a board of studies in another faculty, he could be appointed by the Senate to membership of that faculty.

In financing the new university, the Commission made recommendations to the authority on the question of the period of the Government grant. The Commission advocated the practice of triennial or quinennial allocation of finance for the new university as most universities enjoyed throughout the Commonwealth. For both university and government there were important advantages in this process: a grant for a period of years forced a university to plan ahead, to clarify its priorities, to face its responsibilities. For the government it had the great advantage that it could clearly see the nature of the development it was asked to finance, and seeing it clearly, judge the merits of the university's self-projected 'image'. The grant from the Government of Hong Kong to the University should as soon as possible be placed on a triennial basis. On the other hand, the commission report emphasised further that, from the point of view of a unitary university, a triennial grant was of great importance because the University was

to have very considerable powers over the annual estimates and expenditure of its constituent Colleges. It was also essential for the well-being and development of the 'personality' of the individual Colleges that the Government should let the University know a reasonable time in advance what annual grants it would make available over a succession of years. In the preparation of its own estimates a College would be able to air and argue for its academic plans and ambitions in relation to the longer period. A critical self-examination of the University during the periodic review was envisaged. On each occasion each College would have scope for re-thinking its future and would have the opportunity of persuading the university to adopt its proposals. Even if these were accepted only in part, each college would have retained a real measure of initiative in regard to its own development; this would make the University supervision of the Colleges' annual expenditure much less irksome than it might, otherwise be.<sup>36</sup>

At the same time, the Commission made several recommendations on the entrance requirement. For the time being, the Colleges should continue to select their entrants from among those who had passed an examination similar to that administered by the Post-secondary Colleges Joint Entry Examination Syndicate. Eventually the machinery of that syndicate and its standards might be taken over and administered by the University. At some later stage the standard of admission would be raised. It was expected that within ten years of the establishment of the University, it would prove possible to set the standard of entry at a level comparable with that of other established universities. The Joint Entry Examination was desirable and it should provide evidence that the candidate

had reached a standard in a range of subjects that on entry to the University would provide evidence he would be able to proceed directly to, understand and progress in, the fields of study included in his proposed degree course, including the Chinese and English languages. Provided the examination standards were kept at a satisfactory level, the existing general entrance requirements -- passes in Chinese Language, English Language and in three other subjects -- were sufficient, but a pass in a total of not less than five subjects, including Chinese Language and English Language, would be required. The attainment of a higher standard in two or three subjects would also be required.

With the greatly increased population of Hong Kong, education was and would continue to be a major problem. The Commission also recommended that a Faculty of Education should be a part of the University from an early stage. The best arrangement would be for the study of educational theory, teaching method and the necessary school-teaching practice to be put together into one year of post-graduate study. The staff of the Faculty would have to include from the beginning a Professor or a Reader and not less than two other members of staff of the status of lecturer or above.

The Commission however was not in agreement with the proposals put forward by the representatives of Colleges that there would be some need to provide courses leading to a diploma in 'social science' in view of the urgency of the need for Chinese welfare workers in Hong Kong. Instead, the Commission report sympathesised with the comments that training courses for social workers should be confined to Chung Chi College where they were already established. By so doing, however, this was in no way intended to prejudice the



establishment of degree courses in social studies (economics, administration, government, sociology, statistics, and so on) at the other Colleges, particularly at the United College.<sup>37</sup>

The establishment of Institutes and their place in the total pattern of teaching and research within the University raised difficult questions for the Commission. The Commission however favoured that at the early stage of development the Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies and Research would in general be placed on a University footing. But for its financing in the future, it should remain, with appropriate representation for the interests of the University, within the jurisdiction and physically a part of the College.

Finally the Commission recommended that a Placement Service or University Appointments Board be set up within a year of the foundation of the new University. The members should include the Vice-Chancellor or his deputy, the Presidents of the three Foundation Colleges, representatives of the Council and Senate, and representatives of industrial organisations in Hong Kong. It would not only help to place graduation in employment but also would be a source of information for those concerned in the development of industry in Hong Kong about the potential usefulness of graduates in industry.<sup>38</sup>

The Post-secondary Colleges Ordinance of 1960 and the Fulton Report give some indication of Hong Kong's attitude to university development. There was emphasis on long-term financial planning, qualifications for staff, academic control, and logical co-ordination of the content and sequence of courses. In addition, the ordinance suggested rather more government control over teachers that would be acceptable at that period of time to most universities in other British

countries. Part-time work was strongly criticised; a college doing evening teaching was to register as a separate college from the one teaching during the day -- a provision which would make it very difficult to use part-time teachers in the evening and full-time teachers during the day for the same students. Finally the colleges were to restrict numbers and raise standards of entry and to maintain a staff-student ratio of about one to ten or better. These provisions hardly suggest a policy of deliberate denial of higher education to the local population, but rather one of basing required standards somewhat inflexibly on the model of British universities. They did not suggest any great awareness of the impact of demographic pressures, national income differences, or urgent demands for economic development.<sup>39</sup>

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1. The Times Educational Supplement, August 8, 1958.
2. John Francis Cramer, 'The Chinese Colleges in Hong Kong', in Comparative Education Review, Vol.3, No.1, June 1959, p.27.
3. Steve S.C. Huang, 'The Chinese University of Hong Kong', in Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol.V, 1965, p.86.
4. Cramer, op. cit., p.26.
5. Chien Mu (Chien Pin Szn), President of New Asia College, born on July 30, 1895, Husih, Kiangsu, China; Chinese educated in Changchow Middle School, 1911; career as Professor of Peking University, Tsing Hua University and Yenching University, 1931-1937; Professor of Southwest Union University, 1937-1940; Dean of Chinese Studies of Shangtung University, 1940-1943; Professor of West China University and Szechuan University, 1943-1946; Professor of Yunnan University, 1946-1947; Dean of Arts of Kiang Nan University, 1947-1949; Honorary Research Fellow of Oriental Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1950. He received the Highest Chinese Academic Scholarship award from the government of the Republic of China, 1955; honoured LLD by the University of Hong Kong in 1955.
6. Bernard Mellor, The University of Hong Kong: An Informal History (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1980), Vol.One, p.118.
7. Reuben Holden, Yale in China: The Mainland 1901-1951 (New Haven: The Yale in China Association Inc., 1964), p.273.
8. John T.S. Chen, 'Chung Chi Celebrates 20th Anniversary' in The Asian Student, November 13, 1971, p.5. For details also see: D.Y. Lin, 'How the college began', in Chung Chi Journal, 25th Anniversary, special edition, No.61, 1979, p.10-12.
9. Y.L. Lee was the President of the Lingnan University from 1938 to 1948 and was awarded the LLD degree by Oberlin College, where he had taken his Bachelor's degree. Later he became the founder-President of Chung Chi College in Hong Kong, and he held the position till his death in 1954.  
For his detailed career consult: Charles Hodge Corbett, Lingnan University: A Short History Based Primarily on the Records of the University's American Trustees (New York: Trustees of Lingnan University, 1963)  
'The first President of Chung Chi College' in The Chung Chi Journal, 25th Anniversary, special edition, No.61, 1979, p.13-14.
10. Chen, op. cit.,
11. The Chung Chi College had been offered a grant of one million Hong Kong dollars by the government, but that had been refused as it was felt that it might mean a certain

loss of independence. The College accepted a free site, and a railway station. (From: The Times Educational Supplement, September 7, 1956).

12. Ping Chuan Chen, Fifty years in University Education -- a Memor (Hong Kong: Chen's Publisher), p.19.
13. During the period from May 1961 to July 1962, the College was able to effect radical changes in its organisation and administration through the efforts of Ho Nga-ming and Wong Yee-wa, who were seconded by the Hong Kong Government Education Department to act as Vice-President and Academic Registrar. (From: United Bulletin, 1966, November 30th Tenth Anniversary Commemorative Issues, November, 1986, Vol.14).
14. Cramer, op. cit., p.28.
15. Huang, op. cit., p.86.
16. The First Six years, 1963-1969: The Vice-Chancellor's Report (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1964), p.3.
17. I.C.M. Maxwell, Universities in Partnership: The Inter-University Council and the growth of Higher Education in developing countries, 1964-1970 (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1980), p.327.
18. Annual Report by the director of Education, 1959/60 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.5.
19. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1960 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.112.
20. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1961 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.116.
21. Ibid.,
22. Annual Report by the director of Education, 1961/62 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.5.
23. Annual Report by the director of Education, 1962/63 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.3.
24. The members of the commission were : J.S. Fulton, MA, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sussex (chairman); Professor Li Choh-ming, PhD, Professor of Business Administration and Director of the Centre for Chinese Studies, University of California; J.V. Loach, BSc., PhD., FRIC, Registrar of the University of Leeds; Professor Thon Saw Pak, BSc., PhD, F. Inst. P., Professor of Physics, University of Malay, Kuala Lumpur; Professor F.G. Young, MA, DSc., PhD, FRS, FRIC, Professor of Biochemistry, University of Cambridge; and I.C.M. Maxwell, MA, Secretary to the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas (secretary).
25. In the faculty of Arts there were departments of Chinese Literature, History, Philosophy and Sociology, English language and Literature, and Fine arts. In the Faculty

of Commerce there were departments of Economics, Commerce, and Business Administration. In the Faculty of Science, there were departments of Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry & Biology.

26. In the faculty of Arts there were departments of Chinese literature, English, Sociology, and History & Geography. There were departments of Economics and Business Administration in the Faculty of Commerce. In the faculty of Science, there were departments of Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry.
27. Report of the Fulton Commission, 1963 (Hong Kong: S. Young Government Printer, 1964), p.20.
28. Ibid., p.25.
29. Ibid.,
30. Ibid.,
31. The idea of 'federal university' proposed by the Fulton Commission is slightly different from that of the University of London. In Sir Douglas Logan's 'Report by the Principal on the work of the university during the year 1962-1963' (1963), p.3, cited in Negley Harte; The University of London 1836-1986 (London: The Athlone Press Ltd., 1986), p.260, it was stated that:  
"London is a federal university of Byzantine complexity. Don't bother about its bureaucratic structure but concentrate on its separate teaching institutions, all of which select their students themselves."
32. Report of the Fulton Commission, 1963, op. cit., p.29.
33. Ibid., p.34-35.
34. Ibid., p.34.
35. Ibid.,
36. Ibid., p.54.
37. Ibid., p.124.
38. Ibid., p.126.
39. T.H. Silcock, Southeast Asian University: A comparative of some development problems (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964), p.47.

## Chapter Seven: Industrialization and the Establishment of the Hong Kong Polytechnic

### I. The early development of higher technical education

The development of technical higher education in Hong Kong can be traced back to the early 1900s. By May 1907 the Hong Kong Government had appointed a Committee to inquire into the subjects of instruction at the Government Evening School of Chinese Studies. A report was published in the following September with the result that some of the classes were re-organised. Under the title of the Hong Kong Technical Institute, it was reopened in October.

The object of the Institute was to afford facilities for a commercial and scientific training to students, and in particular, to enable those who left school to resume and continue their studies. There were three sections in the Institute. They were: an engineering section which provided courses in building construction, field surveying, machine drawing, steam mechanics, and mathematics; a commerce section which had courses in English, French, German, shorthand and book-keeping and a science section with courses in chemistry and physics. There was a total student enrolment of 355.<sup>1</sup> The classes were attended for the most part by Chinese, but a considerable number of Europeans also attended. In 1908 there was also a teachers' class for the Chinese who were teaching in the junior forms of Government schools. The Institute was furnished with a well equipped laboratory. The lecturers were chiefly civil servants recruited from the

European staffs of Queen's College and the Public Works Department. They were paid for their services.

In 1910 a kindergarten class was started for teachers working in girls schools. Gradually more subjects were added to the curriculum. They included: machine drawing, building constructions, logic and political economy. Classes in sanitation (public hygiene) and first aid were also held, the examination being conducted under the auspices of the Royal Sanitary Institute, London, and the St. John's Ambulance Association respectively. While the Institute had suffered in several directions from the competition provided by the University, it continued to perform many useful functions of its own. Above all the Institute provided an alternative to higher education for those students unable to secure a place in the University. Courses were thus continually being added. Instruction was being given in 1928, in building construction, field surveying, mathematics, chemistry, included practical matallurgy, electricity, seamanship and cookery.<sup>2</sup>

In 1931 a Committee was formed by the Government and placed under the Chairmanship of Sir William Hornell, to study the possibility of introducing a system of practical technical education into Hong Kong. The Committee recommended (1) that a junior technical school be opened, (2) that further steps be taken to provide evening instruction for apprentices, and (3) that an investigation into the possibility of extending full-time day instruction be carried out at a later date.<sup>3</sup>

As a direct result of this report a junior technical school was opened by the government in 1933 to provide youths wishing to enter the engineering industry with a sound basic education in science and technology prior to their entering upon a period of apprenticeship.

In 1934 the decision to build a trade school for the engineering and building industries was taken. The Building Contractors' Association approached the Government with an offer to erect the school premises at cost price. By November 1936 the building for the new trade school was completed.

The trade school was organised in departments, each with its own conditions of entry, course of instruction, and specialist staff. The first department to admit students was the department of wireless telegraphy, which was to succeed the Government School of wireless telegraphy previously controlled by the Public Works Department. Its main object was the training of wireless operators for service on merchant ships in Far Eastern waters.<sup>4</sup> In March 1937 the department of building was opened. From the beginning the trade school placed great emphasis on the necessity for linking up the school courses with the building industry of the colony. Situated in Wood Road, Wanchai in the Hong Kong Island, the school provided classes in building, mechanical engineering and marine wireless operating.

During the Japanese occupation (1941-1945), like other institutions of higher learning, the government trade school and the technical institute could not escape ruin. Damage and looting of equipment prevented the reopening of the schools. At the close of 1946 no resumption of work could be expected for some months. Some of the large quantity of equipment required to re-equip the trade school was expected to arrive early in 1947. The first course of training was to be a wireless operator's course. The resumption of other activities was entirely dependent on the somewhat uncertain arrival of equipment from the United Kingdom. At the same time the trade school was re-named as the Technical College



in order to give a better idea of the function it was destined to fulfil in the life of the colony.

In November 1947 one class was reopened and others were added from time to time. The new Technical College was still not able to reopen all the classes conducted before the war. Evening classes with an enrolment of 851 students were operated and included instruction in preliminary engineering and ship-building as well as in wireless telegraphy. Many of the pupils who attended these classes were apprentices from the Royal Naval, Kowloon and Taikoo Dockyards. The Junior Technical School was finally reopened in September 1948.<sup>5</sup> The latter held classes in English, mathematics and machine drawing in the Technical College premises. New accommodation was made available in September 1950.

Where technical education was concerned the Junior Technical School offered a general education in preparation for the work of the Technical College. Close contact was maintained with local employers and representatives of organised labour. In 1951 the visit of Dr. F.J. Harlow, Assistant Educational Adviser on Technical Education to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the formation of a Technical Education Investigating Committee the same year, demonstrated the interest of the Government in technical and vocational training. The Committee which consisted of government officers and representatives of commerce and industry appointed in November of the same year collated information on all forms of technical training available in Hong Kong and made recommendations for improvements.<sup>6</sup> In 1952 Mr. F.H. Reid, the Principal of South East London Technical College, was invited by the Government to visit the colony and advise on the framing of a comprehensive policy for the development of technical

education. It was in the same year that, for the first time since 1941, students who left both the Junior Technical School and the Mechanical Engineering Department of the Technical College completed four and three year courses respectively. Since close contact had been maintained with local employers successful students were very rapidly absorbed by local industry. The Technical Education Investigation Committee, in the process of preparing its report, issued an interim recommendation urging financial provision for extensions to the Technical College in the fiscal year 1953-1954.

A standing committee on Technical Education and Vocational Training was set up in 1953 and was concerned with adult technical classes, and an advisory committee already existed in connexion with the Evening School of Higher Chinese Studies. Maximum enrolment figures for adult education in classes provided directly by the Government were 1,403 in general study classes, 2,600 in technical classes, and 332 in the School of Higher Chinese Studies. General courses were determined by demand; they included accountancy, commercial book-keeping and costing, shorthand, English, biology, handwork and carpentry. Additional classes in English and book-keeping had been started in rural areas, where literacy classes were also organised. The Technical College evening courses included building, electrical engineering, field surveying, mechanical engineering and naval architecture. These were divided into a senior course of three years' duration, and an advanced course of two years. These corresponded to S1, S2 and S3, and A1, A2 respectively, of the National Certificate courses offered in United Kingdom technical colleges. There were shorter courses in shot-firing and blasting and in internal combustion engines, in which the medium of instruction was

Cantonese. There was also an engineering (primary) course in the evenings, which lasted for three years and provided a basic education in English and mathematics, with some technical drawing. The aim was to enable students with a poor basic elementary education to reach the standard necessary to enter the senior courses.<sup>7</sup>

In 1953 the Technical Education Investigating Committee reported that a technical college in Kowloon was essential.<sup>8</sup>

The Chinese Manufacturers' Association offered to give \$1 million towards such a new college in Kowloon if the Government would give a similar sum and provide a site. The Government accepted the offer and in 1956 there began construction of a new building for the Hong Kong Technical College. The following year the Governor, Sir Alexander Grantham, opened the new premises in Hung Hom. At the same time the Technical College Evening Department continued to expand. To a great extent, like other Southeast Asian Countries the vocational education in Hong Kong until after the Second World War, was still largely confined to simple trade instruction in carpentry, building and fitting middle-level technicians were trained on an hoc basis by the Government departments concerned - public works, the railways, telecommunications.<sup>9</sup>

## II. The growth of industries and the expansion of technical education: the Technical College and the Institute

In the 1950s the rapid industrialisation of the colony was causing a great demand for technical education.<sup>10</sup>

Hong Kong had become a British colony in 1841 for a purpose of trade with China, and it had prospered as a trading

post because of the security and the freedom from interference which it offered. Astride a major sea route of the Far East and at the very gateway to Southern China, it had existed as an entrepot, a mart and storehouse for goods in transit to Asia and the West. This dominant entrepot character of the colony had prevailed until the 1950s.

'The Harbour is Hong Kong' was an old saying and an indisputable fact because the first industries were the natural offshoots of a prosperous port.<sup>11</sup> The first industrial venture was ship-repairing and the first local product was a ship launched at East Point in 1843, two years after the colony was established. By 1860 a large graving dock had been set up at Aberdeen. The first sugar refinery was established in 1878, and a second one in 1884 to meet the demands of ships' victualling officers. In 1885 a rope factory was started, again primarily to cater for the seafaring trade, and in 1899 a cement factory was moved from Macau to Hong Kong. From time to time there were other tentative efforts to set up new industries. Thus, the first spinning mill was opened in 1899, although it closed down a few years later. In 1902 the manufacture of rattanware began. In 1906 iron mining was started and a flour mill was opened in the New Territories. Like the spinning mill, the flour mill did not last long. In 1910 the knitting of cotton singlets and vests was first established. Some of these ventures obtained a firm foothold and flourished, but they went more or less unnoticed amid the colony's growing entrepot activities.

At the outbreak of the First World War the picture was of a number of enterprises linked with the operation of the port, as well as some cottage industries. An impetus was given to the development of light industry by the 1914-1918

war when the colony was denied various manufactured goods from European sources and turned to making them itself - for example, vests, towels, biscuits, perfumery, and cigarettes. Later developments included a weaving factory, operating thirty hand looms and established in 1922, and a flashlight factory, established in 1927. But the first really important stimulus to industry occurred in the 1930's with the immigration of factories as a result of disturbed conditions in Kwangtung and subsequently with the introduction, under the Ottawa Agreements, of Imperial Preference.<sup>12</sup> These concessions encouraged local manufacturers to compete in new markets outside neighbouring areas and attracted new investment to the colony. By 1935 knitting and weaving had become an important industry, as had also the manufacture of flashlights and rubber footwear.

The next important stimulus to development was the outbreak of the Second World War when part of the demand for war materials was met in Hong Kong by the supply of locally-built ships' webbing equipment, and other military and civilian supplies for which contracts were obtained. It was estimated that in 1941 there were about 1,200 factories in operation. On the restoration of British rule in August 1945 immediate steps were taken to rehabilitate the colony. Emphasis was placed on the resumption of commerce, and in November 1945, not three months after the liberation from the Japanese occupation, the colony was formally reopened for private trading. This did much to strengthen public confidence. The merchant community quickly availed itself of the regained facilities and the volume of trade increased rapidly. The market for both capital and consumer goods of all kinds in the war-torn Far East was so favourable to sellers that many new commercial

enterprises grew up almost overnight. For two years the business boom continued steadily, although in 1947 there were fears of a recession owing to unsettled conditions prevailing in China. Faced with foreign exchange difficulties and mounting inflation, the Chinese government imposed severe restrictions on imports, while the military situation in the north made it difficult for Hong Kong merchants to obtain traditional items for export. They directed their efforts elsewhere particularly to South-East Asia, and contrary to expectations, business in the colony continued to prosper. The apparently insatiable demand for consumer goods throughout the whole of the Far East continued until 1949 and it was relatively easy to divert cargoes originally intended for China.

Although merchant shipping was embarrassed by the blockade of Chinese ports after 1949 by the Nationalists who had withdrawn from the mainland, deliveries of goods to North China increased and at the end of 1950 there were signs of a brighter future - improved trade relations with China, an increase in the volume of business with South-East Asian territories, and more local industries. In 1950 the colony's total trade had reached the record figure of \$7,503 million.<sup>13</sup> This trade boom was short-lived. Trade reached the all-time value record of \$9,303 million in 1951, but three factors then completely transformed the colony's economic position - the first was the imposition of restrictions on trade with China by the western powers; the second, and partly a consequence of the embargo, an abrupt change in the trading policy of China; the third, and the most important factor of all, the arrival of the refugees.

In early 1947 a well-informed article in an American journal said: "Hong Kong means trade. Apart from the British-

American Tobacco Company, a few small textile, joss-stick and rubber-shoe factories, and the like, there are no manufacturing companies of more than local importance. Trade still comes first in Hong Kong's economy, but industry in 1950 was running it a close second. The development of the industries in the last two or three years has been dramatic."<sup>14</sup>

In 1948 the Chinese Manufacturers Union of Hong Kong sponsored a great exhibition of Hong Kong products. At the opening ceremony, the Governor, Sir Alexander Grantham, once said; "...As we all know, Hong Kong lives by its manufactures are becoming of increasing importance. For instance, at this exhibition there are displayed two of the latest Colony ventures -- plastics and cotton yarn. I trust that these and the other products which have previously been exhibited have come to stay... Hong Kong products can only hold their own if they compare favourably in price with products of other countries: therefore it behoves the various industries to make themselves as efficient as possible..."<sup>15</sup>

It was in 1949 that the colony began to benefit from a substantial influx of capital from the mainland, seeking secure investment, and the first signs of the initial upsurge in industrial development which was to occur over the next four years became noticeable. But it was also the time when the Colony had imposed upon it a back-breaking burden under which it has staggered ever since - a vast, overwhelming influx of population.

The Korean War began in June 1950 and the Colony started introducing controls over trade in strategic materials the following month. The next year was even more fateful for Hong Kong. As a result of the United Nations' resolution of 18th May, 1951, a partial embargo on trade with China was

imposed in June. This was a crippling blow to Hong Kong commerce. Thus the entrepot trade with China continued only as a shadow of its former self and Hong Kong was in fact saved from economic disaster mainly by its determined exertions in the field of industry. It was from China that the main ingredients of the industrial revolution came, in the form of capital, entrepreneurs and labour it was the sharp spur of necessity that speeded it up from 1950 onwards. As the colony's position as an entrepot for China trade declined, it began to take more interest in world trade of wider variety. Further, it switched its emphasis from trading to manufacture and this so quickly that few people, even in the colony itself, were aware at the time of what was happening. Hong Kong's entrepot economy was therefore severely hampered by these two historical events. On the one hand, its inhabitants found themselves substantially struck away from their traditional means of livelihood; on the other, it had the headaching problems of providing food and shelter for a sudden increase in population resulting from the great influx of immigrants from mainland China - For its economic survival, the only avenue open to Hong Kong was to establish a new economic frontier i.e. industrialization.<sup>16</sup>

Hong Kong thus succeeded in making a virtue of its own necessities; and the consequent increase in the industrial potential of the colony between 1947 and 1952 was illustrated by the fact that in the former year there were 1,050 industrial undertakings employing 64,000 workers and in the latter 2,088 industrial undertakings employing 98,126 workers. In 1947 locally-manufactured goods accounted for about 10% of the colony's exports; in 1952 the figure had risen to almost 25%.<sup>17</sup>

The rapid growth of light industry during this period was



shown on the increase in the numbers of undertaking and workers, although shipbuilding and ship-repairing remained the colony's principal heavy industry.

	No. of undertakings		No. of workers	
	1948	1958	1948	1958
Rubber footwear	49	69	4,370	7,864
Plasticware	3	296	33	8,024
Metal products	214	575	11,100	24,342
Cotton spinning	6	20	1,750	12,613
Knitting	183	272	5,084	8,511
Cotton weaving	151	183	6,480	15,870
Garments and shirts	25	455	654	20,366
Shipbuilding & repairing	19	30	9,730	10,049

The textile industry as a whole, embracing cotton spinning, weaving, and the manufacture of wearing apparel, had been for some years the largest employer of labour in the Colony, accounting for over one third of employment in industrial undertakings. Other main industries from the point of view of employment were the manufacture of foodstuffs and printing. Despite the concentration on these leading industries, however there was diversification too, such as: wool spinning and weaving, carpet making, glove making, photo-engraving, the manufacture of marbles, fishing nets, latex products, bicycle tyres, steel bars, pressure stoves, kerosene lamps, cutlery, fire extinguishers, watch cases, slide fasteners, cameras, artificial pearls, gramophone records, fountain pens, and plastic articles of all kinds, including raincoats and acid-resisting pipes.

In the training of future technicians, managers and engineers for local industries, the Hong Kong Technical College

and the University of Hong Kong had long played their parts. With the Colony's industrial expansion, public awareness of the importance of technical education was growing steadily, already reflected in an offer by the Chinese Manufacturers' Association in 1956 to contribute \$1 million towards the construction of a new Technical College. Generous offerings of money and equipment were also received from other industrial sources.

In fact the opening of the new Technical College in Kowloon was an important landmark in technical education in the Colony. The new building cost more than \$5,000,000. Rather more than half this sum was subscribed in the form of donations in cash or in equipment by local commercial and industrial interests. An Advisory Committee for the new department of textiles was formed and the mechanical engineering curriculum included more production engineering subjects. At the beginning of the session in 1957 there were 345 full-time and 5,432 part-time students.<sup>19</sup> Courses, some full-time, some part-time at the Technical College included mechanical and electrical engineering, building construction, naval architecture, telecommunications engineering, field surveying, mathematics and commercial subjects. The courses ranged from part-time day release courses for health inspectors and engineering apprentices to courses for Ministry of Transport Certificates of Competency and the equivalents of the Ordinary and Higher National Certificates offered by technical colleges in the United Kingdom.

In 1958 more additional accommodation and new facilities for the Technical College were installed. Keswick Hall, built with the aid of generous donations, provided both the College and other public organisations with much needed accommodation

in Kowloon for lectures, meetings and social activities. Trade Advisory Committees were formed for Building, Commerce, Textile, Electrical Engineering and Mechanical Engineering Departments. An Advisory Committee was also set up for the Technical Colleges as a whole.

A Conference on technical education, attended by representatives of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, British North Borneo and Hong Kong, was held at the Technical College in April 1959. The College opened the 1961-1962 session in September, with record enrolment figures of 747 full-time students and 7,321 students in part-time day and evening classes. This was an overall increase of 893. This increase could be partially attributed to the Commonwealth Technical Training Week held in Hong Kong during April. The large institutions for technical and vocational training, private firms and government departments which provided apprenticeship training, joined in a five-day career's exhibition that attracted 40,000 visitors; thousands of leaflets on technical careers were distributed.<sup>20</sup> In the 1961-1962 academic year several new courses were initiated, including those leading to the ARICS, professional qualifications in architecture, structural engineering, and Associateship of the Australian Society of Accountants. Part-time courses for training technical and shorthand teachers were also started and a pre-sea course for nautical apprentices and cadets was reopened after being suspended for two years. As part of the Mechanical Production Engineering Department of the College, a Productivity Centre was inaugurated in October to provide short courses in such subjects as material handling, plant layout, work study and quality control. New laboratories for heat engines, production engineering, electrical machines and

electrical instruments were brought into use. A donation of \$100,000 was received from Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. with a similar amount from the Government to provide a new library building, the drawings for which had already been approved. A donation of US\$250,000 was received from the American Government to provide a new five-floor workshop block which would accommodate facilities for teaching carpentry and joinery, bricklaying, plastering, decorating, plumbing, welding, machine fitting and electrical installation and repair work. A number of students were found places each year as student apprentices or junior draughtsmen with firms in Britain. A new development was the participation of Australian firms in this valuable form of training.<sup>21</sup>

The Abraham Lincoln Workshop, built with the donation of US\$250,000 from the United States Government was opened in November 1964. A two-storey library and reading room for staff and students, built with the assistance of the donation from the Imperial Chemical Industries (China) Limited was completed in September of the same year. Local and overseas firms, organisations and individuals supported the work of the college by generous donations of materials. Gifts of books to the college library were made by a number of local booksellers by the British Council and by the United States Information Service.<sup>22</sup>

In 1967 the Technical College had already had total enrolment of 14,350 students in 106 courses, comprising 1,593 full-time students in 59 classes, 492 part-time day students in 22 classes and 12,265 evening students in 392 classes distributed in 21 centres. The college had 8 departments: building, surveying and structural engineering, commerce and management studies, electrical engineering, mechanical, production and

marine engineering, textile industries, nautical studies, mathematics and science, and industrial and commercial design. A wool workshop, donated by the International Wool Secretariat and the Federation of Hong Kong Industries, and a new extension to other classroom block were completed during the early part of 1967. The wool workshop was officially opened by the Governor in November.<sup>23</sup> In the same year a new Department of Commercial and Industrial Design was added and this marked the beginning of professional instruction in this new field.

In 1970 the Technical College began to place more weight on the training of the high level technician and thus gradually it transferred its lower-level technician and craft courses to the Morrison Hill Technical Institute. The Morrison Hill Technical Institute, which was run by the Education Department, was established in September 1969, and spent the first academic year organising courses, on a limited scale, in borrowed premises at the Technical College, Hung Hom, Kowloon. It moved to the new accommodation at Morrison Hill in the summer of 1970,<sup>24</sup> and classes commenced in the new building in September of that year 1970. The main function of the Technical Institute was to provide facilities for the training of craftsmen and lower-level technicians in the field of the construction, mechanical and electrical engineering trades. In addition there were courses in business studies. The Institute also fulfilled an important role in providing technical teacher workshop instructor training which gave qualified status. Courses were run on a full time, block-release, part-time day release and evening basis. Short courses, in specialised subjects, were also organised. The Institute, by concentrating on lower-level courses enabled the facilities of the Technical College to be employed mainly for the training of

technologists and high-level technicians.

In 1971 the Technical College began to play its new role as one of Hong Kong's post-secondary institutions by expanding and modifying its programme. In addition to the two-year and three-year diploma courses, the electrical engineering department also offered courses for first and second-class radio officers, and a three-month course in radar maintenance which gave training to qualified sea-going officers and technicians. With effect from September 1971, the radio officers' courses were replaced by a two-year marine electronic officers' courses leading to the Telecommunication Authority's Radio Communication General Certificate. In addition the department of nautical studies operated courses for deck officer cadets. These were approved by the British Department of Trade and Industry as preparatory courses for navigating officers and they carried remission of qualifying sea service. The department also offered up-grading courses for masters and mates of foreign-going vessels and radar observer courses for junior officers. The department of mechanical production and marine engineering operated a number of productivity courses. Full time courses at craftsman level were also offered in radio and television servicing. The department of textile industries was offering courses covering all aspects of textiles. In the near future, some full-time students would undertake a specialised course in clothing technology and the college would liaise with the United Kingdom Clothing Institute in order for students to become professionally qualified in the field. At the same time, the Department of Trade and Industry in the United Kingdom gave recognition to the one-year full-time Deck Officer Cadets course for the purpose of part remission from the sea service requirements for navigation officers. Henceforth,

graduates of course would have a portion of their time spent in the College credited towards the qualifying sea service required to enter the second Mate Certificate examination. Two more new courses, the Higher Diploma Course in Company Secretaryship and the Radar Simular course were established. The Institution of Electrical and Electronic Engineers also confirmed that holders of the Higher Diploma in Electrical or Electronic Engineering were considered as having satisfied the academic requirements for admission to the class of graduates of the Institution.

### III. The establishment of the Hong Kong Polytechnic and its early development

The beginning of the Polytechnic can be traced to an occasion in 1965 when Sir Sze-yuen Chung,<sup>25</sup> in a speech to the Legislative Council, said that the time had come to consider establishing a Polytechnic-type institution in Hong Kong. In 1966 the newly formed University Grants Committee was asked by the Governor to consider what further steps were required in higher education, and in 1967 it strongly recommended the establishment of a Polytechnic in Hong Kong. In May 1969 the Government appointed a Polytechnic Planning Committee to plan a new polytechnic to provide post-secondary vocational education in technical and commercial subjects up to the standard of a pass degree of professional qualification. A Polytechnic Planning Committee under the chairmanship of the late Dr. P.Y. Tang<sup>26</sup> was formed and made recommendation to government that the new polytechnic should cater for 4,000 full-time and 20,000 part-time students by 1974. But the government required

this to be developed upon the basis of the existing Technical College. The Committee's term of reference included the scope of courses to be offered, the governing and financial arrangements, and the provision of accommodation for the new institution.

In 1970 the Polytechnic Planning Committee met frequently during the year. Considerable progress was made in planning courses and facilities, earmarking sites and drafting legislation, and also in seeking, both in Hong Kong and overseas, a Director for the institution. In July 1970 the Planning Committee published its final report which formed the basis for the formal establishment of the Polytechnic on 1st August, 1972. The report was considered by the Executive Council in January 1972 and was accepted as the basis on which development of the polytechnic should proceed. Approval was given to the Report by the Finance Committee in February 1972 and a Board of Governors of the polytechnic was formally constituted.

The Planning Committee also recommended an initial course structure which included the following:

Diploma Course: Two year full-time course with Hong Kong Certificate of Education entry

Higher Diploma Course: Three-year full-time course with Hong Kong Certificate of Education entry

Professional Diploma Course: One-year post-higher Diploma course

The Professional Diploma was subsequently re-titled the Associateship and linked to the achievement of the academic requirements of a recognised professional body. The Planning Committee recommended that the existing site of the Hong Kong Technical College was adequate, and further recommended that



the financial arrangements for the Polytechnic should be similar to those for the two universities. It would be financed in the same way as the Universities in Hong Kong. The role of the existing University Grants Committee should be expanded and the Committee re-titled the "university and Polytechnic Grants Committee". The UPGC would fulfil the same planning and financial function for both the Polytechnic and the two universities.<sup>27</sup> Finally the Committee proposed that the Polytechnic be established as a statutory body with its own Ordinance and be empowered to appoint its own staff. In July 1971 the Hong Kong Polytechnic Ordinance was published and came into force on 24th March, 1972. The Board of Governors was formed under the Chairmanship of Sir Sze-yuen Chung. At the invitation of the Board, the Governor, Sir Murray Maclehole, agreed to the first President of the Polytechnic. Mr. C.L. Old was appointed the Polytechnic's first Director and Dr. Y.K. Ching, Principal of the former Technical College, accepted the Board's invitation to become Deputy Director.

The Polytechnic Board was to be responsible for various aspects of development, planning and policy decision. These included plans for course-development, the organisational structure of the Polytechnic, the inter-relationship of the various committees, salaries, and conditions of service of staff, the levels of fees to be charged, and methods of financial assistance to students. The first task of the Board was to take over and develop the existing technical college at Hung Hom.

By the 1970s the Hong Kong Technical College had already established a good reputation, both locally and overseas. The Polytechnic therefore had a solid foundation on which to build and develop its academic work.

In the academic year 1971-1972, before its work was handed over to the new Polytechnic, the Technical College had on its register just over 1,700 full-time day, 740 part-time day release, and 9,340 part-time evening students. These were enrolled in courses at various levels in eight teaching departments, namely: Building, Surveying and Structural Engineering, Commerce and Management Studies, Electrical Engineering, Industrial and Commercial design, Mathematics and Science, Mechanical, Production and Marine Engineering, Nautical Studies, Textile Industries.

Provision were made for full-time courses, taught in the medium of English, leading to the College's own Higher and Ordinary Diplomas and to the examinations of a number of British Institutions and the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors. Applicants for admission to the full-time Higher Diploma courses offered by the Technical College were required to have had a general education to the Hong Kong Certificate of Education level, with at least grade E in specific subject. Entry requirements for full-time Ordinary Diploma courses were based on the completion of five years' secondary school education. Part-time day and evening courses were offered leading to College certificates, City and Guilds of London Institute examinations, and other qualifications covering a wide range of subjects in both the technical and commercial fields. In addition, both full-time and part-time courses of study preparing students directly for professional examinations (notably those conducted by the Government Marine Department for various types of sea-going personnel) were also offered.

In early May 1972 the University Grants Committee was expanded to become the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee. At its visit in the same month, the newly recon-

stituted Grants Committee met and held discussions with the Board of Governors of the Polytechnic. In his address to the Board at the end of the visit, the chairman of the UPGC indicated a three-phase programme whereby the Polytechnic was to be brought on to a more settled system of finance.<sup>28</sup>

The Polytechnic was formally established on August 1972 when the Board of Governors assumed full responsibility for the new institution and took over the campus of the former Technical College. The main responsibility for the Polytechnic policy in this initial stage rested with the Board, which was initially made up of a group of 15 prominent businessmen, industrialists, educationalists and government officials. The Board began to plan and develop the existing Technical College at Hung Hom. A five acre site adjacent to the technical college had been reserved by the government for the new lecture theatres and laboratories. An additional site of nearly seven acres was set aside for expansion in the field of business and commercial studies.

However by including the Polytechnic into the University Grants Committee purview it did not mean that the Polytechnic was to become a third University. As one of the government spokesman said, although the Polytechnic training and education was to degree level, by no means all its courses would be at this level. Unlike university students, who studied full-time at undergraduate or post-graduate level, the Polytechnic students would be a more assorted group. Some would study full-time for three or four years to acquire professional or degree equivalent diplomas, but some would be on two year sub-professional or technician level courses. Others would be in part-time courses which would be in the evening, or on a day release basis from their employment or on a sandwich

system which might involve periods of six months full-time instruction interlocked with equivalent periods of training in industries.<sup>29</sup> It was because of this variety in the patterns to meet the growing demands of industry and commerce, that distinguished the polytechnic from a University.

In preparation for the task of determining policies and programmes for the new Polytechnic, the Board of Governors formed four committees to deal with the main aspects of its work. These were the Building Development Committee, the Finance Committee, the General Purposes Committee and the staffing Committee. An Academic Committee was also set up within the Polytechnic itself it comprised the Directorate staff, the Heads of the Academic Departments and elected members of the teaching staff.

Following earlier Polytechnic Planning Committee consideration of a Polytechnic developed on two sites, in Hung Hom and Wanchai, the Board of Governors decided in 1972 that development on a single site, at Hung Hom, was to be preferred, and to this end negotiations took place with Government to obtain a site of approximately 24 acres at Hung Hom. The United Kingdom Government announced in January 1973 that it had made a grant of £500,000 to the Hong Kong Polytechnic for the purchase of library books, library equipment and audio-visual equipment.<sup>30</sup>

In February 1973, the Board of Governors, on the advice of the Building Development Committee, appointed Messrs Palmer & Turner, Architects and Civil Engineers, to produce a Site Development Plan, which was presented to the Board of Governors on 1st June, 1973. At the same time the Board accepted the recommendations of the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee that its student target figures should be raised to

8,000 full-time and 20,000 part-time students by 1978.

The teaching work of the Polytechnic was essentially that being carried out by the Technical College at the time of the transfer of responsibility. During the session proceeding the handover, the Technical College had a total enrolment of 12,402 students in 413 classes comprising 1,576 full-time students in 65 classes, 1,164 part-time day release students in 47 classes and 9,662 evening students in 301 classes distributed over 10 centres with 8 departments. In 1973 the new Polytechnic had a total enrolment of 12,998 students in 418 classes, comprising 1,828 full-time students in 63 classes, 942 part-time day-release students in 36 classes and 10,288 evening students in 319 classes distributed over 12 centres. Like its predecessor, it had 8 departments: building surveying and structural engineering, commerce and management studies, electrical engineering, mechanical production and marine engineering, textile industries, nautical studies, mathematics and science, and industrial and commercial design. These provided full-time courses leading to the Polytechnic's own higher and ordinary diplomas and to the membership examinations of many British professional institutions, a number of which had granted exemption from certain parts of their examination to students on the higher diploma courses. The eight departments also provided part-time day-release and evening courses. These led to qualifications in a range of technical and commercial subjects at professional and technician levels.

Members of the Joint Universities Computer Centre (JUCC) Assessment Committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. J. Howlett visited the Polytechnic at the end of April and the beginning of May 1973. An immediate outcome of this visit was the view expressed by the Chairman that there was a considerable and

rapidly increasing need for instruction in computing skills in Hong Kong and that the bulk of the teaching in systems analysis and related subject should fall upon the Polytechnic. On the recommendation of the Academic Committee, the Board therefore decided to set up a Department of Computer Science to begin teaching in September 1974. A headship of the Department was established. On the recommendation of the Departmental Advisory Committee, the Academic Committee also approved the renaming of the Department of Industrial and Commercial Design into the 'Department of Design'. In fact the need to obtain expert advice on the development of this department had been recognised for some time and Professor Michitaka Yoshioka of the Faculty of Engineering, Chiba University of Japan, was invited to visit the Polytechnic for the month of August 1973 for this purpose. He was asked to make an assessment of the present demands of Hong Kong industries for persons with design training, and of possible future needs of industry bearing in mind changing patterns and technological advance. He was also asked in particular to comment upon the extent to which students following courses within the Department should study within other departments of the Polytechnic in special courses provided by those departments and the extent to which students from departments other than Design, and especially the technological departments, should attend courses within the design department.<sup>31</sup>

On 1st September, 1973 five new departments were formed by reorganising the existing department of commerce and management studies and the department of building, surveying and structural engineering. The new departments were accountancy and management studies, building and surveying, business studies, civil and structural engineering, and languages. A

new higher diploma course in mathematics, statistics and computing was instituted at the same time within the department of mathematics and science in order to meet the urgent need for qualified statisticians in Government, industry and commerce. In addition, a new two-year full-time course in Business Studies and, replacing a previous course at a lower level, a two-year course for Executive Secretaries. Additional intakes were agreed and started, in September 1973, in existing Higher Diploma Courses in Accountancy, Industrial Design and Production Engineering, and new classes were formed in the two-year technician diploma courses in Civil and Electronic Engineering.

Following the recommendations of the Polytechnic Planning Committee, the Polytechnic and the Government Education Department jointly invited Mr. W.R. Durrant, Senior Lecturer at the London College of Printing, to visit Hong Kong during December 1973 to study the present and future needs for education and training for the local printing industry. After his visit Mr. Durrant recommended that the establishment of a full printing department within the Polytechnic was not justifiable under present circumstances, although the Polytechnic should provide for courses at executive or management level. The Printing Industry Training Board of the Hong Kong Training Council later took up the report and discussed at its various meetings ways and means by which courses in printing management could be established in the Polytechnic.<sup>32</sup>

During the 1973-1974 academic year, the structure of the Board was modified and improved upon especially in areas regarding staff. Recognition was given to the possibility of the staff contributing towards the management of the Polytechnic. Towards this end, the Director established internal

consultative machinery and the Board also established a formal consultative committee at which matters concerning staff working conditions could be raised and discussed. With the departure of Mr. A. Rowland Jones, the former Associate Director (Administration), the management hierarchy was reorganised with the Deputy Director assuming responsibility for administration and the resuscitation of the post of Associate Director (Technical Studies). At the same time, the Board reconstituted its committees, and it was now assisted by five committees to deal with the main aspects of its work. These were the Building Development Committee, the Conditions of Service Committee, the Finance Committee, the General Purposes Committee and the Staffing Committee.

Consultative machinery was established after the two staff associations, namely, the Hong Kong Polytechnic Staff Association and the Hong Kong Technical College Teachers' Association, made representations to the Board of Governors for more active participation in the management of the Polytechnic especially in matters concerning their own conditions of service.

The first diploma and certificate presentation ceremony took place on 1st November 1973 at the City Hall. 531 diploma and certificate holders were presented their awards by His Excellency the Governor, Sir Murray Macle hose.<sup>33</sup>

In January 1974 the Polytechnic invited Mr. D.J. Billau, Director of the Centre for Industrial Studies, Loughborough University of Technology, to advise on professional practical training in the Polytechnic.<sup>34</sup> In April 1974 the Department of Mechanical, Production and Marine Engineering was also reorganised to form two new Departments of Mechanical and Marine Engineering, and Production and Industrial Engineering.



Preparations were made for the establishment of a new Department of Electronic Engineering, to be separated from the existing large Department of Electrical Engineering. 13 new full-time courses were offered for the first time in the academic year 1973-1974. Of these, five were at the post-higher diploma level leading to the newly-introduced award of Associateship of the Hong Kong Polytechnic upon successful completion of one year's full-time study and of the full academic requirements for corporate membership of an approved professional institution. The five Associateship courses offered were in Structural Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Electronic Engineering, Mechanical Engineering and Production Engineering, and all prepared students for the Part II examinations of the UK Council of Engineering Institutions. A new three-year full-time course leading to the Higher Diploma in Mathematics, Statistics and Computing was implemented. This brought to the Department of Mathematics and Science, hitherto entirely devoted to providing service teaching, its own full-time students for the first time. A Certificate course for Marine Electronic Officers was reorganised and upgraded to the higher diploma level with new curriculum and syllabuses.

From April to May 1974, Mr. D.C. Gladwell, Dean of the Faculty of Business Studies and Head of the Department of Hotel and Institutional Management at Sheffield Polytechnic, was invited to Hong Kong to conduct an enquiry on the development of hotel catering and tourism education at the Polytechnic and technical institutes. On 29th May, 1974 Dr. Gladwell presented his findings to the Academic Committee in a Report on the Development of Hotel Catering and Tourism Education at Hong Kong Polytechnic and Cheung Sha Wan Technical Institute.

A working party was appointed under the chairmanship of

Mr. P. Haigh, Head of the Department of Business Studies, to study and to make recommendations on Mr. Gladwell's report. On 3rd July, 1974 the working party presented to the Academic Committee the following recommendations:

- (a) that a new Department of Hotel and Catering Management be established in September 1976 to offer initially a three-year sandwich course leading to the Higher Diploma in Hotel and Catering Management with an initial intake of 48 students to be followed by future intakes of 64 students;
- (b) that tourism be offered as an option with the existing Higher Diploma course in Business Studies (Marketing).<sup>35</sup>

The first Director, Mr. Old retired in June 1974 and Dr. Keith Legg, an aeronautical engineer and the Director of Lanchester Polytechnic in Britain was appointed and took up his post in May 1975. The Polytechnic's first official publication for prospective students, the Prospectus 1974-1975, was published in June 1974.

As a result of a reorganisation of the Department of Electrical and Electronic Department, a new department of Electrical Engineering was established. The Department of Computing Science was also established.

Financial approval to Phase I of the Development Plan was not forthcoming from the UPGC until June 1974 and the revised programme called for the major buildings to be completed by September 1976. Phase I which included about 75,000 m<sup>2</sup> of space consisted of four main elements: a workshop floor at ground level with an open podium above; a five-storey multi-purpose block around a quadrangle above the podium, accommodating classrooms, laboratories and staff rooms; library

building; and the car-park. The workshops were designated for the Departments of Mechanical and Marine Engineering, Production and Industrial Engineering, Building and Surveying, and Civil and Structural Engineering. Laboratories were also included for these departments and for the Department of Mathematics and Science in the multi-purpose block. A total of 88 classrooms, lecture theatres, seminar and tutorial rooms and drawing offices were provided in the multi-purpose block. The library building was to be a five-storey block with the lower floors including the podium stepping down in a series of terraces. It was designed to house the Library and Learning Resources Centre, with a capacity for 400,000 volumes and 3,000 periodical titles. The car-park which was on three levels below the podium was designed to accommodate 432 cars. Completion of Phase I teaching accommodation was planned for September 1976. The library building and car-park was to finish in 1977.<sup>36</sup>

In late 1974, the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee and the Polytechnic Board of Governors observed that if all amenities were built into Phase II, there might be greater utilisation of existing Phase I space and the Polytechnic could come closer to ultimate student targets at an earlier date. However, it had been shown in the Polytechnic Development Plan that there would be a shortage of teaching space to match the planned increase in student intake beyond the year 1976. After discussions by Committees of the Board and representatives of the staff and students, the Board of Governors instructed architects to prepare sketch plans and estimates for submission to the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee. Phase II accommodation consisted of two buildings; one for sports facilities and the other for social

and canteen functions. The total gross floor area of the Phase II development was approximately 14,500 m<sup>2</sup>. Provision of HK\$37.4 million for the construction of Phase II was approved by Government and communicated to the Polytechnic by the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee in March 1976.<sup>37</sup>

In 1975 the Hong Kong Government continued to centre on the development of secondary and technical education. A tremendous expansion in the Polytechnic programme was anticipated. Following the UPGC visitation in February 1975 and the arrival of the new institution's objectives and policies to re-examine the nature of its work and its role in the tertiary education system vis-a-vis universities and the technical institutes, substantial expansion was taking place at the Polytechnic; where Dr. Keith Legg, soon took over as director.

According to the latest biennial report of the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee of Hong Kong, the full-time student population of the Polytechnic, which began in early 1972 on the basis of an existing 1834 student technical college, leaped to nearly double that figure by 1974 and was expected to reach 7,000 by 1978.

If this goal was to be sustained it would represent an average expansion of 25% per year over the six year period compared with an anticipated average 7% annual expansion in the combined enrolment of the Colony's two universities to 8,800.

In January 1975 the Polytechnic joined the Universities and Polytechnic Computer Centre (UPCC), formerly known as the Joint Universities Computer Centre, on equal footing with the two Universities. A computer terminal, with teletype linkage to the centre, was set up in the Polytechnic. In February 1975 the same year, members of the University and Polytechnic

Grants Committee made an official visit to the Polytechnic to discuss the Polytechnic academic developments in the period 1976-1978.

On 31st March, 1975 there were 3,014 full-time, 1,559 part-time day release and 12,629 part-time evening and 1,805 special short course students on the register. A total of 1,765 first year full-time students was admitted in September 1974. Thirty-two full-time courses were offered in the academic year 1974-1975. Among these, five were at technologist level leading to the Associateship of the Polytechnic, 18 were at higher education level leading to the Higher Diploma, and 14 were at technician level leading to the ordinary or Technician Diploma. Full-time courses of study offered for the first time included: the Higher Diploma courses in Business Studies; Building Technology and Management; Fashion and Clothing Technology; Accountancy (Hong Kong Society of Accountant and Institute of Cost and Management Accountant syllabuses), and Marine Electronics; the Technician Diploma course in Studio Design Practice; and the Ordinary Diploma course in Maritime Science. Twenty part-time day release, 62 evening courses and 24 special short courses were offered during the year under review. A new radio course on Business Language was introduced by the Department of Business and Management Studies in co-operation with Radio Hong Kong.<sup>38</sup> A temporary Research Sub-committee was formed in October 1975, to advise the Director on all matters related to the development of research work within the Polytechnic.

However the massive expansion of Polytechnic did not proceed without problems. As it was pointed out in the latest biennial report of the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee of Hong Kong that the full-time student

population of the Polytechnic had increased with an average expansion of 25% per year over six year period. Student enrolment, however, could only grow to the extent that there were buildings to accommodate it - and the polytechnic's main building programme had run into financial problems. Architects produced an outline plan for main building in July 1973 but economic restraints prevented the government from reaching a decision until June 1974.

Unlike the Polytechnic sector in Britain, the Hong Kong Polytechnic was part of a system which put it along side the universities under the financial policy and managerial oversight of one single body, the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee. This meant that, as far as possible, University and Polytechnic education could be planned as a coherent whole.<sup>39</sup> Yet Hong Kong Polytechnic had its own problems. One major problem was the continuing rate of student loss, another was the relative difficulty, both academically and administratively, of operating a mixture of course lengths and types with different entrance and graduating qualifications. The formation of an Academic Development Plan and the setting of long-term educational objectives posed difficulties for the polytechnic, different in style from those encountered by universities. For instance, the danger of too much emphasis on the commercial advantages of specific training was more an evident and more immediate concern at the polytechnic than at the universities. In addition students were critical of the UPGC's role claiming it was restrictive of the planning freedom of individual institutions and dominated by overseas members.<sup>40</sup>

The year 1976, however saw a major campus development for the Polytechnic. With the completion of the Phase I

buildings in July 1976, the Polytechnic had a centralised campus in Hung Hom, on a site adjacent to the Cross Harbour Tunnel. The new buildings consisted of a podium of 14,600 m<sup>2</sup> under which would be workshops, car-parks and a plant room. Above the podium were five wings of multi-purpose accommodation, averaging five storeys high with a total area of 18,200 m<sup>2</sup> to provide lecture rooms, laboratories, drawing offices, staff rooms and students' facilities. The new library, which was also situated in the Phase I building, would be one of the largest scientific, technological and business libraries in the British Commonwealth. An industrial centre was set up to provide students with relevant practical training effectively integrated with, and complementary to their education. The Head of the centre was appointed in February 1976, and the centre was to be in operation in the academic year 1976-1977. As at 31st March, 1976, there were 3,781 full-time, 1,641 part-time day release, 14,117 evening and 1,356 special short courses students on the register. These were compared with the corresponding student numbers of 3,014, 1,559, 12,629, and 1,805 in 1974-1975. A total of 2,071 first year full-time students were admitted in September 1975.<sup>41</sup>

In mid July, 1976 a student protest against the rise in tuition fees reflected the first sign of discontent of students with the administration, and as a result of the protest the government had to introduce a new loan scheme to assist needy students. The tuition fee was to raise in the 1977-1978 academic year to HK\$1,000 a year, but the fees would only amount to about 7% of the annual cost of running the course. Even then, the fees had remained unchanged for eleven years since the days of the Hong Kong Technical College, the Polytechnic forerunners. Under the new finance scheme, loans and

awards would be made according to a student's need and family income. The government was to set aside a total of HK\$412.6 million for the scheme. The maximum grant that the students could get would be HK\$600 for expenses on books and equipment. The minimum grant would be HK\$100. The interest free loans for students' living expenses would range from a minimum of HK\$600 to a maximum of HK\$4,000. These loans would be repayable over three or five years after leaving the Polytechnic, depending on the length of course taken. It was estimated that about 3,000 or 60% of full-time students would need financial help.<sup>42</sup>

In December 1976, the Academic Committee approved new entrance requirements for full-time courses to be offered in the academic year 1977-1978. The new minimum requirements for entrance to the Diploma and certificate courses were four subjects at grade E in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination. Previously, it was completion of Form 5. This same revision was applied to part-time day release and evening courses at technician level.

Facing the new challenges, the Polytechnic in 1977 took positive steps to streamline its organisational structure to meet changing circumstances. One of the most significant changes in the Polytechnic's academic structure was the organisation of the following academic departments into three Divisions, each under the direction of an Associate Director:

Applied Science Division: Applied Science, Building and Surveying, Mathematical Studies, Nautical Studies and Textile Industries (provisional)

Commerce and Design Division: Accountancy, Business and Management Studies, Computing Science, Design and Languages



Engineering Division: Civil and Structural Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Electronic Engineering, Industrial Centre, Mechanical and Marine Engineering and Production and Industrial Engineering

A fourth Associate Director was appointed to take overall responsibility for the planning and coordination of sandwich, part-time day release and evening programmes, and also short courses. At the same time, the Polytechnic had adopted the policy of introducing a credit-unit system. Many academic departments had re-organised their course curriculum in unit form. The units of study were self-contained, with proper credit being given upon their completion. A new Education Technology Unit was established in the year 1976-1977. The Unit's primary objective was to improve the effectiveness of teaching and learning in the Polytechnic. It provided audio-visual services, in-service training methodology for full-time and part-time staff, and also helped in the production of study packages and self-learning programmes.

During 1977 two major academic developments were planned for the triennium 1978-1981, namely, paramedical studies and institutional management and catering studies. The Polytechnic planned to move into the field of para-medical education as a major new development in the triennium and proposed to establish an Institute of Medical and Health Care. To pioneer developments in this area, a Head of the Institute had been appointed and was in post in November 1977. Consultation with the Government Medical and Health Department, the Medical Faculties of the two Universities, and representatives of the relevant professions proceeded smoothly. Drafting of legislation dealing with the following paramedical professions was underway: Medical Laboratory Technician, Occupational Therapy,

Optometry, Radiography, Physiotherapy, Speech Therapy, Chiropractics, Dietetics.

In January 1978, the Polytechnic (Amendment) Ordinance was enacted. In addition to changing the name 'Board of Governors of the Polytechnic' to 'Polytechnic Council',<sup>43</sup> the membership of the council was expanded to include more lay members and to include for the first time elected staff representatives. The total number of members was increased from 15 to 23. They included three members of the Polytechnic staff, and five additional members, who were to be neither staff of the Polytechnic nor public officers i.e. lay members. Following an actment of the Amendment Ordinance, the Council was formally established on 13th January, 1978.

Among other revisions, the Amendment Ordinance also provided for the appointment by the Council of an Academic Board in place of the former non-statutory Academic Committee. The new Board was created with Council approval on 9th May, 1978.

The 1978 White paper on Secondary and Tertiary Education reasserted the existing role of the Polytechnic and recommended that the Polytechnic should concentrate increasingly upon courses at the higher technician and technologist levels, transferring some of its ordinary diploma and certificate courses to the technical institutes. Credit unit programmes of study introduced enhanced mobility between courses in the institutes and the Polytechnic. The prime function of the technical institute would continue to be the provision of craft-level courses - additional demand for places at the technician level would be met through the building of extension.<sup>44</sup>

Mixed mode study programmes were introduced in the academic year 1978-1979. The flexible credit-unit system permitted

students to study at a pace suited to their own personal circumstances, taking units in a suitable combination (subject to constraints imposed by pre-requisites) during the daytime and in the evenings. Two such programmes were offered in 1978-1979:

1. Higher Diploma programme in Computing Studies (normally 2 years to complete on full-time basis or up to 5 years to complete on a part-time basis)
2. Diploma programme in Computing Studies (normally 2 years to complete on a full-time basis or up to 5 years to complete on a part-time basis)

In the 1979-1980 academic year a new Department of Institutional Management and Catering Studies was set up to offer programmes of study. Apart from two institutes, the Polytechnic had teaching departments, school and centre grouped under three divisions:

<u>Division of Applied Science:</u>	Department of Applied Science Department of Building & Surveying Department of Mathematical Studies Department of Nautical Studies School of Social work
<u>Division of Commerce and Design</u>	: Department of Accountancy Department of Business & Management Studies Department of Computing Studies Department of Design Department of Institutional Management & Catering Studies Department of Languages
<u>Division of Engineering</u>	: Department of Civil & Structural Engineering

Department of Electrical  
Engineering  
Department of Electronic  
Engineering  
Department of Mechanical & Marine  
Engineering  
Department of Production &  
Industrial Engineering

Institutes : Institute of Medical & Health  
Institute of Textiles & Clothing

In addition, a Centre for Environmental Studies was also set up in September 1978 to coordinate activities concerning the observation, planning, engineering, management and control of environmental developments.

In view of the increasing demand for additional space to accommodate growth in both staff and student numbers, a programme for the next phase of building development was planned. Construction work for the Phase IIA building, which comprised two extension wings, with a planned total area of 19,732 m<sup>2</sup>, from the Tang Ping Yuan Building (Phase I), started in March 1979 for completion in October 1980. Planning for a two-storey extension of about 400 m<sup>2</sup> to the existing Phase II buildings was also in hand. The Dental Technology Building, with a total net area of 864 m<sup>2</sup>, was completed in late December 1978. It provided teaching and practical facilities for the training of dental technicians.<sup>45</sup>

A Committee to Review Post-secondary and Technical Education was established in November 1980, to undertake a detailed study of Hong Kong's higher education requirements. This review as ordered by the Governor in Council in the light of advice from the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee

and in response to concern expressed by the Advisory Committee on Diversification. The committee comprised both unofficial and official members and aimed to report its findings in mid-1981. Thus in facing the new decade the Hong Kong Polytechnic had to re-structure its organisation. There were four main administrative departments comprising the Academic Secretariat, the General Secretariat, the Finance Office, and the Estate & Development Office, and all these reported to the Deputy Director. The central service units reported to the Director although for day to day operation they were administered by the Deputy Director. They comprised the Management Information Unit, the Information & Public Relations Office, the Library, the Computer Centre, the Education Technology Unit, the Industrial Centre, and the student Affairs Unit.

Academic planning and development was co-ordinated by the Academic Board which discussed, and made recommendations to the Council for approval, on proposals made by Divisional Boards, the Board of Management for part-time and Short course work, and the Institute Board. The Academic Board also took into consideration recommendations made by Departmental Advisory Committees.

At the same time the major academic development proposed for the triennium 1981-1984 was the implementation of a limited degree programme. This was a development following the publication of the Government White paper on Development of Senior Secondary and Tertiary Education in October 1978,<sup>46</sup> when the Polytechnic was invited to consider the development of degrees. Other features of the Plan included the transfer of programmes at Diploma and Certificate levels to the Technical Institutes, the proposed establishment of a new Division to incorporate the work currently undertaken by the Departments of Building

and Surveying and of Civil and Structural Engineering, the proposal to strengthen the senior management, and to increase industrial and project oriented research. On 30th April, 1981 five degree course proposals were submitted through the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee to the United Kingdom's Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) for validation. These proposals were degrees in Applied Science and Mathematical Studies; Computing Studies; Electronic Engineering; Mechanical Engineering; and Social Work. These submissions were discussed and favourably received by the CNAA in London in early July 1981. Visits of CNAA teams to the Polytechnic were planned for November 1981 to assess all the degree proposals.

The establishment of the Hong Kong Polytechnic, was in fact, a natural outgrowth of the Technical College of Hong Kong. Its development was in line with the technical education in most of the British Colonies. As early as 1948, a delegation from the Inter-University Council headed by Sir William Hamilton-Fyfe recommended the establishment of colleges of the British Polytechnic type to supplement the work of the University in West Africa. It was also hoped that those Technical College in such colonies as Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, would evolve into a comprehensive movement of colleges of the Polytechnic type.<sup>47</sup> The development of the Hong Kong Technical College into a Polytechnic was on the same lines. To a certain extent, the Polytechnic was supposed to combine the functions of a Technical Institute and a College of Technology.

In the initial stage, the polytechnic was intended to be fairly comprehensive in character embracing higher courses in technology such as Building, Engineering, Architecture, Surveying, advanced courses in Commerce and Accountancy, in Domestic Subjects according to need. Provision in some

instances was to be made for the training of specialist teachers for whose training technical equipment and laboratory facilities were needed. It was also visualised that courses associated with community and adult education might usefully be undertaken especially the training of leaders for community and social development.

Many of the courses offered by the Polytechnic were to be of University levels. The underlying sciences would be taught and specialist training in technological subjects would be given, leading, for those capable of teaching the necessary standard, to professional qualifications. It was hoped that the various professional institutions of Great Britain would accord the Polytechnic recognition for this purpose. Many of the courses would be especially suitable for young people required as technical, commercial or administrative assistants, and would prepare for qualifications such as the more advanced of those granted by the City and Guilds of London Institute and the Royal Society of Arts. At the same time, special regard was to be on the need of the training to be closely associated with practical experience. Unlike those polytechnics in the U.K., the Hong Kong Polytechnic is a corporation with its legal personality in its own right. However, like most of Polytechnics in the U.K., Hong Kong Polytechnic had also to face some in-built obstacles deriving from the education system. In common with the education system as a whole, higher education is expected to be responsive to the needs of students, to the needs of society, and perhaps especially to the employment market. Equally the courses themselves and the manner in which they are taught are expected to be relevant to the needs of the students both during their education and in their subsequent careers.

However, science and technology were regarded as more lowly subjects and the universities also took a long time to accept such studies on equal terms with the less practical subjects. Though these attitudes have gone, the influences linger on inside and outside the education system.<sup>48</sup> Courses aimed directly at employments (such as business or accountancy) had a lower standing than those which had no practical element and were not vocationally directed. Some fields of study - notably those involving creative movement, art or design - have, with some exceptions, been neglected by the universities partly because of the belief that intellectual standards had to be compromised when what is done cannot be analysed or tested in conventional ways.

Since its formation the Hong Kong Polytechnic has sought to develop and evolve courses in which the objectives of the course and the methods of teaching and learning employed is related to the demands that are likely to be made on the student in his chosen career. Thus there is a strong emphasis on sandwich courses, on industrial or professional experience and on learning through more traditional modes. Courses have also been developed in which the expression of the mind through creative activity - in art, in design, in music or in dance - is the central theme. In general the students are brought to high standards of personal performance through practice, critical evaluation and assessment within a framework of related academic study designed to deepen and enrich performance.

As Sir Alex Smith pointed out there were two characteristics of polytechnic education; "first, that three groups of students are welcomed - those taking degree courses, those taking other qualifications and those who study on a part-time basis; and secondly, the aim is to achieve an excellence



complementary to scholarship, for which there is no simple word. It is design, it is action, it is synthesis, it is professionalism, it is the application of knowledge. Beyond this, Polytechnic education would be characterised by awareness of other human qualities and virtues, including, it is hoped, a re-emphasis on the work ethic."<sup>49</sup> At the same time in the age of science and technology what we also need is "all resources of humanism and humanist studies."<sup>50</sup>

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Chapter Seven: Footnotes

1. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1907 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.13.
2. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1929 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.25.
3. 'A Trade school in Hong Kong' in Oversea Education, Vol.IX, No.4, July, 1938, p.163.
4. Ibid., p.165.
5. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1948 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.70.
6. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1951 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.66.
7. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1953 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.89.
8. S.F. Bailey, ed., Hong Kong Polytechnic: The First ten years (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Polytechnic, 1982), p.1.
9. Howard Hayden, ed., Higher Education and development in South-East Asia, Vol.I, Director's Report (Paris: International Association of Universities, 1969), p.37.
10. The following references give a very good analytical description for the process of industrialisation in Hong Kong;
 

Edward Szczepanik, The Economic growth of Hong Kong (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), Part III-The Industrial Revolution.

Alvin Rabushka, The Changing face of Hong Kong: New departures in Public Policy (Washington: American Enterprises Institute for Public Policy Research, 1973), Chapter 3: The Economic Environment.

Keith Hopkins, ed., Hong Kong: the industrial colony: a political, social and economic survey (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1971)

David G. Lethbridge, ed., The Business Environment in Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1980).
11. In T.N. Chiu; The Port of Hong Kong: a survey of its development; (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1973) provides a general picture of development of Hong Kong's harbour and its relation to the economic growth.
12. The Ottawa Agreement of 1932, under which Hong Kong products became entitled to imperial preference, gave the first real encouragement to local industry, enabling manufacturers to seek wider markets for their goods and attracting new investment.
13. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1958 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.4.
14. Harold Ingram, Hong Kong (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1952), p.139.

15. Ibid., p.145.
16. Tzong-biau Lin and Victor Mok, Yin-ping Ho, Manufactured Exports and Employment in Hong Kong (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1980), p.3.
17. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1959, op. cit., p.14.
18. Ibid., p.15.
19. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1957 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.141.
20. Annual Report by the Director of Education, 1961/62 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.6.
21. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1962 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.123.
22. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1965 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.85.
23. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1967 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.92.
24. The Institute's new building was situated at Oi Kwan Road, Wanchai, and it was officially opened by His Excellency the Governor on 12th October, 1970.
25. Sir Chung Sze-yuen is a Chartered Engineer and holds numerous qualification and honours: B.Sc.(Eng.), PhD., D.Sc. (Hon.), LL.D.(Hon.), 1968 OBE, 1975 CBE, 1978 KB, 1983 Order of Sacred Treasure(Third Class) by HM the Emperor (Japan). He also served several directorships in Hong Kong Aircraft Engineering Co. Ltd., grind: 1974-1978 HK Aircraft Engineering Co. Ltd., 1972-1982 Grindlays Dao Heng Bank Ltd. (later Chairman), 1969 - China Light & Power Co. Ltd., 1974 - Inchape Far East Ltd., 1978 - Swire Properties Ltd., 1982 - World International (Holdings) Ltd..
26. P.Y. Tang was the leading industrialist in the colony and was honoured in CBE, was a JP, and was also an unofficial member of the Executive Council.
27. Bailey, op. cit., p.3.
28. There are three phases proposed:-
  1. an immediate programme for the eight-month period from August 1, 1972 to March 31, 1973
  2. an interim programme covering the sixteen-month period from April 1, 1973 to July 31, 1974.
  3. the period from August 1, 1974 onwards when the Polytechnic would move on to normal UPGC procedures.
29. The Times Higher Education Supplement, March 24, 1972, No.24, p.11.
30. Annual Report by the Director of Education, 1972/73 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.6.
31. Bailey, op. cit., p.56.

32. Ibid., p.64.
33. Annual Report by the Director of Education, 1973/74 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.18.
34. Bailey, op. cit., p.61.
35. Ibid., p.65.
36. Ibid., p.92.
37. Ibid., p.98.
38. Annual Report by the Director of Education, 1974/75 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.14.
39. In, The New Polytechnic (London: Cornmarket Press Ltd., 1968), p.34-35, Eric E. Robinson points out "the British image of a polytechnic is that of an educational soup kitchen for the poor", and he further points out that Polytechnic in U.K. will not satisfy the criteria for the term 'university'. These criteria are "(1) finance and control via the University Grants Committee (2) limitation of their work almost exclusively to degree studies and to full-time students (at least up to first degree level) (3) a royal charter to award their own degrees (4) existence as an independent legal entity (5) the definition of their senior academic posts as those of 'professor'."
40. The Times Higher Education Supplement, March 21, 1975, No.179, p.11.
41. Annual Report by the Director of Education, 1975/76 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.17.
42. The Times Higher Education Supplement, July 9, 1976, No.246, p.13.
43. The Polytechnic Council consisted of the following members: the director of education; the director and deputy director of the Polytechnic; three members who are to be public officers appointed by the governor; three members elected by the eligible staff from among their number; twelve members, other than public officers, appointed by the governor; such other members, not exceeding two, as many be appointed by the governor.
44. For details, consult 1978 White paper on Secondary and Tertiary Education (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer, 1978), section on Polytechnic.
45. Annual Report by the Director of Education, 1978/79 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.28.
46. The White paper specifically recommended that the approved expansion programmes for tertiary education be achieved partly through the post-secondary colleges, and that the number of students taking degree courses should be increased by an expansion of the two universities, by the introduction of part-time degree at the universities, and by a limited degree programme at the Hong Kong Polytechnic.

47. F.J. Harlow, 'Technical Education in British Colonies' in Oversea Education, Vol.XXV, April 1953-January 1954, p.157.
48. Alan Matterson, Polytechnics and Colleges (London: Longman, 1981), p.154.
49. Peter Venables, Higher Education developments: The technological Universities, 1956-1976 (London: Faber & Faber, 1978), p.247-248.
50. Herbert Butterfield, The Universities and Education today (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), p.94.

## Chapter Eight: An Imperial University (1954-1980)

### I. Sir Lindsay Ride and the Jubilee celebration

After the visits of Sir John Keswick and Dr. Douglas Logan and the publication of their reports, the Hong Kong University was ready to start a new phase of development and re-structuring. By the end of 1954 the University, armed with Logan's recommendations, formulated and submitted to the Government its first five-year programme for building construction. At the same time, in the process of creating an advanced level of entry in preparation for a general reduction in the length of the degree programme, the University was to provide a bonus in offering additional first-year places.

In taking a far-sighted step of multiplying by nearly five times the financial aid to be given to the university, the Hong Kong Government followed the recommendations made by Sir Ivor Jennings and Dr. Logan. The government decided to increase the recurrent financial grant to the university from a sum equivalent to £93,750 to £250,000 for the coming financial year. Besides, an annual appropriation of £187,500 was made.<sup>1</sup> The government introduced a scheme for the distribution of maintenance grants to help, according to their need, those who intended to go to the university during their last two years at school. This scheme was put into operation in 1954 and some seventy students in school received assistance. Fifty-eight awards were made to students taking university courses.<sup>2</sup> In view of the serious shortage of graduate teachers for secondary schools, the government also introduced a bursary

scheme for prospective secondary school teachers. Under this scheme suitable students, who might otherwise have been unable to afford higher education, would be assisted to take an arts or science degree and the University Diploma in Education. The University Senate and Council officially welcomed these provisions. The new scheme was additional to former schemes of aid by government to students in the university, of which the most important were the scholarships awarded on merit performance in the matriculation examination. In 1954 there were 938 students enrolling in the various faculties. Eighteen government scholarships tenable at the University were awarded on the results of the Hong Kong University Matriculation Examination. Six of the holders of these scholarships studied medicine, six science, four arts and two engineering.<sup>3</sup> At a time when Hong Kong was a small island surrounded by Communist controlled territory it was vitally important that the university should attract Chinese students and introduce them not only to western thought but also to the ancient culture of their own land.<sup>4</sup> A grant of up to £200,000 from the Higher Education Allocation of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund was approved to this end for the quinquennium beginning in 1955.

In 1956 the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Lindsay Ride and Sir Alexander Oppenheim, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya, initiated a plan to form an association of higher learning in Asia. Eventually they became the architects of a new Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning which originated in Bangkok at a meeting of the principals of eight of the major Far-eastern universities situated outside China. Its purpose was to cultivate a sense of regional identity and interdependence. In pursuit of this

the representatives of its member institutions met biennially, with two or three seminars being held each year on special themes of interest to them, such as scholarly publishing, medical education, and curriculum reform. There was a regular arrangement for the exchange of teachers and research workers. Ride saw this as the new alternative to the once-hoped-for association with universities in China and felt it would strengthen the academic standing of the University of Hong Kong, though politically Hong Kong was not a part of the South-east Asian region.<sup>5</sup> Besides the University decided to adopt a Report by the specially appointed Salaries and Wages Committee, which established a clear-out and comprehensive salary structure, including a new approach to the question of outside practice by members of the academic staff. The increase in salaries and allowances was estimated to cost over \$1 million per annum, and the Government, after a debate in the Legislative Council, agreed to grant a sufficient additional subvention to enable the scheme to be fully implemented. At the same time, a Physical Education Officer was also appointed and it was hoped to extend Physical Education facilities by the formulation of preliminary plans for a new gymnasium and swimming pool.

In April 1958 the Government, which had responded to the five-year plan submitted previously, suggested that dentistry be included as part of the plan and the larger expansion envisaged, but that the period for this should be prolonged from five to seven years. The government agreed, however, that recurrent expenditure would continue to be subject to the ordinary conditions under which quinennial financial arrangements were made. The following months the university sent in its revised estimates but insisting that the duration of the



capital part of the programme should remain at five years. These were then accepted a few days before the academic year opened in which the plan was to start. The university set about producing two versions of what it thought the community would require over the five years starting in 1959, on a scale measured against its own capacity to undertake developments of the order envisaged. One of these providing for an expansion of student numbers to 1,500, the other 1,800. Included in the five-year plan, submitted to the Government with a request for guaranteed finance at the end of 1958, was a resuscitating of the electrical and mechanical engineering degrees, and a separate provisional estimate for a school of dentistry. The flexibility provided by the quinennial block-grant methods of financing operated through a central grants committee as in the British universities was earnestly requested, as an essential element of long-term academic planning.<sup>6</sup>

On 1st September, 1959 a new University Ordinance, conferring a greater degree of autonomy upon the University was brought into force. The main changes provided for in the new Ordinance were in the composition and powers of the Court and the Council, which now included a proportion of elected members, and in the institution of a Convocation of graduate members of the University.<sup>7</sup> The phrase, "the maintenance of good understanding with the neighbouring country of China" was deleted in the revision of the ordinances along with the rest of the original preamble, and thereby ceased to be a specific legislative requirement laid upon the University.<sup>8</sup>

As early as 1958 an Engineering Advisory Committee had been set up to ascertain the need for fully qualified, locally trained civil, mechanical and electrical engineers and to investigate the extent to which local industry might contribute

to the cost involved. In November the government announced that, in the light of the Committee's report, it was prepared to provide \$350,000 as half the capital cost involved in the expansion of the University Faculty of Engineering by the reinstatement of degree courses in electrical and mechanical engineering. The government's undertaking was subject to certain conditions, one of which was that the other half of the capital cost should be raised from unofficial sources. The development of a building site south of the main building for a new library and Students Union, with funds to be provided partly from Hong Kong Government sources and partly by a grant from Colonial Development and Welfare funds was at an advanced stage of planning. It was hoped that building would start during 1959.

To meet the increasing numbers qualifying for entrance from the schools the government and the university agreed on a seven-year plan of expansion in 1959, by which the university would increase the number of undergraduates from 1,000 to 1,800.<sup>9</sup> In the same year, twenty government scholarships, amounting to \$36,500 a year and tenable at the university, were awarded to six Arts, three Engineering, five Medical and six Science students on the results of the matriculation examination. Thirty nine government bursaries, amounting to \$110,500 a year and tenable at the university, were awarded to students in financial need, including five taking the Diploma course in Education, twenty one taking the Arts course and thirteen taking the Science course, to enable them to be trained as secondary school teachers. Nine government bursaries amounting to \$17,400 a year were also awarded for the social study course for the purpose of training more social workers.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the number of full-time teaching

staff was also increased from 174 in 1956 to 184 in 1959.<sup>11</sup>

The university celebrated its Golden Jubilee in 1961 with various kinds of activities. The plan of the celebrations provided for the whole of the year to be devoted to it. The concept was to include as many ceremonials as could be decently fitted in, and was designed to show the University's position in the academic world, in the Commonwealth, and in the community of Hong Kong in particular. The University was to celebrate its own learning and its regard for the learning of others, in particular its commitments to regional study. New honorary degrees were instituted for the purposes, and a public orator appointed for the first time.

The Golden Jubilee year opened with the fifty-fourth Congregation of the university held on 9th January, 1961. In the same month the Executive Council of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, of which Dr. L.T. Ride, the Vice-Chancellor, had been elected chairman for 1960-1961, held its annual session at the University in honour of the occasion. This was followed by a domestic celebration in March for graduates and the local community, and a general celebration in September attended by delegates from fellow members of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, and other learned and professional societies and foundations. At this time the theme of celebration was on the university seen in its local setting. There was a special Congregation in November which was attended by HRH Princess Alexandra of Kent.

The general celebration included a Jubilee congress attended by almost 300 local participants and about 190 distinguished scholars from overseas. Six separate symposia were also held.

Altogether three jubilee congregations were held during the year, at which 23 honorary degrees of Doctor of Laws, Doctor of Letters and Doctor of Science were conferred on distinguished persons, including HRH Princess Alexandra of Kent who was admitted to the Honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. The visit of Her Royal Highness to the University on 6th November marked the climax of the Jubilee celebrations. On the same day Princess Alexandra opened the new Library and Students Union Building which had been completed a few weeks earlier.<sup>12</sup>

In regard to the fundamental ideas in setting up the university and its role, the Chancellor, Sir Robert Brown Black, once more, exclaimed explicitly in his jubilee address that:

"...of Lugard's original ideas, the force of circumstances had changed some and the University authorities have willingly and by design changed others. These fifty years stand as witnesses to earth-shaking events and momentous inventions, and these have pressed their influence upon the University, as they have pressed it upon all institutions and upon all human beings throughout the world. But the basic idea behind the foundation of this university, however altered and enlarged like this hall, is still here. I should like to think that our successors - looking back at some point in the future - will still think that the basic idea was sound and good and valid in whatever strange world they live..."<sup>13</sup>

But the Chancellor also called for the assembling of a framework for a second university and requested that it be founded before he retired.

In responding to the Chancellor's remark on the university, Dr. Lindsay Ride spelt out the distinctive function that

the university had to play;

"My key question is 'What is the function of a university?' I make bold enough to suggest this answer: it is to preserve, expand, and transmit our cultural heritage for the ultimate betterment of the community which it serves. In transmitting this heritage of our store of knowledge, the university should continually enrich it, fitting thereby the youth of each generation for its task of carrying on our humanities and our techniques at an even higher level of academic achievement, and at the same time fitting each individual to serve the everyday requirements of our complex society... Regarding service to the community, as no two communities even in any one country are exactly alike, there can be no rigidity in the pattern of their universities... Let us see how this reasoning helps us to clarify our views on the function and role of one particular university."<sup>14</sup>

He went on to explain:-

"For example, if I favour the residential system for the University of Hong Kong, it is not because it has been a success for five hundred years in Oxbridge, but because I believe this community will get the best service from the graduates who learn to live and study in communities such as halls and colleges...", and "... I also believe we shall eventually need to establish a law school in this University, not so much because our present system of training barristers and solicitors is becoming less satisfactory, but because in this colony, where two great civilisations meet, each with a long established legal

tradition of its own, law should be taught in a school where a knowledge of both traditions exists, and where they may be studied in close association with other disciplines. I believe also that this community will be forced to set up a dental school in the not very distant future, it only because other countries cannot and will not continue forever to carry the financial burden of meeting the increasing requirements of this Colony for dentists. Recent developments have shown there is a great need in the training in business administration and management studies, and some of these are undoubtedly needed at university level. In spite of the fact that British universities do not usually give this type of training, I believe this University must play its part in helping to meet this community need."<sup>15</sup>

In fulfilling this distinctive role, that the university should be "outside" society is based on a misapprehension. Like other universities in the contemporary world, The University of Hong Kong is not and cannot be uncommitted, unengaged. It would be socially engaged in a thousand ways and at various levels, some complicated, some simple.<sup>16</sup>

Academically the university should continue to expand its graduate and research activities. The Chancellor made this personal appeal to the assembly-attendants at the third Congregation of the Jubilee year, stating:

"... In our fifty years we have built up departments and faculties which have attained standards for their qualifying degrees comparable to those of other British universities. Now, as we stand on the threshold of our second fifty years, let us

dedicate ourselves to provide, on the firm and broad foundation already laid, a like opportunity for the post-graduate training of our most gifted sons and daughters, for the service that our expanding and vibrant community needs of them..."<sup>17</sup>

In fact, in the research function of higher education systems, government's role is absolutely vital, it is crucial as the prime source of funds and as the major determinant of allocation policies.<sup>18</sup>

When the Jubilee fever had calmed down, the university began to review the academic progress in 1962 of the seven-year plan, in preparation for a financial review to be undertaken by the government in 1963. The School of Dentistry was still a part of that plan, although in 1960 the Government had asked for a one-year delay in its start and now asked for a further postponement of action for two more years. The main part of the plan, the university's undertaking to increase its enrolment, was being more than fulfilled. But there were other difficulties, chiefly the result of the haste with which a well-considered five-year plan had had to be recast into a seven-year mould, and of the last-minute agreement of the government that the new cast was acceptable. In the hazardous context of crisis the university made a number of adjustments and contingent moves in the first year, and in doing so had had to gamble with its own money. It was a matter of some remark that it had succeeded in admitting and teaching an increase of students. It had, at the outset, however, failed to comprehend the implications of the demand in the community for extension courses, grown to large and pressing proportions during the years since 1956 when the Department of Extra-mural studies had been first formed. It was also unable to plan

adequately for a normal diversification to its courses to meet new needs in an expanding world, particularly at the post-graduate level; it made inadequate assessment of what would be needed in the way of equipment, especially for the sciences in the face of modern advances.

In March 1963 the government appointed an experienced trouble-shooter, Mr. George Rowe, to a new post of Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary (Universities) with the first task of getting into calm perspective the government's view of the academic review of the plan and of ensuring that relationships did not deteriorate beyond repair. The Registrar was invited to present the university's case in person before the Executive Council on 18th April, 1963. Within three weeks the university was informed in a letter which had been agreed first in draft on both sides, that the government would accept the whole financial commitment presented in the review and the revised proposals up to 1966, both capital and recurrent, subject to conditions, the most liberal of which was that there should be regular exchange of information, and the most restrictive being that a ceiling had to be imposed on library expenditure. The government included meeting the scheme for post-graduate studentships, the expansion of extension classes, and the full estimates for technical and research equipment. Most important of all, the recurrent subsidy was to be treated broadly on the lines of a triennial grant, the nature of which was agreed to be such that within the three-year total, expenditure between items and years might be balanced and surpluses and deficits carried forward to allow precisely the degree of flexibility the university had long and earnestly sought but never achieved.<sup>19</sup>

Speeches during the budget debate in the Legislative



Council in March 1964 stimulated the practical progress of setting up a university Grants Committee for Hong Kong. The Hon. S.S. (later Sir Sidney) Gordon, at that time one of the founder members of the Chinese University Council and later the Grants Committee's second chairman, urged that the formation of a grants committee should not longer be delayed. In this he was strongly supported by the first Chairman of the Chinese University Council, the Hon. (later Sir Cho-yiu) Kwan, and by the Hon. Dr. W.C.G. Knowles, then Treasurer and later to become the sixth Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong. They constituted a more powerful voice than had yet been heard in support of the proposal. Gordon remarked that the end of the University's seven year plan and the start of a new period of development was drawing near, that there was also now a Chinese University, that a triennium would suit Hong Kong's circumstances better than a quinennium as a grants committee financial planning period. His fear, as he expressed it, was lest the new university should at the start of its life experience frustration and waste of effort 'trying to cope with the archaic obscurities of government financing'. The machinery he wished to have set into immediate motion was understood by university people not only as a negotiating and assessing organ but also as a stimulus to the universities to develop along lines which were in the community's interest as well as their own, and to Government to make better economic use of the university potential - a circumstance which ideally should develop into a close tripartite partnership of government, Committee, and the Universities.<sup>20</sup>

The post-war era in the Faculty of Medicine was one of marked activity and achievement. Both the teaching and research were of a high order. The faculty had magnificent financial

support from the China Medical Board of New York, that had provided equipment for teaching and research, enabled the faculty to fill the serious gap in ruins of medical journals caused by the war, and made possible periods of study abroad for many of the medical graduates and staff in both Europe and America. Of the post-war changes in curriculum, one of the most far-reaching was that consequent upon the passing of the Medical Act of 1950. This Act required all students to do a hospital internship of one year after qualifying before they could be licensed to practice. The university course of training was not lengthened by this innovation, for simultaneously the university ceased all pre-medical courses in physics, chemistry, zoology and botany, and made it compulsory for all students to pass the advanced level in these subjects in the matriculation examinations before entry.

Even before the war, the old building had become inadequate for modern requirements, and it decided that, when possible, a new pathology and bacteriology building should be erected near the Queen Mary Hospital. The site was ultimately approved of by the Secretary of State for the Colonies late in 1953. Early in 1958 the new building was opened by the Chancellor, Sir Robert Black. The policy of moving the department of pathology and bacteriology out to a site near the teaching hospital was to consolidate into general faculty policy; and the next couple of years should see also the pre-clinical departments in a new building in Sasson Road, opposite the Queen Mary Hospital. When the new building was completed the whole of the medical faculty would be housed in one area in Pokfulam.

However in the Faculty of Engineering and Architecture, the years 1951 to 1956 presented a succession of problems and

crises of such magnitude that at times the very continuance of the faculty was in jeopardy. It was clear that throughout most of the University's history, the value of technology as a university discipline was never seriously considered as sufficient reason for the existence of an Engineering Faculty. The faculty was originally brought into being through local benefactions with an eye to professional and commercial interests; and its continuance was justified from time to time because of demand for its graduates rather than for the contribution which its teaching made to university life. This attitude of mind persisted both within and without university circles well into the post-war period.<sup>21</sup> The Keswick Report (1952) went so far as to predict 'few openings for civil engineering graduates and fewer still for graduates in electrical and mechanical engineering', and in the Jennings-Logan Report (1953) it was stated that 'the question whether Engineering or Architecture should or should not be taught in Hong Kong is almost exclusively to be decided by the demands for graduates.' The latter report also suggested that a committee should be set up to consider the continuance of the Faculty of Engineering. It also recommended that should recognition of the degree in civil engineering be forthcoming, the faculty should also provide degree courses in mechanical and electrical engineering, despite the views to the contrary expressed in 1947. Adoption of this report by the university resulted in the formation of a committee on engineering education under the chairmanship of Brigadier Gifford-Hull.<sup>22</sup>

Apart from not having a sufficiency of funds to carry out effectively and rapidly its post-war development and re-organisation plans, the department of civil engineering suffered from a too frequent succession of departmental heads.

The university was left without a stable source of advice on matters pertaining to its engineering development scheme. Nor could the university gain much helpful advice on this score from the various reports on university development which were issued from time to time during this period. A study of the Cox Report (1947), the Keswick Report (1952), the Report of the Technical Education Investigating Committee (1953), and the Jennings-Logan Report (1953) revealed a general reluctance to predict the demand for engineering graduates, though the consensus of opinion indicated that it was small.

In July 1954 the Report of the Gifford-Hull Committee was published. It recommended that the University should formally approach the Institution of Civil Engineers for recognition of its degree as soon as possible, and the University should aim at instituting courses in mechanical and electrical engineering in 1956, on the grounds that since such courses had so much in common with civil engineering all three could be provided without a great additional outlay of either money or space.<sup>23</sup> The Gifford-Hull Report was strongly endorsed by the Senate, and in November 1954 the Council resolved that it should be adopted in principle as a basis for development of the faculty of engineering; that it be forwarded to the Hong Kong Government with the observation that its priority was high for claim against capital funds in the year 1955-1956 and that an overall plan for capital development; including the recommendations of the report, would follow as soon as possible.

In December 1954 the board of faculty accepted a plan for the introduction of electrical and mechanical engineering degree courses, and the Senate approved this plan in the following February. In April the government however had

intervented with the request that the question of closing down the School of Engineering should be considered. This suggestion arose from the difficulties encountered in recruiting a suitable head for civil engineering, which had been without the services of a professor since the beginning of the academic year. At any rate, the plan of expansion of the department along the lines contemplated was deferred by the University Council in June 1955 for a period of one year.

In July, however, full recognition of the degree in civil engineering was accorded by the Institution of Civil Engineers, and this was followed in February 1956 by similar recognition from the Institution of Structural Engineers. With the granting of professional recognition to the civil engineering degree, the faculty wanted to consider implementing the recommendation in the Jennings-Logan Report that degree courses in electrical and mechanical engineering should be reinstated, despite the view expressed by the government in April 1957 that existing facilities were more than adequate for Hong Kong's own requirements.<sup>24</sup> Finally the university decided in January 1958 to appoint an engineering advisory committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Lawrence Kadoorie,<sup>25</sup> to examine the whole question of the need for engineering graduates in Hong Kong and the extent to which local industry might reasonably be expected to contribute towards the costs of their training.

After a series of meetings and the submission of a questionnaire to over 200 firms in the colony, the Kadoorie Committee reported back to the council within a month. It expressed the view that there was little doubt of the community's welcome for the reinstatement of mechanical and electrical engineering, provided the degree would be recognised by the professional institutions, and that government assistance would be forth-

coming for capital and recurrent expenditure. The Committee members felt that twenty graduates could be placed each year in trainee posts in local industry and commerce; and that it was reasonable for the university to expect a capital contribution from the community of the order of \$350,000 towards the new development plan.<sup>26</sup> The University Council readily adopted the Kadoorie Committee Report. In October 1958 the Government expressed its willingness to contribute half the capital sum required for development provided; first, that the other half was raised from unofficial sources, secondly, that the degrees were recognised by the professional bodies and thirdly, that the project would receive a high priority in the university's five-year plan, then in course of preparation. The new courses were designed so that the first year curriculum was common to all three branches of engineering. A limited number of additional student places was made available in October 1958 an appeal was made to the community for the required equipment. The Chancellor, His Excellency Sir Robert Black, speaking at the annual dinner of the Engineering Society of Hong Kong in March 1959, drew attention to this appeal and expressed the hope that industry and commercial enterprise would respond generously. Within a short time firm promises of cash and equipment donations up to the required target figure of \$350,000 were received. The Shell Company of Hong Kong was first in the field with a gift of equipment for the new heat-engines laboratory, which would have cost the university \$100,000 to acquire; and the China Light and Power Company donated \$120,000 for equipping a new steampower laboratory. Equipment for an air-conditioning and refrigeration unit, costing approximately \$50,000 was supplied by the newly formed Air-conditioning and Refrigeration Association of Hong Kong. The British Electrical

and Allied Manufacturers Association provided over \$60,000 worth of equipment for the enlargement of the electrical machines laboratory to meet the needs of the new department.<sup>27</sup>

The accommodation problem of the two additional departments was met by a variety of expedients which provided space in the Peel Laboratory for an enlarged steam laboratory, an electrical measurements laboratory, and staff and library accommodation. It seemed impracticable to increase the height of this building because of difficult site conditions, but in 1959 it was decided to resolve a conflict of professional opinion over the strength of the Peel Laboratory structure by the simple expedient of carrying out a full-scale loading test on the building. The outcome was successful, and plans were drawn up and a contract placed for the long sought-after additional floor. Opened in September of the Golden Jubilee year, it provided drawing office and lecture-hall accommodation for all first and second-year engineering students, together with additional staff and office rooms, and released some of the drawing offices in the Duncan Sloss School for conversion to additional laboratory space.

The last decade of the half century was also a time of trial for the Faculty of Architecture. Apart from the accommodation problems, the infant faculty had a difficult teaching period. Failure to recruit a full time senior staff member threw a heavy burden on the few existing members. But the outlook for both staff and students in architecture brightened considerably when, in December 1961, the Royal Institute of British Architects accorded recognition to the examinations for the degree of Bachelor of Architecture of the university. In 1960 the separate faculties were formally reunited into a single Faculty of Engineering and Architecture. The student

body of the double faculty numbered around 175, and the existing demand showed that all engineering and architecture graduates should find proper employment in many years to come.

In the Faculty of Arts, on the reopening of the university after the war, Mr. Ma Chien (Ma Kiam) was appointed professor of Chinese until his retirement in 1950, when he was succeeded by Professor J.K. Rideout from the university of Sydney. Professor Rideout unfortunately died suddenly in February 1951 soon after his appointment. He was succeeded in 1952 after a short interval filled by the lecturer, Mr. Ho Kuang Chung, and the assistant lecturer Mr. Chan Kwan Po, by Professor F.S. Drake of Cheeloo University, Shantung, North China.

The time was not ripe, however, for the implementation of such far-reaching plans as recommended by the Keswick Report.<sup>28</sup> But as a first step in the direction the teaching staff of the department of Chinese was increased to five lecturers and assistant lecturers, in addition to the professor; the curriculum was revised and expanded to include Chinese art and archaeology in addition to literature, history and philosophy; and the classes in Chinese were all transferred to the university main building to be more closely integrated with other courses in the Faculty of Arts. This left the Tang Chi Ngong School of Chinese free for the Language School, which as part of the projected Institute and with the help of a government annual subvention of \$50,000 was able to assist the local government and various British Government services in the teaching of Cantonese and Mandarin to their respective personnel. The new professor of Chinese, concurrently with his appointment as head of the department of Chinese, was also director of the Institute, renamed the Institute of Oriental Studies.



With these improved facilities and with an enlarged outlook the department of Chinese entered upon a period of steady growth and consolidation. The graduation of students in the department, which had been in abeyance since 1942, recommenced in 1954, with nine B.A. graduates. The number increased to 26 in 1961 with three successful M.A. candidates. A grand total of 96 B.A. graduates specialising in Chinese, or taking Chinese as their main subject, and seven successful M.A. candidates was recorded for the period 1954-1961. The number of students enrolled in courses in the department of Chinese increased from 100 student/courses in 1952 (representing about 70 students) to 369 student/courses in 1960-1961 (representing 191 students), of whom 66 specialised in Chinese subjects during their second and third years.<sup>29</sup> With the increased student enrolment, the staffing of the department was augmented by the addition of two lecturers (1959 and 1960) an assistant lecturer (1961), and a Reader in Oriental Studies (1960), the latter being in connection with the Institute of Oriental Studies.

During the same time, the Institute of Oriental Studies -- with the help of a research grant from Aid Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Inc., and with research and publication grants from the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the Asia Foundation -- developed under its own board of management responsible to the Senate. This included representatives from other departments, from the Faculty of Arts, from the Senate and the Council. The Institute of Oriental Studies, was to become a research and extra-mural arm of the department of Chinese, and a point of contact of the Faculty of Arts -- and indeed of the university as a whole -- with the wider area of oriental studies. It functioned in two sections: a research section;

and a Language School section. The research section included the work of research fellows and a museum of Chinese art and archaeology, which with its curator and two museum assistants was intended primarily for teaching and research but was also open to the public; and the publication semi-annually of a Journal of Oriental Studies. The Language School, was organised under the principalship of the late Mr Wong Sik Ling (Huanh Hsi-ling), with a staff of Mandarin and Cantonese tutors varying with the number of the students. Its curriculum leading to the Hong Kong Government language examinations, and to the Civil Service Commission interpretership examinations in London, was progressively regularised and quarterly school examinations were instituted,<sup>30</sup> under the principalship of Ma Meng, eldest son of the late professor Ma Kiam. Student enrolment had grown to 35 in 1961 sponsored by ten different Government authorities in five different countries. There were also a number of private students. Of 80 candidates at British Government examinations during the past ten years, no less than 70 had successfully passed.

However there was a steady growth of recognition of the close bonds that should be developed between the Chinese studies and the Institute. In 1960 the Senate and Council expressed their concern to unite the department with the Institute, whereby the Institute, while preserving its own individually would be attached to the department. The head of the department of Chinese was ex-officio director of the Institute, and the reader in Oriental Studies, together with an administrative assistant were added to the establishment to share with the professor the complex work of administration, teaching, and research. The research work of the Institute and of the department were more closely integrated and the

Language School was more closely drawn into the Faculty of Arts. A certificate in Chinese Language (2 years), and a diploma in Chinese Language (3 years) were instituted, and these were intended to be the first step towards the extension of the Language School curriculum in the direction of the University's degree structure. The institution of courses in Buddhism, taught in the medium of English, in the autumn of 1961 was the precursor of degree courses in Chinese and other Oriental subjects designed for Western students.<sup>31</sup>

For the Faculty of Sciences, in the pre-war period, the science degree courses followed a pattern of four years divided between an intermediate course of two parts and a final course of two parts, a structure maintained through the early post-war years. The first-year course was taken by medical and engineering students as well as by Science students and English was a compulsory fourth subject. The first major change (1952) was to convert the first year into a preliminary science course from which English was excluded. Students taking the course were members of the Science Faculty, and if selected they could proceed to read science, medicine or engineering. The science courses consisted of a three-year pass degree course with examination in three subjects (in 1954 reduced to two) followed by a one-year honours degree course in one subject. The second major change came with the abolition of the preliminary science course in 1958, a corollary of the development of advanced level matriculation teaching in the schools. Finally, in 1959, the B. Sc. pass and honours degrees were renamed 'General' and 'Special', with classified honours awarded in both. The main pre-occupations of the faculty, in this evolution, were to establish a pass (now general) degree of

high standard; to develop one-year post-graduate honours (now special) degree courses in each subject and to develop post-graduate research for the Master of Science degree. Honours courses were introduced in chemistry (1952), mathematics (1954), physics and zoology (1957), as staff and facilities in the departments became adequate. M. Sc. studies were introduced in chemistry (1951), zoology (1955), and mathematics (1959). Botany with its chair filled, had reached a stage when it was preparing to introduce a special honours course; and botany and physics had their first post-graduate students working for Master's degrees. At the outset of this development it was felt wise to exclude geography and geology and concentrate on the four cardinal sciences. In the pre-war period, geography was included in the biology group as a first-year subject and an optional alternative to applied mathematics, and second and third-year courses were contemplated. The department remained in the Faculty of Arts, however, and in 1954 geology was inaugurated and incorporated with it. Science reached a staff where it was ready to diversify its courses, and it was hoped that within the next few years it would prove possible to introduce courses in geology, biochemistry, and physiology. A diploma course in pharmacy, with its own department, was introduced into the faculty in 1952, but owing to lack of Government support it had to be discontinued four years later.<sup>32</sup>

In 1951 there were 13 full-time teaching staff in the Faculty of Sciences. A chair of botany was established in 1955 and filled in 1960 with the appointment of Dr. Harry Stenton. Prior to this the department of biology was split into separate departments of botany and zoology in July 1958; and Dr. C.T. Yung, senior lecturer in botany, was head of the new department of botany until his resignation in 1960 on

appointment as President of Chung Chi College. Professor J.E. Driver served as dean from 1950 to 1959, and his wisdom and energy proved invaluable in guiding the faculty through this vital formative period. On his retirement early in 1960, the university conferred upon him the title of Emeritus Professor, a distinction which had only been conferred ten years previously upon Walter Brown, professor of Mathematics from 1918 to 1946.

The Extra-mural Department was established in 1956. It was established with its own Board to advise on questions relating to higher adult education. The work of the department however was much wider in scope than that of Extra-mural Departments of British Universities. It included a considerable number of classes in languages. These included the items one would expect, advanced English, Cantonese, and Mandarin, but also a surprisingly wide range of other languages, Spanish, Russian, Malaya, German, French, Japanese and Italian. Most of the classes of the department were conducted in English although there were a number in Cantonese. This meant that the department depended mainly on that 10% of the population of Hong Kong which was English speaking. Compared with British universities the students were young, mostly in their twenties. Many of the students were teachers, civil servants and commercial workers. Students had to pay tuition fee. Class fees were charged at the rate of two dollars (2/6) an hour, one of the highest rates in this kind of adult education in the world (in the United Kingdom, on the other hand, fees were largely nominal because of grants from the Ministry of Education and Local Education Authorities).<sup>33</sup> In the department, research was undertaken about the career of W.B. Yeats as a dramatist, an inquiry into the literary origins of Chinese idioms and

the rise of new literature in English, French, and Spanish in the Afro-Caribbean area. The department had expanded considerably and in 1963 it provided a wide variety of studies in its total of 151 courses with the enrolment of 3,024 students.

The replacement of a Vice-Chancellor is no simple matter at any time. Since Dr. Ride had been Vice-Chancellor since 1949 the search for his successor was made particularly difficult in the face of a persistent feeling among the teachers that the next phase of the university's development could be served only by a Vice-Chancellor whose experience lay wholly outside Hong Kong. This ruled out any contender with a proven devotion to Hong Kong, however strong his claims might otherwise be. The problem proved, indeed, too difficult at first, so that it became essential for some interim arrangement to be devised. Dr. W.C.G. Knowles, then head of the local firm of Butterfield and Swire, part of the Swire Group, and chairman of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, was the University's Treasurer, and had just accepted an offer of appointment as first Director of Lloyd's Register of Shipping in London. Generously agreeing to postpone his new start, he succeeded as sixth Vice-Chancellor towards the end of 1964 on the clear understanding that his term of office was to last for no more than a few months and that the senior professor, Professor Alexander McFadzean, would be assigned to advise him on the academic aspects of the university's business. The faculties were fully engaged in preparing development plans for the period after 1966. The new Vice-Chancellor's first and most urgent task was to find an acceptable successor to himself, and this he contrived to do by June the following year, forthwith relinquishing his office to Professor McFadzean, who then succeeded to a three-month term as seventh Vice-

Chancellor, while the eight, Professor Kenneth Robinson, was preparing to leave his post as Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Affairs in London and set out for Hong Kong.

It was in Ride's term of service that the foundations had been laid not only for a large University, but also for the orderly development of higher education generally in Hong Kong.

## II. Dr. Kenneth Robinson and the modernisation of the University

No educational system can exist in a vacuum. It must exist in a social and political framework and it must obtain its raison d'être from that framework. The Universities are commonly accused of being 'ivory towers' because of their isolation from the body politic. To a great extent this isolation had its roots in an historical past.<sup>34</sup> The late 60's saw a movement toward mass higher education in developed countries. In developing countries, universities were beginning to feel the impact of mass primary and secondary education in the increasing number of applicants for admission every year. In order to face the new challenge and meet the new local needs, the University of Hong Kong had to start it a process of modernization.

Professor Kenneth Robinson assumed his duties in October 1965. Formerly he had held the Chair of Commonwealth Affairs at the University of London, where he had also been Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies since 1957. A highly respected academic authority on Commonwealth matters with important experience of civil and academic administration, the new Vice-Chancellor was well informed and well prepared

to face the challenge of his new responsibilities.

Within the university, the Faculty of Arts reached the tentative decision to divide itself into two faculties, broadly embracing in one the pure arts and in the other the applied arts or social sciences. The first year of the pilot scheme in law was drawing to an end, and Professor Cowen of Sydney and Anthony Guest then of Oxford were visiting to report on legal studies. Though the future of law was still in the balance, a decision had been reached in principle to introduce a full day-time law curriculum leading to the university's own degree. It was thought that studies would be organised in a new department assigned to a new Faculty of Social Sciences. Architecture, and the three branches of engineering were settled into professional respectability.

The need to train university teachers, which the process of forming the second university had brought to official attention, had led the government to apply a long-needed stimulus to post-graduate studies in the university. At the same time the university was about to enter a new technical era in which microfilm and satellite, computer and radioisotope, language laboratory and electronmicroscopy were to become the common tools of daily academic life.

Kenneth Robinson's immediate tasks were daunting enough. First he had to gain full control of central operations and then widen the area of consultation with university opinion, now by default shrunk to a small group of officials. Secondly, he worked very hard in planning the university's first established block-grant period within the newly created machinery of a grants committee.<sup>35</sup> In order to widen the process of consultation, he secured the formation of a Development and General Purposes Committee as a joint arm of both the univer-



sity's executive and academic bodies, but with a membership which in its initial form was wholly composed of teachers of the university, including all those who were members of the council. His purpose was to provide an informal centre for discussion and a constant inter-change of ideas and information.

The introduction of grants committee procedures was also the signal for the final withdrawal of government officials from the Council, the Senate, and the Finance Committee. At the same time Robinson grasped his opportunities to strengthen his own hand in the Council by having the Vice-Chancellor withdrawn from his position as its chairman ex-officio and replaced with a lay chairman. To this office the Chancellor appointed Sir Albert Rodrigues, one of the university's most distinguished graduates and chairman of the Governor's special committee.<sup>36</sup> Robinson reinforced the standing of Convocation by adding its chairman as an ex-officio member of the Council and he arranged for five faculties (i.e. Science, Art, Social Sciences, Medicine and Architecture and Engineering) to have representative membership of the Senate, which had hitherto been almost wholly the domain of the professors. The Council then agreed to delegate some of its wide powers and duties to the enlarged Senate, including the appointment of lecturers. And so by 1969, the Vice-Chancellor having given the appearance of reducing his own power by relinquishing the Council chairmanship had in fact gained a powerful ally in a lay chairman. The teachers had assumed a much larger influence on the control of the institution.<sup>37</sup>

A new faculty, the Faculty of Social Sciences, had been proposed by the Faculty of Arts during the brief Knowles administration, and it was to be formed initially with depart-

ments taken out of the old Faculty of Arts. In July 1966 the Court of the university resolved that a Faculty of Social Sciences be constituted. Economics would eventually divorce itself from political science, each with departmental status, and economics would later provide the nucleus for a separate discipline of management studies. Philosophy and psychology similarly were to divide into separate departments. Social studies was reassigned to the new faculty, in the new guise of social work. Statistics was divided off from mathematics in 1967, and a new department of sociology was added that year and law the next. By the time the first undergraduates in the social sciences took their degrees in 1970, the new faculty was already larger than the arts faculty in the number of its academic units, though there were fewer students. Professor R.C. Trees, then Dean of Social Sciences in the University of Bristol, was invited to visit in January 1967 to advise on the organisation of the social sciences within the new faculty and with a new degree. He proposed that they should be built round eight final examination papers for which students would have a controlled choice among groups of two equally-weighted subjects, or the alternative of economics alone. This was an important departure from the structure of the parent curriculum in arts, which from 1954 had required a nine-paper final examination, with a wide choice of weighting among subject-courses. It was a departure important enough to compel arts to follow suit in 1969, so that they might regain their structural compatibility with the social sciences. Three years later the sciences were reorganised into a sort of course-unit structure allowing a more liberal choice to students compatible with the structure adopted by social sciences and arts, so that optional courses might be offered to science students from

the arts and social sciences curricular.

Charged with carrying forward to the next stage the university's decision to introduce a full law curriculum, two more groups of advisers were preparing to report. As a focus for the expression of the opinions of the professions Sir Ivo Rigby, the Chief Justice, had set up a working party the previous September to establish conditions in which local legal training might be accepted for entry to them, in the case of the Bar without having to fulfil requirements overseas (a prime interim evening scheme into effect). Professor Cowen returned to offer advice in greater detail on the development of legal studies within the university and was joined by L.C.B. Gower of the Law Commission in England. Both legal groups had reported and the new Faculty of Social Sciences had been brought into being in the first half of 1967. London University agreed to extend its interim law degree scheme by two years until 1969 as an overlap between its finish and the start of the new internal arrangements. The admission of the first law students, planned for 1968, was delayed by a protracted negotiation over the length of the course in relation to academic and professional demands and by problems of accommodation. It was not until 1969 that a New Department of Law admitted its first student at the beginning of the academic year 1969-1970. It provided a full-time three-year course leading to the honours degree of LLB.<sup>38</sup>

More students created demand for greater diversification of studies. This reinforced the teacher's demands for more outlets into new specialisms, and where these could not easily be accommodated within the bachelor's curriculum, pressure arose to provide for them in post-graduate courses. The form in which the pressure has been relieved has generally been by

a master's degree approached through course-work, instead of a degree satisfied by thesis or dissertation. The masters degree supported by a set syllabus was particular phenomenon of the early 1970s. Syllabuses for Master's degrees were devised in a number of fields of special significance to Hong Kong and the region, and included language studies, studies in Chinese and Comparative literature, Chinese historical studies, comparative Asian studies, twentieth century Western literature and electronics, production engineering, social work, business administration, and clinical psychology. The old master's degrees in arts, science, engineering, were converted to these new purposes. To take care of the research qualities they had thereby lost, statutory provision was made in 1971 for a new university-wide master's degree in philosophy. The building of the Robert Black College, a hall of residence for visiting research scholars and post-graduate students, was nearing completion in 1965. It was expected to be ready for use in January 1967.<sup>39</sup>

In 1966 the Medical Library and Student Centre at Sassoon Road was opened in February. The Medical Library housed approximately 16,000 volumes of books and periodicals on medical subjects and had a reading room with seating capacity of 100. The Student Centre contained accommodation for students serving medical clerkships in the Queen Mary Hospital, together with the Medical Faculty offices and a student canteen.

In 1968 the Department of Education of the university offered to graduates a one-year full-time course leading to a Diploma in Education and a two-year part-time course leading to a Certificate in Education. The department also provided a one-year part-time qualifying course for candidates who sought to enroll for the MA (Ed) degree and to successful

students offered the MA (Ed) either as a six-term part-time course spread over two academic years, or as a one-year full-time course. As in other departments, the PhD was also available for specially qualified and selected candidates.

In the same year, a new Centre of Asian Studies was to replace the former Institute of Oriental Studies and the Institute of Modern Asian Studies. However the new re-organisation raised the question of what was to be done with the language section. Thus in 1968 a Language Centre was set up with modern language-training equipment, taking over first the training of foreigners in Chinese and assuming a study of the collections of teaching materials which had been developed over the years. It organised 'remedial English' courses to which students with problems could be referred, courses individually designed for those who spoke various forms of the vernacular. At the same time it was hoped to integrate eventually within the new Centre all the rest of the language and linguistic work being pursued in the university at all levels -- on the theory, which could well be said to be untenable, that the study of literature could be satisfactorily divorced from the study of the language in which it was written.<sup>40</sup> Thus a Centre of Asian Studies was established in November under the supervision of a full-time Director. The amalgamation of the former institute of Modern Asian Studies and the Institute of Oriental Studies was to be a central source of strength not solely for the research and post-graduate work being undertaken in these fields in the institutes themselves, but also in several teaching departments. The Nuffield Foundation provided it with a supporting fund of £15,000 for four years from 1968; and the Harvard-Yenching Institute also transferred its interest from the former Institute of Oriental Studies.<sup>41</sup>

With a generous donation of \$100,000 in 1970 in memory of Hung On-to it became possible to start a collection of source material in the Library, for scholars pursuing local research, particularly in the arts and social sciences.

For the support of laboratory work in medicine and the pure and applied sciences the Department of Extra-mural studies initiated a training scheme for high-grade technicians. In a pilot project the Professor of Civil Engineering had secured a private donation to install a small computer in his department. By the time the funds ran out, he had come to rely so much on its output that he sought to persuade the university to take it over as a central commitment. It was this that heralded the university's first moves to consider its computing requirements as a whole and a special adviser was appointed who visited and reported in January 1967. The separation of statistics from mathematics as a new department a few months later opened new vista in the use of statistical and other forms of numerical analysis to all sorts of disciplines, but it was not until near the end of 1969 that a computer centre was formally set up, and that the University committed itself to developing a central service for all its purposes, including those of the administrative units. The Chinese University was also looking into its own computing needs and, by the start of the next block-grant period 1970-1974, it became possible to formulate an agreement between the Grants Committee and the two universities for the establishing of a joint central facility registered as the Joint Universities Computer Centre Ltd. under the local Companies Ordinance. The appointment by the Government in May 1969 of a Polytechnic Planning Committee showed publicly that a new Polytechnic was within sight, and it was unofficially put about that the Grants Committee would

in due course extend its compass to include the finances of this as a third institution. The instrument of incorporation governing the Joint Computer Centre was so framed that when the time was ripe the Polytechnic might in its turn become an equal shareholder and user of the facility. The computer finally installed early in 1971 was large and flexible enough to provide the services needed by all three institutions, and the Polytechnic duly joined as the third shareholder of the company in time for the start of the block-grant period 1974-1978. The central computer has since been moved into Polytechnic premises. In 1972 the Computer Centre of the university had made a significant breakthrough in the computer translation of Chinese into English. Professor S.C. Loh of the centre told a press conference 14th October (1972) that the Centre had developed a technique for instantaneous translation of mathematical texts from Chinese to English, paving the way for machine translations of a wide range of subject matter. Translations in the opposite direction, from English to Chinese were in the planning stage.<sup>42</sup>

During Robinson's term of service, the university had to consider the revision of its entry examination in meeting local needs. As early as 1962, at the government's invitation, an official of the Cambridge Schools examination syndicate visited the colony to advise on examination and entry requirements. The advice was given that the university and the local English examination syndicate accepted unreservedly, that overseas recognition should be sought for the certificate so that the university might withdraw from examining at the ordinary level; this would be followed by forming a public examining board to be responsible for both certificate and advanced level, so that the university might then also with-

draw from advanced-level examining. With the help of Cambridge and a view to oversea recognition, the local syndicate also revised its syllabus and standards to such effect that the university felt secure enough in announcing its withdrawal from the ordinary level after 1965 and the acceptance in its place of school certificate passes under certain conditions. This in turn induced a number of other Commonwealth universities to follow suit with acceptance of the Hong Kong Certificate. The university revised its advanced-level syllabuses and refused entry to any local applicant who had not satisfied certain requirements in the certificate examination at least eighteen months previously in order to secure the much-needed condition in which there might be two school years uninterrupted by public examination. The idea of forming a central authority began to spread among the examining bodies outside the university, and in anticipation the constitutions of the English syndicate and the university's advanced-level board were made compatible and given overlapping members, and the university provided a much larger representation of school-teachers on its own board. In 1965 also, the introduction by the Chinese University of its new lower-sixth form matriculation examination placed the Chinese-medium certificate examination as the basis of admission to its advanced level on the same footing as was the case with the English-medium examination. The path was open for the Chinese University to fit its internal examination into the network, as soon as the level had been raised to that of the advanced level of the University of Hong Kong, which might still take some time. There remained nothing more to be done by the university or by the syndicates but wait for legislation, towards which progress was made. The university in 1965 had made its own idea clear of the final



aim. The independent examination authority should be:

"a statutory body controlling its own funds subsidized by public monies; its membership should be such that the policy governing secondary school examinations might be formulated with full regard first to the interest of education generally in Hong Kong, second to the interest of the universities and the secondary school, and third to the local need for international recognition; its members should be those who would inspire the highest public and educational confidence in its aspirations and operations; its responsibilities should include determining secondary school examining policies, arranging for all public purposes of the extent of equivalence of other examinations, and the receipt and disbursement of public funds..."<sup>43</sup>

### III. The Cultural Revolution in China and the student movement in Hong Kong

The Cultural Revolution in China, to a great extent, affected the educational development and direction of the colony. In facing the uproar of student unrest, Robinson had to face new kinds of unexpected challenges. In fact it was difficult not to postulate that the government's attitude to the needs of the university student was linked to other events in Hong Kong at that time.

Rioting had followed demonstrations mounted against a proposal announced early in April 1966 to impose a small rise in cross-harbour ferry fare. This turned out to be but an overture to more troubled times ahead, in which Hong Kong was

put through one of its severest tests.<sup>44</sup> In China a new Cultural revolution was launched in 1965, in which the children and youths organised their vast cohorts into a mass 'Red Guard' movement, with some official encouragement, dedicated to promoting a people's culture wherever they spotted or thought they spotted it, the stigma of intellectualism. In the schools and colleges students handed in blank examination scripts as their protest. The universities were a prime object of attack, particularly the 'elitist' nature of the more advanced programmes, which were suspended in 1966 following Chairman Mao's circular dated 16th May laying out guidelines for Red Guard action, and were not revived until 1978. The movement swept through the country, acts of degrading violence the hall-mark of its passage.<sup>45</sup>

Border troubles in Macau and the responses of the local leaders to them in 1966 were taken as testimony that a colonial government could be coerced. In May 1967 Hong Kong in its turn faced a test of its strength, but pitted against more determined and more lawless elements living within its borders.

For the first time in Hong Kong's history, the Government had real trouble. Organised mobs confronted the police in the streets; Government order were disobeyed; Communist newspapers stirred up violence and clamored for "liberation". Home-made time-bombs were planted in the streets and traffic was held up for hours for the demolition squad to remove them. The Governor and his aides looked exhausted on the television screen as they tried to cope with the crisis.

When the riots were finally brought under control, the Chinese press in Hong Kong developed a theory. The riots, they said, were inspired by local Communists without the central Government's consent. They tried to make the colonial

Government of Hong Kong kowtow to them in the Portuguese style at Macau. But the Government refused to yield to their coercion, and appealed to Peking through London. Some of the local Communist leaders were ordered to report to Peking for discipline, while those who were too scared to go defected to Taiwan, the Chinese press said. For the riot was not only a political issue, as many claimed it to be, but an outburst symptomatic of a deep-seated and growing dissatisfaction and unrest among local residents, particularly the youths.<sup>46</sup>

The reactions of Hong Kong's Chinese leaders and citizens were notably different from those in Macau. The Hong Kong response was the response of citizens whose future not only lay in Hong Kong but was dependent upon a continued state of well-being and stability. It seemed to them at the time that the disruptions and despair from which half of Hong Kong's population had fled half a generation before were about to overwhelm it again. There was a small exodus of people, mostly professional men and women. But the spirit which infused Hong Kong itself was not one which would readily lose ground to fear: the place exuded self-confidence. The Hong Kong citizen was seized with a great indignation when he found his self-confidence challenged by mob law, with the indignation which derived from the knowledge that events were unworthy of those suffering them. And at the peak of the riots on 22nd May, 1966, the expression of indignation against the rioters was shared by all local people. Statements were issued by business firms, by religious, kaifong, and district bodies, by the street-hawkers, by clansmen and clubs, by educational institutions and federations and by professional associations, by mutual-aid housing and welfare groups; so that through these statements in the press and announcements over the

radio, and through every other means at their command, within a few days over six hundred organisations, which together accounted for practically the whole of Hong Kong's population, condemned the disorders and were calling for a return to law and stability. For the few months left until the end of the year, bombs and rumours of bombs, were Hong Kong's daily fare. There were false alarms in and around the university buildings too. For the first time Hong Kong citizens were expressing themselves as a united group. They had succeeded in demonstrating to each other in public that they had a common destiny and believed it worthy. A population which had once been made up of commuters from China and the west, inflated by the huge influx of refugees fifteen years before, was welded into a corporate civic entity.

For the university the special significance in this newly found spirit of community was that it had taken its origin from the students themselves. The Federation of Hong Kong Students, led by the Students' Union of Hong Kong University, was the first of the groups of citizens to make public condemnation of the rioters, the first to make a public statement in support of law and order. The university students were right now standing together and their sense of commitment to society and responsibility were growing accordingly.

In the wave of the student movement in late 1960s, the university students gradually became more conscious of their roles and destiny in serving society. In the intense, but fortunately limited, years from 1966 to 1969, when students in Britain demonstrated their interest in the detailed functioning of the universities and sought fuller participation in the process of governing them, there emerged an official view that it was desirable to encourage experiment in univer-

sity constitutional arrangements, so as to take some account of these pressures. This was reflected in a small degree in the charters conferring university status upon a number of colleges of advanced technology which were at that very time being upgraded, and of the two new Scottish universities at Dundee and Sterling founded in 1967. In the well-established universities, however, which were not able to respond quite so readily, the administrative offices became virtual battlegrounds for the rights of students, 'confrontation' being the battlecry of militant students. Not only was there an invasion of the London School of Economics, but there were the great Parisian upheavals in the Sorbonne; and Berkeley, Columbia, Chicago, Wisconsin, and many other universities in the United States came under attack, until even Harvard had joined the growing list of embattled administrations by April 1969.<sup>47</sup>

By the time the shockwaves had reached Hong Kong, several of the older British universities were considering amending their Charters so as to provide more formally for a variety of experimental arrangements, in which students might take part in the decision-making process.

University students elsewhere in Asia may have had other causes to protest. However those in Hong Kong were confronted with the problem of identity -- Who am I? Or more specifically, where do I belong? -- which was the underlying cause for much of their restlessness.

This identity crisis poses no problem to their parents. Most of them came to Hong Kong either as refugees or as merchants. The older generation has reached the point of no return since 1949 when the Communists established a new regime in mainland China. In twenty two years a staggering two million residents were born and raised in the less than 400

square-mile land of the colony. Communism to them was no longer an alien ideology, the way their parents looked at it. Rather, it was a household term that had tangible meaning. Their lives were dependent on the Communists for daily necessities ranging from cereals to toilet paper were imported from mainland China, and Chairman Mao Tse-tung's pictures, slogans, quotations, in posters and neon lights, were as omni-present as made-in-China goods.

Hong Kong students nevertheless had a tradition of apathy regarding politics. The colonial Government said its employees comparatively higher than commercial firms. The starting salary for a university graduate was about \$2,400 per month, while the GNP per capita is about \$5,600. To qualify for a government post, the applicant must hold a degree from one of the two government recognized and supported universities -- the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Some of the government agencies in addition had their own screening system that looked into the applicant's political behaviour as well. To play it safe, the students had involved themselves in agitation that resulted little more than a tempest in a teapot.<sup>48</sup>

Political triumph of the colonial Government notwithstanding, the disturbance made the students think of the possible day when the British would pack up and go home, leaving them to face the Communists. The New Territories would have to be returned to China in 1997 when the lease expired. Without the New Territories the island of Hong Kong itself could hardly exist as an entity. Out of post-shock and frustration, the students began to question their identity and search for some sort of solution.

In 1970 students from the two universities and other post-

secondary colleges started a campaign to make the Chinese language an official language on equal status with English. They argue, in early 1970, that since Hong Kong residents are predominantly Chinese, and most of the Chinese do not speak or understand English, the Government when dealing with the people should use Chinese as well as English in court sessions when all the parties concerned, including the judge, are Chinese.<sup>49</sup>

The agitation was rather mild. Those who supported the movement bought and wore T-shirts with a clenched fist printed on them -- American style "student power". Pamphlets and handbills were distributed to the students and the public. Signatures of local residents were sought at the ferries, bus terminals, school, hotels, and even bars. But there was never any public demonstration or mass rally.

The campaign found lukewarm support from the community. Meanwhile, the Government handled the situation tactfully. Promptly, the Governor appointed a special committee to look into the feasibility of the proposal. The committee submitted a report suggesting that a simultaneous translation scheme should be introduced at high-level official meetings.

The first student demonstration took place on 10th April, 1971. It was not against the colonial Government, nor mainland China, but against the United States returning the Tiao Yu Tai (Senkaku) Islands to Japan. The political rally was orderly and well organized. The police arrested 21 youths.

The police considered the issue as an international hot potato that involved two big powers. The students, on the other hand, saw it as a matter of Chinese patriotism. They were not sure to which China they should rally. So they delivered identical letters to the Nationalist Chinese Central

News Agency and the Communist Chinese New China News Agency.

After a few minor demonstrations on the issue were held between April and July, the Government refused to permit a student demonstration to commemorate the 34th anniversary of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on 7th July, 1971. The student leaders decided to go ahead on the ground that the refusal notice was received on 6th July, too late to notify their confreres. Thus a confrontation between the police and the students ensued. In the scuffle 26 youngsters, including several reporters covering the event, were injured, while 21 were arrested.

Then came President Nixon's announcement of his plan to visit China. The trip in the eyes of the Hong Kong people was a symbolic kowtow to Peking.

The Hong Kong Government was not unaware of the changing of the tide around the island. Quickly it permitted a student demonstration on 13th August in commemoration of the battle of Shanghai in 1937, to be followed by another one on 18th September in commemoration of the Mukdon Incident of 1931. But student campaign techniques at this juncture took a turn to the left. Their public statements contained much Communist jargon. Those who were not willing to go along withdrew from the student organizations. The 13th August demonstration found greater enthusiasm on the part of the leaders, but the audience dwindled. The 18th September demonstration was turned into a farce.

On 18th September, while the student leaders were addressing their supporters and on-lookers at Victoria Park, five young girls in hot pants and wigs wagged through the crowd. They instantly attracted the demonstrators' attention. Some jeered, some cheered. Realising they were going to have their



audience, the student leaders started to shout at the quintet. The young ladies courageously sat down and shouted back. It seemed violence was imminent if it were not for the timely rescue of the police force stationed nearby. The crowd was dispersed, and the demonstration was over. The mass media that night and the next day played up the incident, concentrating on the human interest angle. By Chinese standards, the student leaders suffered a serious loss of face.

Came autumn, 1971; the United Nations admitted the People's Republic of China. Came December; the first Hong Kong student group tour to China since 1949 took place. Twenty-eight students of the University of Hong Kong paid \$1,950 each for a 28-day all-inclusive tour in mainland China. They visited Canton, Nanking, Shanghai, Hangchow, Soochow, and Peking, and saw communes, reservoirs, factories, hospitals and universities. When they returned to Hong Kong, they had high praise for the progress in China under Communist rule. In summer, 1972 the Chinese University Student Union was organizing four tours, covering China's south, north, and northeast. According to the organizer, they ran out of application forms in the first few days after the announcement. He said they had to turn away some students who did not qualify as members of the union and as Chinese. As a whole a growing identification with Hong Kong among students led to a greater demands for participation in the policy-making and implementation of public affairs.<sup>50</sup>

The administration of Hong Kong university, well enough aware of these moves, had already begun preparing its soil for when the local brand of seed should fall, to the extent also that the university bodies were reaching a reasonable consensus of opinion how the plant was to be nurtured. The

Students' Union too, being a member of international student bodies, was well enough informed of the aspirations and attitudes of students elsewhere, both militant and moderate, and was preparing its own position. There was as yet no formal machinery in which these two preparations might have mingled at this stage, any more than there had been in Britain -- for this what it was all about. The 'caretaker' Vice-Chancellor period of 1964-1965 and the swift moves of Kenneth Robinson to reorganise the University's power structure had brought the university into a frame of mind which was particularly susceptible to change, and it had created a new flexibility in the administration. A somewhat sensational report appeared in the local press of the dissatisfactions of an Hong Kong lecturer who was making his way home to Canada where, he told the journalists, the lecturers were not only called professors but treated like professors and the students were accorded full responsible collegiate membership of their universities. For these reasons, he said there had been no trouble in China.<sup>51</sup> This report was the overture to a series of broadcast panel interviews held with some of the university's teachers and others in January 1969. The Students' Union entered the fray a week later on the 30th with a 'forum on university problems' and drew a record attendance which included a few younger staff members who were dismissed at midpoint in the proceedings for not having paid their Union dues. The discussion, now in English, now in Cantonese, ranged over the structure of power, the relations between teacher and student in and out of the classroom, the deficiencies of the curriculum, of methods of teaching, of library holdings, and of research, and even the opportunities for corruption. Through it all ran a fine racial web, but the strong thread which kept the

discussion taut was that large widespread student complaint -- the low profile that the university allowed to the representing of student opinion in its central decision-making processes.

At the start of the academic year 1971-1972 Kenneth Robinson announced his wish to retire not more than a year later, the most appropriate point in the quadrennium, so that his successor might be in office a good six months before the opening of Grants Committee discussions due to take place at a visitation in the early spring of 1973, for the next block-grant period of 1974-1978.

At the end of his service, the Hong Kong Government also changed its policy in recognising some American degrees. The Government adopted a more flexible policy and attitude towards the non-British degrees and decided to recognise some American university degrees held by people seeking employment in Public service. However, not all American degrees would be accepted. Only those from institutions listed in the U.S. published 'Accredited Institutions of Higher Education' were to be recognised. And only those degrees with a specified grade point average (GPA) would be accepted.<sup>52</sup>

#### IV. Dr. Rayson Huang - the first Chinese Vice-Chancellor

In May 1972 the university announced that it had secured the services of Dr. Rayson Huang Li-sung as the ninth Vice-Chancellor, a distinguished and experienced university teacher and administrator who had been Dean of Science in the University of Malaya, where he had occupied the Chair of Chemistry and acted for an extended period as its Vice-Chancellor. He was later invited to Singapore as Vice-Chancellor of Nanyang

University to carry out the reform in that university recommended by a commission he had previously headed. He was, moreover, of a Hong Kong family and a graduate of the University of Hong Kong, Oxford, and Malaya. The University had conferred upon him four years earlier the honorary degree of Doctor of Science, in recognition of high international distinction.

In the postwar period, Lindsay Ride had cleared away the debris of war and reforged the university's links with its past. He had presided over the erection of a large number of new buildings and had laid the foundations on which his successor might construct a large university. Kenneth Robinson had designed, in a vast array of working drawings and working models, the contemporary apparatus needed by his successor if he was to provide the community of Hong Kong with a modern university, so much so that after Rayson Huang's first year in office he was moved to say that succeeding to office in September 1972 he found 'an institution of surprising well-established maturity, a quality which was manifest, among other things, in the way in which it was tacking its long-term academic development.'<sup>53</sup>

Before Dr. Huang assumed his duty as Vice-Chancellor, the new Hong Kong Governor, Sir Murray Maclehoze (governor, 1971-1982) who was also a Chancellor of the University, had been urged to declare immediately after his arrival that Chinese was, in principle, accepted as an official language in the Colony. The appeal had been contained in an open letter to Sir Murray from the representative council of the 12,000 strong Hong Kong Federation of Students, demanding exact parity of treatment of Chinese and English as the Colony's official languages.<sup>54</sup>

At the same time too an increase in university places were badly needed. The local press had pointed out that 'more than 7,500 students would compete for about 650 places in the CUHK in entrance examinations to be held from 17th April to 17th May (1972). To qualify for entrance, candidates had to pass 5 subjects, including Chinese and English. The university offered 13 subjects in the examinations. In 1971 more than 7,300 students sat for the entrance examination, only 2,127 of them passed and about 620 were accepted.'<sup>55</sup> Thus the number of students leaving Hong Kong to further their education overseas was increasing. The South China Morning Post reported that a total of 5,192 students left Hong Kong in 1971-1972 to study in Britain, the United States, Canada and Australia.<sup>56</sup>

However it was becoming harder and harder for Hong Kong students to study abroad.<sup>57</sup> This was one of the conclusions of Career Masters Conference in Hong Kong on 13th April, 1972. In the conference, it was also pointed out that 'the number of students studying abroad continued to rise. The price of education had been hit by the world wide tide of inflation. There were few scholarships - which meant the great majority of students studying abroad had to pay all their own expenses. In America to which approximately half of Hong Kong's overseas students went the typical cost of a nine-month academic year at a medium cost college had been estimated at about HK\$14,000. So education abroad seemed to be the privilege of the rich and it was becoming more so. Besides many countries were imposing tougher restrictions on overseas students. With opportunities overseas becoming more competitive there would probably be an increased demand for places at the two universities and at the vocational colleges.'<sup>58</sup>

Thus it was in this demanding situation that Dr. Huang

was appointed as the first Chinese Vice-Chancellor for the university. In fact, as The Times pointed out the appointment of Dr. Huang as the first Chinese Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong was of academic, as well as political significance. "Dr. Huang at present Vice-Chancellor of Nanyang University, Singapore, would take up the post at a time when the University was under pressure to become a bilingual institution and when students were turning more and more for cultural and political inspiration to mainland China."<sup>59</sup> The press continued to point out that language was not yet a burning issue. There were two universities in Hong Kong, and one, the Chinese, had always used Chinese as the medium of instruction (although nearly all science textbooks were available only in English) Hong Kong University, 61 years old and embodying many of the traditions of a British university, taught in English. Pressure to go bilingual came mainly from a small but vocal group of students. A number of the English lecturers, although not Chinese speakers, would go along with the change. It was also in keeping with the general nationalistic feeling among students and young people in Hong Kong. It was this feeling that led partly to the decision to appoint a bilingual Chinese to succeed Mr. Kenneth Robinson. Dr. Huang, who had just spent a week in Britain on his way to a meeting of the Association of Commonwealth universities in Canada, emphasised that any move towards bilingualism was up to the University Council, "If you change the language of instruction, that is a fundamental change in the character of the university," he said.<sup>60</sup> More fundamental than the language question however, was the question of cultural identity. "We cannot have a tiny group of Hong Kong students educated in a way that is completely out of time with their surroundings,"<sup>61</sup> said Dr. Huang.

Now that China had stepped on to the world stage Hong Kong students were more and more asserting their Chinese identity. Dr. Huang said he would be strongly in favour of policies permitting academic links with Chinese universities. For if the political status of Hong Kong changed, the university's good arts and professional graduates would always be needed. The task of helping students find their own identity - discussed freely in the student's newspaper - would be onerous. Dr. Huang saw his new appointment as a challenge. He was faced three years ago with an equally difficult job: setting Nanyang upon its feet, and doing what he called some "spring cleaning". Changes there were swift, and the university improved measurably. Hong Kong's challenge was longer term. The academic reputation was already high. "...The least I would hope to do would be to keep it doing well," Dr. Huang said. Political crises waited in the wings, and staff and students were consulted over his appointment.<sup>62</sup> Did he feel in touch with what had been happening? The press remarked "He has visited his family in Hong Kong twice a year. More important, he has worked in universities with similar traditions of academic excellence and professional autonomy."<sup>63</sup> The new Vice-Chancellor would emphasize the aims of developing and strengthening aids to teaching, including the teaching of learning skills to students and improving the language skills of teachers. He would wish to reform the technical, sub-technical, and office services in order to relieve the time of teachers and so increase the periods of contact with student and to introduce systematic training for university teachers and administrators, especially local graduates. He would wish to continue centralising the dispersed services, in the interest of economy and efficiency.

The pressure of the desire to see more independent Faculties or Schools and the wish to reduce some of the Faculty Boards and the Senate itself, urged the Vice-Chancellor to invite Sir Douglas Logan, and Adrian Rowe Evans, once deputy registrar of the university, to visit early in 1974 to look into the causes of these dissatisfactions. However the visitors this time were unable to uncover much evidence of real obstacles to the broad needs of cross-faculty teaching, or of frustration created by the sizes of committees. But they proposed a number of changes in organisation, resulting in new provision for the formation of schools, in the appointment of sub-deans in the larger faculties, in an increase in the number of the Board of Faculties, and in a modification of the structure of the administrative units.<sup>64</sup>

At the invitation of the university under the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas Visitors scheme, Mr. P.F. Vowles, Academic Registrar of the University of London, visited Hong Kong from 29th March to 18th April, 1975 to advise the two local universities on (i) the possible introduction of external degrees by the two local universities, (ii) the feasibility of introducing part-time courses for internal first degrees, and (iii) the problems involved in validating for academic awards the courses run from outside both the universities, or those courses provided externally through the means of correspondence or broadcasting methods.<sup>65</sup>

A scheme of student financing, under which public funds were made available for outright grants and interest-free loans to needy students at the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong, was introduced by the government in 1969-1970. The administration of grants totalling \$2.86 million and loans totalling \$3.57 million for 1972-



1973 was in the hands of a Joint Universities Committee. The scheme aimed to ensure that students offered a place at either of the two universities should not be prevented, through lack of means, from accepting the offer.<sup>66</sup> The block allocation to the university announced in June 1974 amounted to something over \$290 millions and contained a contribution to the Joint Universities Computer Centre, so that with income from other sources the total was some \$365 millions for the four years.<sup>67</sup> At the same time, funds were provided by the government to supplement a \$2.5 million grant from the Swire Group to build a large student amenities building and a residential hall with the name Swire Hall. A site was assigned on Bonham Road, cleared by the demolition of staff residences.

The structural changes in combining all teaching resources in order to afford the student a wider choice of combinations of study outside his main department and his Faculty, and to act as a means of employing the specialisms of teachers to the best advantage, were the features of academic development. Under popular pressure the Government had in 1974 proclaimed Chinese as an official language of status equal to that of English, by this act placing a premium on the services of skilled translators at all levels, particularly from English to Chinese. The Departments of Chinese and English responded by composing a new joint curriculum for a sophisticated form of undergraduate training in translation, which started auspiciously with an intake of 78 students. The merger of English with European language and literature the next year into a single Department of English Studies and Comparative Literature brought with it new prospects of the comparative study of European literature in English translation and of the translation aspects of language study.

On the other hand, increasing demand for management skills had led to the creation of a Department of Management studies in 1975. While the department aimed to give undergraduates a general appreciation of management, there would also be a Master of Business Administration programme. It envisaged a total of 10 MBA students entering for 1977-1978, and the same number for the following year. At the moment anyone in Hong Kong wanting to take an MBA had to go to the United States or England. One estimate suggested that 2,300 new managers were required each year in the public and private sector of Hong Kong.<sup>68</sup> In February 1976, Mr. D.G. Lethbridge arrived to assume duty as Professor of Management Studies and to set up new department of Management Studies in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law. Professor Lethbridge was formerly Director of the Senior Executive Programme of the Oxford Centre for Management Studies.

In July 1978, the Departments of Architecture and Law separated from their parent bodies to become the School of Architecture and the School of Law. With effect from 1978-1979, the School of Architecture offered three-year courses leading to either the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Architectural Studies or the degree of Bachelor of Science in Building Studies.

In September 1977 two Inter-university Council sponsored visitors, Professor C.R. Dodwell and Professor B. Deane, both from the university of Manchester, visited the university to advise on the establishment of Departments of Fine Arts and Music in the Faculty of Arts. In 1979 the Department of Fine Arts was eventually established in the Faculty of Arts which would offer undergraduate course in both Chinese and western art history and appreciation.

Drawing on his experiences in Malaysia, the Vice-Chancellor took an opportunity presented at the November Congregation held shortly after he arrived, to call for the formation in Hong Kong of a School of Dentistry. "There were still gaps remaining in the provision in Hong Kong," he said, "among the most glaring was in dental education... although Hong Kong had a proud history of almost a hundred years of medical education, dentistry was still not found in the curriculum."<sup>69</sup> He followed this up the following year with a new nudge, taking as his motive the university's decision to recruit a director with the task of organizing advanced medical training. "We were well aware that if Hong Kong was to have a dental school, and if the Government was to call for the training of more doctors, then it was incumbent upon this university, with over eighty years of experience in medical education, to offer its expertise at least in the planning processes and in the training of more teachers."<sup>70</sup> Provision for a dental school in fact had been planned at the government's request in 1933 and again in 1959. This time the call came from the university and was being made publicly. Having regard to the steady growth of a specialist medical training in Hong Kong the university instituted a new office of Director of Postgraduate Medical Education. On the assumption that the training of teachers for the clinical, preclinical, and predental subjects would be necessary, wherever the facilities for an increased medical intake and a school of dentistry might finally be located, it then applied in June 1974 for funds to put a training project into effect. At the same time the government announced that the Chinese University was to be invited to plan for a new medical school to open in 1980, and the university of Hong Kong for a new dental school to open in 1979, a

date later postponed to 1980.<sup>71</sup> Professor C.W.D. Lewis arrived in the summer of 1975 as the first incumbent in the new office of Director. He was formerly the foundation Dean of Medicine at the University of Auckland in New Zealand.

With the announcement that the Government wished to provide funds for a new dental school, the university accepted its invitation to organise one and set up a Dental Academic Advisory Committee in 1977, which was to plan the development and curriculum of the new dental school and to assist in the appointment of a Dean. In 1978 Professor Geoffrey Howe assumed his duties as the new school's first Dean. With the appointment of the new dean, the development of dental education gained impetus with the post of Professor of Conservative Dentistry being filled up. Anticipating the first in-take of dental students in September 1980, a Dental Studies office was established in the Matrick Mansion Building and a programme of recruitment to senior teaching posts was implemented. It was planned to establish the dental school with a new dental hospital in 1980 and the first 60 dentists were expected to graduate in 1984.

With the support of the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee, the University decided to embark on a massive programme for the redevelopment of the university main estate to accommodate growth in student numbers. Old buildings were demolished and replaced by new ones. A 13-storeyed multi-purpose building housing all administration offices and ten teaching departments, was completed and officially opened by Mrs. K. Knowles in October 1973. The building was named 'The Knowles Building' after the late Dr. W.C.G. Knowles. A new Health Centre, named in honour of Mr. Pao Siu Loong whose generous donation made its construction possible, was completed

in October 1973 and was officially opened by Mr. Pao in the same month. The Kong Siu Luey Hall, an extension to the Robert Black College was completed in December 1973 and named in memory of the late Mr. Kong Siu Luey whose benefaction contributed to its construction. The Hall was officially opened by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. R.L. Huang in April 1974. In November 1975 the University Council approved proposals for the long-term physical development of the university estate contained in a report by Dr. S.E.T. Cusdin, consultant of the London architecture firm of Cusdin, Burden and Howitt. The report initially provided a framework for the university's planning exercised during the quadrennium 1978-1982. Construction of the new engineering and science buildings of the university was to begin in the summer of 1977. The new building occupying a total area of 260,000 sq.ft. would be erected by June 1979 to replace the old engineering and science buildings which were over sixty years old.<sup>72</sup> The university was on its way for re-development and well prepared to face challenges from the Mainland or the local community.

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## Chapter Eight:

Footnotes

1. The Colonial Review, Vol.VIII, No.6, June 1954, p.163, abridged extract from The Times, March 31, 1954.
2. The Colonial Review, Vol.VIII, No.8, December 1954, p.178, abridged extract from The Times Educational Supplement, No. 2058.
3. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1954 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.94.
4. The Colonial Review, Vol.VIII, No.6, June 1954, p.163, abridged extract from The Times, March 31, 1954.
5. Bernard Mellor, The University of Hong Kong: An Informal History (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1980), Vol.I, p.133.
6. Ibid., p.134.
7. A.M. Carr-Saunders, in his book, New Universities Overseas (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1961), p.54, points out the Court of the University is not the ultimate governing body, but it has only advisory powers and the right to elect representatives to the Council. Experience shows that, if the tertiary served is not too large and if professional, industrial, commercial and research organisations are represented in the Court, the University can use the Court as a bridge itself and the Community at large.
8. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1958 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.118.
9. The Times Educational Supplement, October 16, 1959, p.437.
10. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1959 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.121.
11. Ibid., p.120.
12. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1961 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.117.
13. Brian Harrison, ed., University of Hong Kong: the first 50 years 1911-1961 (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1962), Chapter Sixteen: Jubilee Honours, p.174.
14. Ibid.,
15. Ibid., p.199.
16. W.R. Niblett, ed., Higher Education: Demand and Response (London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1969), Chapter Ten: 'Higher Education and Personal Life: changing attitudes' by Richard Hoggart, p.228.
17. Harrison, op. cit., p.203.

18. Nell P. Eurich, Systems of Higher Education in twelve countries: A comparative view (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981), p.90.
19. Mellor, op. cit., p.140.
20. Ibid., p.42.
21. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Ten: 'The Faculty of Engineering and Architecture' by Sean Mackey, p.121.
22. A Report on University of Hong Kong, 1953, p.17.
23. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Ten, 'The Faculty of Engineering and Architecture' by Sean Mackey, p.122.
24. Ibid., p.123.
25. Lord Kadoorie, Lawrence received his education in Shanghai, then in Bristol and Lincoln's Inn. The award and honours awarded include: 1936 JP, Solomon Schechter Award, 1961 LLD.(Hons.), 1962 Roman Magsaysay Award, 1966 Officer de l'Ordre de Leopold, 1970 CBE, 1972 KSt.J(A), 1974 KB, 1981 Commandeur de la Legion d'Honneur, 1981 Peerage as Baron Kadoorie of Kowloon in Hong Kong and the City of Westminster. He is the founder for China Light & Power Co. Ltd. For his detailed career, refer to Who's Who in Hong Kong, 1984 Edition (Hong Kong: Database Publishing, 1984).
26. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Ten: 'The Faculty of Engineering and Architecture' by Sean Mackey, p.123.
27. Ibid.,
28. Report of the Committee on Higher Education in Hong Kong, 1952, p.33.
29. Harrison, op. cit., Chapter Twelve: 'Jubilee Honours', p.145.
30. Ibid., p.146.
31. Ibid., p.147.
32. Before 1951, the training of pharmacists was a part of the government's Evening Institute directed at the Chemists and druggists examination set up by subsidiary legislation early in 1938. The Pharmaceutical Society of Hong Kong felt for some time that evening instruction was not a satisfactory alternative to full-time study and wished to see the training transferred to the University, a full-time diploma offered, an attempt made to acquire overseas recognition. Pharmacy places were set aside in the first year of science studies at the University from 1952 and provision made for a full two-year diploma. Formal studies were followed by a two-year diploma apprenticeship and an examination in forensic pharmacy. At the same time failing the necessary assurances from the government about places for apprentices and legislative change designed to give positive professional encouragement, the university ceased admitting pharmacy students after 1956.

33. W.E. Styler, 'Adult Education in Hong Kong', in Oversea Education, Vol.XXXIV, 1962-1963, p.115-117.
34. Oi Jin Bee, 'Curriculum reform in Southeast Asian Universities', in Prachoom Chomchai, ed., Meeting the Challenges of the Seventies: Managing the University, seminar papers and Proceedings (Bangkok: ASAIHL Secretariat, 1973), p.41.
35. Mellor, op. cit., p.146.
36. Sir Albert Rodrigues once said in the Ninth Congress of the Universities of the Commonwealth (July 15-19, 1963) that "...[we should] distinguished between two types of layman: the ex-officio and non-official. The ex-officio although on the council normally as a watchdog might, if not very interested in the university, end up as a retriever of public funds; whereas the other type of layman might be better qualified to judge public understanding and to know the depth of the public pocket. While the suggestion should be resisted strongly that he who pays the piper should call the tune, it was useful to let the one who pays recognise the tune.", cited in Ninth Congress of the Universities of the Commonwealth (1963), Report of Proceedings (London, July 15-19) (London: The Association of Commonwealth Universities, 1964), Topic: 'Layman in University government', p.112.
37. Mellor, op. cit., p.147.
38. The University of Hong Kong asked the University of London what might be done to help it to introduce, as a temporary and experimental measure, full-scale evening courses leading to London's own degrees. London responded with an immediate approval that the University might open London degree classes in an official three-year curriculum. On September 1964 the university had embarked on a pilot scheme providing a full law degree curriculum under the aegis of the department of extra-mural studies.
39. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1965 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.83.
40. Mellor, op. cit., p.160.
41. Ibid., p.166.
42. The Asian Student, Vol.XXI, No.3, October 28, 1972, Front page.
43. Mellor, op. cit., p.150.
44. In Kowloon Disturbances 1966: Report of Commission of Inquiry (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer, 1967), gives the background and the development of the incident.
45. The following references give a very detailed study of the effects of the Cultural Revolution on the development of education in China:-  
David Kan, The Impact of the Cultural Revolution on Chinese Higher Education (Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1971). In his book, Kan stated that during the cultural revolution many educators, administrators, and professors in the institutions were criticised and humili-



- liated or purged. In the book, Appendix I - Educators in Higher Education Purged, Kan listed 92 educators who were purged.
- R.F. Price, Education in Modern China (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), Chapter Eight: 'Education and the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1969'.
- Theodore Hsi-en Chen, Chinese Education since 1949: Academic and revolutionary models (New York: Pergamon Press, 1981), Chapter Six: 'The Educational Revolution'; Chapter Seven: 'The Revolutionary Model of Education'.
- Jonathan Unger, Education under Mao; class and competition in Canton Schools, 1960-1980 (New York: Columbia University Press), Chapter Six: 'The Cultural Revolution'.
46. Kong Chiu Basil Leung, 'The training and development of youth in Hong Kong', in Commonwealth Secretariat, ed., Youth and development in Asia and the Pacific: Report of the Commonwealth Asia-Pacific Regional Youth Seminars; Kuala Lumpur, July-August 1971 (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1971), p.205.
47. The following references give a detailed study of the nature, origin and the development of the student movement:-
- Earl J. Mcgrath, Should students share the Power?: a study of their role in College and University governance (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1970)
- Alexander Robin & Blackburn Cockburn, ed., Student Power: Problem, Diagnosis, Action (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1969), Chapters on 'The meaning of Student Revolt' by Gareth Stedman Jones; 'Roots of the British Crisis' by David Adelstein.
- Colin Crouch, The Student Revolt (London: the Bodley Head, 1970). Colin gives a historical and analytical studies of student revolt in Britain. In Part One, Chapter II, III, IV, he traces the origin and the development of student revolt at the LSE 1965-1967 and how it spreaded to other parts of the country.
- H.J. Butcher & Ernest Rudd, ed., Comtemporary Problems in Higher Education: an account of Research (London: Mcgraw Hill Book Co. (U.K.) Ltd., 1972), Part Five, Chapter Seventeen: 'Change and dissent in the Universities: An examination of the sources of Protest' by Stephen Hatch.
48. Min Chen, 'Student unrest in Hong Kong', in The Asian Student, Vol.XX, No.32, May 6, 1972, p.5.
49. Far East Public Affairs Society, ed., Hong Kong Student Movement (Hong Kong: Far East Public Affairs Society Press, 1982). (遠東事務評論社編: 學運春秋—香港學生運動) The book traces all the events that lead to the crisis and demonstrations, such as: fighting for Chinese language as an official language, the Tiao Yu Tai Issue, the Anti-corruption movement, etc. It also encloses reproductions all the posters from two universities that were advocating such social movements.
- Chen Turk, 'Student Movement', in 1951-1976: A Quarter Century of Hong Kong; Chung Chi Colleges 25th Anniversary Symposium (Hong Kong: Chung Chi College, 1977), p.27-36. (陳特: 學生運動)
- Hong Kong Federation of Students ed., A Review of the

- Hong Kong Student Movement (Hong Kong: Viewpoints Publishing Co. Ltd., 1983). (香港專上學生聯會編: 香港學生運動回顧)
- In 'Student Revolt' (London: The Bodley Head, 1970), p.23, Colin Crouch also points out the influence of the Chinese cultural revolution on the development of the Student Movement since the cultural revolution implies action throughout the whole society, with the emphasis on changes in the everyday lives of the ordinary people.
50. Leung Kong Chiu, Basil, op. cit., p.207.
  51. Mellor, op. cit., p.163.
  52. The Asian Student, Vol.XIX, No.22, February 27, 1971, Front page.
  53. Mellor, op. cit., p.169.
  54. The Asian Student, Vol.XX, No.12, December 11, 1971, p.3.
  55. The Asian Student, Vol.XX, No.18, January 29, 1972, p.4.
  56. The Asian Student, Vol.XX, No.14, March 31, 1973, Front page.
  57. Dr. Henry Hu, Urban Councilor and President of Shue Yan College (a private post-secondary college), once said in the Hong Kong Standard that the principal handicap for local students studying abroad was the high tuition fee rather than quotas or discrimination, cited in The Asian Student, Vol.XX, No.32, May 6, 1972, Front page.
  58. The Asian Student, Vol.XX, No.31, April 29, 1972, Front page.
  59. The Times Higher Education Supplement, May 12, 1972, No.31, p.10.
  60. Ibid.,
  61. Ibid.,
  62. Ibid.,
  63. Ibid.,
  64. Mellor, op. cit., p.172.
  65. Annual Report by the Director of Education, 1974/75 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.14.
  66. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1973 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.57.
  67. Mellor, op. cit., p.170.
  68. The Times Higher Education Supplement, July 30, 1976, No.249, p.10.
  69. Ibid.,

70. Ibid.,
71. Annual Report by the Director of Education, 1975/76 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.18.
72. The Times Higher Education Supplement, October 22, 1976, No.126, p.13.

Chapter Nine: Centralisation and the New Development of the  
Chinese University of Hong Kong (1964-1980)

I. The early growth of a new university, 1963-1970

Shortly after the Fulton Report was being published, the government announced that it had approved the Fulton Commission's recommendations in principle. The Report was tabled in Legislative Council on 24th April, 1963. In June the Provisional Council was appointed on 2nd July, 1963 with the completion of necessary preliminary work. On 18th September, the Chinese University of Hong Kong Ordinance was enacted. It provided for a federal university, in which the principal language of instruction would be Chinese, incorporating as Foundation Colleges the Chung Chi, New Asia and United College. Provision was made for a University, Council, Senate and Convocation, as well as Boards of Studies. A Selection Committee to find a suitable candidate for the post of Vice-Chancellor was appointed. Meanwhile the Executive affairs of the University were entrusted to the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Dr. C.T. Yung.<sup>1</sup>

However, Sir Robert Black, the Governor, was to retire at the start of January 1964, and the earnestness of his desire to see the new university in formal being before he left imposed an impetus of special weight to the process.<sup>2</sup> Thus the inauguration ceremony took place in the City Hall on 17th October, 1963, with the Governor, Sir Robert Black, presiding as first Chancellor. Professor Li Choh-ming, formerly Professor of Business Administration and Director of the Centre for Chinese Studies, University of California, was named as Vice-

Chancellor on 3rd November.<sup>3</sup> Thus the Chinese University of Hong Kong was born.

The Chinese University, by its very name, was established primarily for Chinese youths in Hong Kong. The enrolment in 1964/65 was about 1,700, almost the same as the undergraduate enrolment at the university of Hong Kong, thus doubling the opportunities for secondary school graduates to enter a university in Hong Kong.

The Chinese University gave its entrance examinations mainly in Chinese and the principal medium of instruction was the Chinese Language, but by an intensive programme students were expected to become bilingual during their four years of training at the University. The establishment of the Chinese University in Hong Kong represented the first attempt in Chinese history to integrate three separate, distinct streams of development in Chinese higher education developed some fifty years ago. It composed three Foundation Colleges, each being organised by groups of scholars from the Mainland but each with quite a different background of its own. New Asia had its tradition from the national universities on the Mainland. Chung Chi College had the tradition of Christian universities and colleges in China. United College was a merger of a number of small colleges that were privately and locally financed. The Chinese University was to bring in all these three distinct elements of Chinese higher education into one single institution.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Li Choh-ming assumed his duties in February 1964 as the first Vice-Chancellor, and was formally installed on 9th September, 1964. On 16th October, the University conferred its first degrees. It was the aim of the University to be not just a Chinese institution with British affiliation but

as a Chinese institution of international character.<sup>5</sup>

The name of the Chinese University, in Chinese, might indicate the use of Chinese as the principal language of instruction. It might also indicate a university with a firm background in Chinese Culture. The University had its unique mission to fulfill. In addition to the twin aims of achieving excellence in teaching and research in the sciences and liberal arts and enriching the Chinese cultural tradition in a modern academic setting, the University strived to become a major centre of research and teaching for regional studies, particularly studies of China. It would be inter-disciplinary in character and would bring together scholars and students of diverse backgrounds. The goal was the application of modern methods of investigation and analysis, particularly in the social sciences, to the study of the development of China and East Asia. More especially, the university encouraged its students and scholars to cultivate a new 'sensitivity' and 'methodology' in order to secure a fresh vision of the fundamental values of traditional cultural heritage as well as problems that were uniquely regional in nature. Thus the Chinese University should be a two-arched bridge between the past and the present, the East and the West. But the preamble to the ordinance set the university's task squarely in the context of Hong Kong's development; it was to stimulate the intellectual and cultural development of Hong Kong and thereby assist in promoting its economic and social development. There was no reference to any responsibilities towards China.<sup>6</sup>

The Chinese University believed that the liberal arts should be part of everyone's education and should thus be included in the educational programmes of all students at all levels. The concept of liberal education had grown from the

native soil of Chinese Culture and had always been a part of the Chinese philosophy of education. As the Vice-Chancellor pointed out that there could be no doubt that more highly trained professional people were needed to run Hong Kong's sophisticated economy which had reached formidable dimensions. But the community needed leaders as well as highly competent technicians. While professional education provided technical competence, liberal education developed leadership qualities.<sup>7</sup>

In the beginning the new university had to overcome some geographical difficulties. With Chung Chi College at Shatin, New Asia on Kowloon Peninsula and United College on Hong Kong Island, the three Foundation Colleges were separated by distances ranging from five to fifteen miles over congested roads and the Hong Kong harbour. Initially the Central offices of the university were located in leased quarters on Nathan Road in downtown Kowloon. It was immediately apparent that a means of overcoming these geographical barriers had to be found if the components of the university were to be effectively integrated. While it was essential for the three Foundation Colleges to maintain their own individuality, thus the university had to define its own character and chart its academic course.

The university was organised under the federated concept but with a mandate to eliminate duplication in administration to ensure maximum complementarity among the teaching departments of the Foundation Colleges.

The highest governing body of the university was the Council which consisted of officers of the university, members elected from the Board of Governors of each of the Colleges, members of the Senate, residents of Hong Kong and four persons from overseas universities or educational organisations. The

Council exercised a general supervision of the affairs, purposes and functions of the University. The Senate was to oversee the academic aspects of the university: instruction, education and research. The Senate was fully representative of the teaching staff of the colleges. Under both Council and Senate were a number of committees that dealt with various functions of the University.

But what was unique in the Chinese University was the Administrative and Academic Planning Committee (AAPC) which was organised to carry on the business of the University and to achieve closer integration. It was chaired by the Vice-Chancellor with the Presidents of the three Foundation Colleges as members and the University Registrar as Secretary. Its duty, as defined by the Statutes was as follows:

- (a) to assist the Vice-Chancellor in the performance of his duties;
- (b) to initiate plans of University development;
- (c) to assist the Vice-Chancellor in reviewing and co-ordinating the annual and supplementary estimates of recurrent and capital expenditures of the Colleges and those for the central activities of the university, before transmitting them to the Finance Committee of the Council;
- (d) to review all proposed academic and administrative appointments by the colleges and the university that were at and above the level of Tutors and Demonstrators to their equivalent (except College Presidents and Vice-Presidents) before these appointments were made by the appropriate authorities;
- (e) to be informed of all clerical and technical appointments by the Colleges and the University;



(f) to deal with other matters referred to it by the Council. The AAPC reported to the Council through the Vice-Chancellor. On 20th May, 1969, an Academic Planning Committee (APC) was established under the Senate to develop academic plans. The Committee consisted of the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman and the three College Presidents, three Faculty Deans and three elected staff representatives as members.

In March 1969 the Central Office was moved to the new campus site at Shatin. Accordingly the Finance and Business Sections of the Central Office were separated from the University Registry and a University Bursar's office was established on 1st July, 1969.

Development of the Chinese University campus represented a monumental task. The need to establish a central agency to oversee, adjust and co-ordinate the development efforts in accordance with a master development Plan was immediately apparent. To meet this need, the Physical Development Division was established and a Director appointed on 1st September, 1969, to serve also as Comptroller of the Building Expenditures Unit. The University Building Office was placed under the jurisdiction of the Division Director.

After the establishment of the University, the Hong Kong government made grants to the University for the three Colleges and the University-wide activities on a deficit basis. In 1964, after consultation with the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Government invited Sir Edward Hale, former Secretary of the University Grants Committee in Great Britain to visit Hong Kong with a view to advising on the feasibility and relative merits of establishing a UGC there. Sir Edward arrived in January 1965, and held consultations with academic and administrative groups in both

Universities and with Government officials. The Hale report entitled "The Financing of Universities in Hong Kong" was widely circulated and agreement was reached between the government and the Universities on the conclusion that the Government of Hong Kong should be advised by an expert and an impartial committee on the financial needs of university education in Hong Kong and its development, and the resources made available for meeting those needs should be allocated between the universities by such a Committee.<sup>8</sup> It was also decided that the Chairman of the UGC would be a resident of Hong Kong and that a permanent Secretary would be appointed. In March 1966, the newly-formed Committee made its first visitation which included examining the new site of the University at Shatin, and visits to Chung Chi College, New Asia College and United College. Meanwhile, the Chinese University Ordinance was amended in June 1967, to implement the understanding reached between Government and the University concerning withdrawal of Government representation on policy making bodies of the University as soon as the UGC system came into effect. -

The Government at the onset committed itself to provide a suitable campus for the university and subsequently offered a tract comprising about 189 acres at Shatin.

Once the site was obtained, the Vice-Chancellor invited Mr. I.M. Pei, an internationally famed architect, to come to Hong Kong in November 1966 to advise him on the design and layout of the campus. The task of designing the campus and its major building project was given to the University Architect and the Campus Planning and Building Committee of the Council. An ad hoc committee was appointed for each major building project to advise the Vice-Chancellor on the layout, schedule of accommodation and related matters pertaining to

each project.

In December 1968, the first building on the new campus, the Benjamin Franklin Centre was completed and was officially opened by the governor, Sir David Trench (governor, 1964-1971), on 2nd April, 1969. It provided a social centre for students and staff of the university as a whole. As a temporary measure, it was being used to house the Central Offices of the University. In 1966 an Inter-University Hall was constructed in the Chung Chi College, and it was to be used to house a number of research offices and visiting scholars from overseas. An outstanding feature of the Chinese University's development was the exploitation of its rural campus. A mountainside was transformed into a series of plateaux. Chung Chi was on the lowest; the university's central activities were built on the next at an elevation of 330 feet; and the United College and New Asia College occupied the top, 460 feet above sea-level. Each college and the university central building had their individual architectural styles within an overall harmony of design, the whole being set off by elaborate landscaping and the natural beauty of the site with its magnificent panoramic view of sea and mountain.

As early as 1965/66 the university exceeded the enrolment envisaged by the Fulton Commission and by 1970 had 2,408 full-time students. Each of the Foundation Colleges retained or developed its own emphasis in the undergraduate teaching curriculum. Chung Chi College maintained its strong interest in the general education programme, and its commitment to the study of religion and theology led to these subjects being incorporated into the regular curriculum of the university in 1968. New Asia College continued its devotion to the preservation and enrichment of traditional Chinese culture. The

United College's accent was on modern subjects, such as electronics, computer science, public administration and modern literature. As individual colleges developed their own interests, common elements in the curriculum began to be covered by inter-collegiate courses. These numbered only seven in 1964/65 but rose to ninety-eight in 1969/70. The centralisation of arrangements for teaching and research was accelerated by the University Grants Committee's 1969 settlement. The diversity of tradition and out-look of the foundation colleges became an enrichment to the university. It was also an incipient source of tension, underlining the delicate nature of the federal structure.<sup>9</sup>

Boards of Faculties were set up to co-ordinate the activities of the Boards of Studies under the Senate. The university had three Boards of Faculties: Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Commerce & Social Science, and Faculty of Science, and sixteen Boards of studies.

In March 1964, an effort was made by the Vice-Chancellor to re-constitute the whole teaching system of the University and to devise a workable programme "which would adapt the best features of the British, American and other systems to our needs".<sup>10</sup> The outcome of this exercise was the appointment of the Teaching Method Committee in March 1964 and the invitation of two experts from the United Kingdom, Professor A.G. Lehmann of the University of Reading and Dr. J.V. Loach of the University of Leeds, to Hong Kong in 1965 to advise the University on steps to be taken for improvement of its teaching methods.

Among the findings of these two experts was the impression that "in framing programmes and syllabuses the University has demonstrated its high sense of academic standards and the determination that its students should not only acquire the

unique education which its position in the world allows it to provide but also in that process achieve standards in line with those of the best that the world family of Universities can display",<sup>11</sup> but the curriculum for a number of courses was in varying degrees extremely heavy covering an unusually extensive amount of materials which few students could possibly take in except by memorizing the lecture-notes.

In pursuance of the suggestions made by these two experts, the University embarked upon an extensive scheme of revising the curricula for the courses offered in the different disciplines and reforming the methods of teaching. In 1965 the Vice-Chancellor produced three papers on implementation of the new teaching methods for the consideration of the Senate. They were: (1) The Vice-Chancellor's Statement on Implementation of the New Teaching Methods, (2) Crucial Questions on Teaching Methods, and (3) Teaching Methods: Further Steps in Implementation.<sup>12</sup>

Parallel steps were then taken to de-emphasize examinations. There was instituted an Intermediate Examination at the end of an undergraduate's second year in the University as a test of a student's general education, his ability to benefit from his course of studies in the University, and his working knowledge of the basic principles of his chosen field.<sup>13</sup>

The Intermediate Examination was held for the first time in 1967. In January 1969, the Senate eliminated the elective paper of section II of the Intermediate Examination. To reduce the work load of the students in the final year, it was decided to allow the final examination leading to the degree to be taken in two parts, one at the end of the third year and the other at the end of the fourth year. In 1968 the total number of papers for the Degree Examination was

reduced from a minimum of nine to seven. The Senate also resolved that the Board of Studies should work out 'core' programmes for major as well as minor subjects. The aim of the 'core' programmes was to reduce the number of required courses in each subject field to a minimum, thus freeing the teachers for tutorial work and more research and also giving the students greater freedom to exercise their intellectual curiosity. In May 1965 the Senate enthusiastically endorsed the recommendations made by Professor Lehmann and Dr. J.V. Loach. Unanimous agreement was thus reached on: (1) introduction of small-group teaching, (2) reduction of lecturing hours, (3) reduction of course-content and introduction of new syllabuses, (4) streamlining of college curricula, (5) de-emphasis of examinations.<sup>14</sup>

Since 1963, a number of new subjects had been introduced into the undergraduate studies programme: Music at Chung Chi College in 1965; Journalism at New Asia College in 1965; and Electronics at United College in 1964. The first two offered major degree courses, while the latter became a minor degree course in 1967. Foreign language courses had been offered by the Foundation Colleges for several years. French had been offered by New Asia College since the founding of the University. This programme was reinforced in 1968 by the assignment under the auspices of the French government of a Visiting programme and a visiting lecturer. German was first offered at United College in 1964 with a part-time visiting lecturer obtained through the German Academic Exchange Service. In 1969 the German Academic Exchange Service contributed two visiting lecturers to this programme in addition to one lecturer already assigned to United College. Japanese was first introduced at Chung Chi College in 1967 and the service of a

visiting professor and two visiting lecturers was made available through the Japanese Government. In 1968, the Senate approved a proposal to introduce French, German and Japanese as minor degree courses and to set up an Inter-disciplinary Committee to promote studies in these fields. In 1969, Italian studies were offered through the services of a visiting lecturer contributed by the Italian Government. This course was also placed under the cognizance of the Inter-disciplinary Committee.

In March 1964, a Committee on Inter-collegiate Teaching was appointed to examine the practical problems of employing inter-collegiate teaching for the third and the fourth year courses. The scheme of inter-collegiate teaching was to provide certain courses that would be taught in one class for students from the three colleges.

Since its establishment the university had recognised the close link between research and graduate education. Two institutes of advanced studies were established as early as March 1965, namely: the Institute of Social Studies and the Humanities<sup>15</sup> and the Institute of Science and Technology.<sup>16</sup> Each Institute had an Advisory Committee that gave advice to the Institute on policy and budget matters.

In November 1967 the Institute of Chinese Studies was established. It showed the determination of the university to develop Chinese Studies as a major field. The Institute was based on a broad but unified concept of Chinese Studies. It included Sinology, but it also emphasised the application of the social science disciplines, characterised by quantitative and comparative approaches.

In order to encourage the exchange of knowledge and experience in Chinese Studies through an effective programme

of publication, academic conferences and research seminars, the Vice-Chancellor acted as its first Director. The Institute had the following research divisions under the supervision of a senior academic staff member: (i) Early and Medieval History, (ii) Modern History, (iii) Chinese Intellectual History, (iv) Chinese Linguistics and Literature, (v) Relations with South East Asia, (vi) Special Projects, (vii) Contemporary Studies.

The results of research projects under the auspices of the Institute were published as books, monographs or articles through the University Publications Office.

The first research centre, designated as the Economic Research Centre within the Institute of Social Studies and the Humanities, was established in April 1965. Together with the Lingnan Institute of Business Administration, it had established a joint research library with emphasis on the collection of leading learned journals on economics and business administration extending back to 1950 or earlier, and of advanced reference works and research materials relevant to Hong Kong and the neighbouring countries. The Mass Communications Centre, established in June 1965, worked closely with the undergraduate professional Department of Journalism. The Director of the Centre served concurrently as Visiting Professor of Journalism.

The Geographical Research Centre was established in January 1966. Its principal research projects were closely related to the teaching in the Geography Division of the Graduate School. The Centre had a small reference library of about 22,000 books and periodicals pertaining to geography.

In February 1966 the Social Survey Research Centre was established with a grant from the Ford Foundation. The



purposes of the Centre were to provide research and training opportunities for students and staff, to conduct basic research on the Hong Kong population, as well as overseas Chinese communities in South-East Asia and to meet the applied research needs of the community. The Centre was also prepared to assist scholars in other countries who wished to conduct bona fide academic studies on Hong Kong. In November 1969, the Centre was reorganised as the Social Research Centre. A new Director was appointed and a plan of restructuring was carefully mapped out, incorporating the Rural Studies Centre and Urban Study Centre as part of the overall programme. The Rural Studies Centre was established in September 1965 at Chung Chi College with a grant from the Asia Foundations was able to study various aspects of village life first hand. The Urban Study Centre was established in October 1966 with a grant from the Asia Foundation. United College was responsible initially for the administration of this Centre.

Since its establishment in the autumn of 1966, the Chinese Linguistics Research Centre had focused its research effort on: the study of phonetics in Ancient and Archaic Chinese; the study of Chinese Grammar; the study of Cantonese as spoken in Hong Kong; and the study of Ancient Chinese Bronze Inscriptions.

In February 1967, the Computing Centre was established to assist faculty research and science within the university. In August of 1968, the Chinese University of Hong Kong and the University of Hong Kong set up a Joint Computer Committee to advise the Vice-Chancellors on the planning and development of computing activities at the two universities.

A programme of graduate studies was accorded a high priority in the overall scheme for development of the Chinese

University. In March 1966 the Graduate Council came into being. The Graduate Council consisted of the Vice-Chancellor (Chairman), the three College Presidents, the three university Deans, the Director of the School of Education, the University librarian, and those Professors and Readers nominated by the Vice-Chancellor. The Council was formed to deal with matters of policy related to graduate studies and the initial planning for the Graduate School which was opened in academic year 1966/67.

The Graduate School was composed initially of only five divisions: Chinese History, Philosophy, Chinese Language and Literature, Geography and Business Administration. In 1967/68 the Division of Chemistry was introduced and in 1969/70 the Division of Biology. The Graduate School opened with a modest enrolment of 31 students. By the academic year 1973/74 it was expected to have 240 students.

The Lingnan Institute of Business Administration (LIBA), which was substantially supported by the Lingnan University Board of Trustees in New York, was established in 1969 as one of the divisions of the Graduate Council. Its function was to give advice to the Vice-Chancellor on the managerial and policy problems of the Graduate School. A Dean of the Graduate School was appointed to co-ordinate the Graduate programme and the physical development plan. A Post-graduate Hall was given the top priority in the Capital Programme after the basic facilities required by the Colleges were completed.

The School of Education was established in September 1965, in accordance with the recommendation of the Fulton Commission. It offered a one-year postgraduate course leading to a Diploma in Education. The Registrar of the university was appointed to serve concurrently as Director, with the assistance in

academic affairs of the visiting professors. For the academic year 1969/70, Dr. C.T. Hu, Professor of Comparative Education at Teachers' College, Columbia University was serving as Visiting Professor. In addition to the full-time staff of three lecturers, there were a number of part-time staff lecturers from the university and the government including members of the inspectorate of the Education department. In 1967/68 the School of Education introduced a two-year part-time evening course leading to a Diploma in Education for the advancement of those who were already engaged in teaching in the secondary schools. The School had its own reference library with some 3,370 Chinese and Western Books on education and related fields. In addition, the library subscribed to more than 70 periodicals.

In May 1967 the university invited Mr. Philip E. Lilienthal, Associate Director of the University of California Press, to come to Hong Kong as a consultant in connection with the establishment of a University Publications Office. Following discussions with members of the academic and administrative staff of the three Foundation Colleges and the University, Mr. Lilienthal expressed the view that the university would need a University Press in the course of the next decade; meanwhile, he suggested that publishing activities be centralised in a Publication Office organised to serve the present needs of the University with sufficient flexibility to respond readily to growth. The Publications Office was thus established in January 1968. The Publications Office published and distributed academic works, in addition to numerous administrative publications of the University. In 1964, Professor R.C. Swank, Dean and Professor of the School of Librarianship at the University of California, Berkeley and Mr. Eugene Wu, Curator of

East Asian Collection, the Hoover Institution of Stanford University, were invited to Hong Kong to work out a basic programme for developing a University library system. The University Library was established in April 1965 and was housed initially in four leased floors of an office building in downtown Kowloon. It was moved to the basement floor of the Benjamin Franklin Centre in August 1969. In September 1966, a University Librarian was appointed. In selecting its materials the Library worked closely with the Boards of Studies in the various subject fields. This ensured that only publications which satisfied the teaching and research needs of the faculties were acquired. The allocation of the book budget among the different disciplines and the acquisition of special collections and subscriptions to journals were decided by the Central Library Committee. Further co-ordination of the University library system was effected by a Library Administrative Committee consisting of the University Librarian and the three College librarians. The university library collected in depth the publications required by the specialist while the College libraries collected in breadth the material required by the generalist. The University library took an appropriate step to acquire valuable collections of Chinese classical books in traditional format of silk-stitched fascicles for research use. In the summer of 1969, the Library acquired with private funds a major addition to its growing collection of rare books - the Korean Tripitaka.<sup>17</sup>

The Department of Extra-mural Studies was not only conceived as an arm of the university, but also as an instrument to take the pulse of the community and thereby diagnose its strengths and weaknesses. As early as March 1964, an Extra-mural Studies Committee was appointed by the Vice-Chancellor

to examine the possibility of instituting Extra-mural Studies for the Chinese University. In June of the same year following the recommendation made by the Committee a Department of Extra-mural Studies was established. The Department launched its first programme in April 1965 by offering a course in Modern Mathematics to acquaint school teachers with the teaching of the new mathematical concepts. From then on, the expansion of the Extra-mural Department was most impressive. The President of United College was appointed concurrent Director of the Extra-mural Studies Department and the services of a full-time Deputy Director were secured. A Provisional Board was set up in 1967. The Advisory Board met frequently to advise the Vice-Chancellor on general policies and ways of promoting the Extra-mural Studies programme. It was in 1965/66 that the enrolment was 4,717, but whereas in 1968/69 the number of enrolments increased to 9,711.

In 1966, the Department was advised by Dr. Alexander A. Liveright, Director of the Centre for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults at Boston University. Among his recommendations were that steps should be taken to provide for more professional staff, that additional part-time degree courses be planned and that more classroom space be rented in convenient areas. In 1966, the Tsuen Wan programme was started and received solid response from the residents of the industrial satellite town in the New Territories. The Department had also organised and sponsored many conference and seminars, including an Assembly on University Adult Education in 1966. In April 1969 the Department of Extra-mural Studies established its own Town Centre at Star House, Tsimshatsui, Kowloon. Prior to this, classes had been held at the Department's own head quarters, the school of education, the City Hall, the

U.S.I.S. Lecturer Theatre, British Council libraries and the Foundation Colleges.

For various student activities, each Foundation college had its own Student Union representing the entire student body. The Current Affairs Committee of the Student Union played a major role in promoting topical cultural activities. In addition, there were independent societies of two types: those formed on a departmental basis and those organised on an entirely voluntary basis. There were many clubs, societies, and committees, all striving for student interests, such as the Bridge Club, the Catholic Student Association, the Chess Club, the Chinese Music Club, the Choral Society, the Christian Fellowship, the World University Service etc. In December 1968 the Benjamin Franklin Centre was completed on the new university campus. It was designed as a central meeting place for students on a university-wide basis. It would become the community centre of the university family including students, faculty, administrative staff, alumni, and guests. A Manager of the Benjamin Franklin Centre Activities was appointed in March 1969 to look after the activities of the Centre. Meanwhile, the formation of a University Students Union was considered and a constitution drafted. It was to take effect before the end of 1970.

The various student bodies at the three Colleges produced a variety of publications, some on a departmental basis. On 3rd October, 1969, the staff of the three College student union publications -- Chung Chi's The Student Bi-weekly, New Asia's New Asia Student and United College's United Student -- joined together to publish the first issue of the Chinese University Student. In February 1969, an ad hoc committee was formed by the student union to conduct a public opinion

survey on student participation in College administration. Based on the results of this survey, the Student Union submitted a proposal to the College for consideration. The New Asia College Council gave this proposal serious and judicious study and finally agreed in September 1969 to student representation on the Rules and Regulations Committee, New Asia Life Editorial Committee, Health Committee, General Affairs Committee, Scholarship and Bursaries Committee, and the Library Committee. It also approved student participation as observers on the Academic Board, the Board of Faculties and the Student Advisory Committee.

In May 1968, the Appointments Service was established to bridge the gap between the graduates and the community. It served primarily as a coordinating centre of student services and a clearing house of employment information. A series of pre-employment lectures were planned and given for the third and the fourth year students of the University from December 1968 to March 1969.

In June 1969, the Trustees of the Yale-in-China Association, Inc., donated a sum of US\$200,000 to the university for the construction of a University Health Centre, which was expected to be completed during the summer of 1971. A Director of the University Health Service was to assume duty on 1st January, 1970. The designated Director was to plan and coordinate an overall health programme which would make comprehensive medical benefits available to students and staff. In April 1969, the Hong Kong Jockey Club (Charities) Ltd. pledged HK\$1.5 million for the construction of a University Sports Centre.

As soon as it was inaugurated, the university applied for membership with the Association of Commonwealth Univer-

sities held at Sydney, Australia. In 1964, the University had become a member of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas (IUC). The Vice-Chancellor had been elected to the Steering Committee since April 1969 for the conference of Overseas Vice-Chancellors and Principals sponsored by IUC that met every 18 to 24 months, to review the effectiveness of the various IUC-managed assistance schemes. In 1965 the Leverhulme Trust Fund of the United Kingdom offered a grant to establish an academic inter-change programme between the Chinese University and British universities for a period of five years. In 1967 the university secured corporate membership in the Society for Research into Higher Education, set up in 1964 in London. At the same time the United States Government provided opportunities for university staff to visit American universities and Fulbright Grants had been obtained from time to time to bring eminent scholars to the University. The university also benefited from the contacts that the Foundation Colleges had with particular international organisations. New Asia College had a close relationship with the Yale-in-China Association. Chung Chi was affiliated with the Dartmouth-Project Asia, the Wellesley-Yenching Committee, the Princeton-in-Asia Committee and Redland University. United College participated in the 'Williams-in-Hong Kong' programme and a student exchange programme with Indiana University. The university entered into an exchange agreement with the University of California in June 1965 which enabled undergraduates and graduates of the University to attend the University of California under a full tuition waiver. In addition, faculty members from the University of California were invited periodically to come to teach, supervise research or assume administrative responsibilities at the university. In 1967 a preliminary plan for an exchange



programme between the University of Pittsburgh and the university was mapped out. As early as 1965 two Pittsburgh sociologists had been invited to come to advise the university on the development of its programme in Sociology. The university was also a member of the Association of South-east Asian Institutions of Higher Learning (ASAIHL). The Vice-Chancellor was elected President of this Association in 1968.<sup>18</sup> The University hosted the ASAIHL seminar: 'Recent Trends University Administration' which was held on the new University campus in December 1969.

## II. A new line of development after 1970: integration and centralisation

During the second phase of development from 1970 onward, all three constituent Colleges were settled upon the new campus site in Shatin. Thus two ideas emerged clearly as fundamental guiding principles: (1) the idea of the University as an organic organisation rather than an association of discrete units, (2) the idea of making the integration of Chinese and Western cultures the University's distinctive educational objective.<sup>19</sup>

The organic concept of organisation and function, impelled the university to maximize the use of its total resources -- people, facilities, funds -- and thus enrich and expand its educational programme. All components functioned to achieve the major goals of the total institution. The objective of integrating two great cultural traditions of the Chinese and the West, was the shaping force in each of the University's basic functions -- instruction, research, and public service.

The application of the principle of an organic institution rather than an association of discrete academic units enabled the university to reduce or eliminate duplication, to integrate functions, to redeploy people and funds, and through maximization of resources, to expand and enrich the educational programme.

The 'Inter-collegiate Course' concept was the most important example of the application of the 'Organic' principle to the academic functions of the University. At the point of the University's establishment, the academic programmes of the three Foundation Colleges were very similar and many courses offered by the individual colleges were generally identical. The 'Inter-collegiate Course' was simply a single course in a particular subject which was offered to students from all the three colleges. One course replaced three. The personnel, funds thus released were available to add needed subject courses or to be cycled in the development of new programmes. Similarly space and facilities were reallocated. The emerging university was reflected in the growth of the Inter-collegiate course programme. When the programme was initiated in 1964, there were only seven courses but in 1974 there were over 400 Inter-collegiate courses.<sup>20</sup>

At the same time the new policies regarding the organisation and responsibilities of the Boards of Studies were implemented. Beginning as only an organisational link between teachers, the Boards assumed their first functional role in initiating and developing the Inter-collegiate course programme. Since 1972 the Boards had become major academic and administrative units of the university, with comprehensive responsibilities. The Boards had full responsibility for planning their respective curricula and for assigning teaching

duties to their faculty members. Thus the Boards were able to maximize resources and enrich the educational programme through integration of courses, determination of 'core courses', expansion of the range of available optional courses, and effective deployment of faculty expertise.

The University Library system, which co-ordinated the activities of the three college libraries and the university library was finally set up. With the removal of United College and New Asia College respectively to the campus in January 1972 and July 1973, as well as the completion of the University Library building in December 1972, the whole University Library system finally took shape. The University librarian, as Chairman of the Library system Working Party met regularly with the College librarians to mould the whole system into a functional entity.

The University Science Centre, which was officially opened by Lord Butler on 12th April, 1972, represented the fullest expression of the organic principle in the development of the University. The Centre was the largest building on the campus and made possible the complete integration of the science departments - faculty, students, facilities, and equipment - for better teaching and research. Faculty members and students of the three colleges then worked under the same roof. The centre accommodated five departments: Biology, Bio-chemistry, Chemistry, Electronics, and Physics, and in 1975 the Mathematics Department moved into the Centre. At the undergraduate level, a complete inter-collegiate course programme was achieved for all science subjects. In keeping with the development of graduate studies, the Science Centre significantly enhanced the research activities of the science faculty members.

The university during the quadrennium 1970-1974 took

further steps towards the integration of administrative functions. In the early days of the university, each of the three constituent colleges planned and administered its own instructional programme, estimated all its own financial requirements, and managed all its own financial operations, including payment of salaries and wages. Capital equipment grants were made directly to the individual colleges. In 1964 some preliminary steps were taken to put together in the university registrar's office a university-wide budget consisting chiefly of the College estimates, plus a small payroll for central activities. The first significant step towards integration of administrative functions was the establishment of central records for personnel and for superannuation funds for the entire academic and non-academic staff, such funds to be administered by the University. In 1969 the financial responsibility was removed from the Registrar's office and the office of Bursar was established, at which time the Deputy Registrar became the first Bursar. The Bursar had responsibility for coordination of financial planning, preparation of budget estimates, accounting, banking and investments, reporting on general and private funds, purchasing, payroll, superannuation funds, housing and medical benefits and other staff emoluments, cost and inventory control, computerized information systems, student bursaries and loans payments, collection of student fees and travel arrangements.

Further after the Joint Universities computer centre had been established in 1970 in cooperation with the University of Hong Kong, the data processing capability of the centre was utilised in an increasing number of functions involving such matters as payroll, student fees, bursaries and loans, inventories of equipment and supplies, space utilisation, class

schedule, various accounts and information systems. However in the same year 23rd April, 2,200 students of the university boycotted classes in protest against the lower than expected allocations in the university's budget for the next four years. The University Grants Committee had announced the total of HK\$267 million in recurrent subventions for CUHK and HKU. The CUHK had HK\$122.5 million and the HKU's share was HK\$144.5 million.<sup>21</sup>

A spokesman of the CU said stringent funding over the next four years would force the administration to effect the pooling of all possible resources in order to maintain an academic programme vital to the development of this young federal institution.

In 1973 the post of Secretary of the university was created. The Secretary served as Secretary of the University Council and the Administrative and Planning Committee, handled personnel administration, public relations and information services, student welfare, and co-ordinated planning activities. On the other hand, the office of the Registrar continued to serve the Senate and its Committees and the Graduate School and to be responsible for functions immediately related to the operation of the instructional programme, including secretaryship of Faculty and Subject Boards, admissions, examinations, and curriculum planning at both undergraduate and post-graduate levels.

In the same year, the university adopted a fundamental change in educational policy with significant impact on the character of undergraduate education. Specifically the change concerned the issue of premature and excessive specialisation, and involved the larger issue of intellectual breadth and flexibility as desirable objectives of undergraduate education.

Prior to this change, new students were admitted to a specific department and were forced therefore to make a crucial decision based only upon their very limited secondary school experience. Wide-spread problems of academic adjustment resulted from this practice of premature decision and specialisation. Under the new policy students were admitted to a Faculty, and during the first year could elect courses offered by other Faculties as well as certain inter-disciplinary courses offered for general education purposes.

The idea of a balanced education, i.e. general education as well as specialised education, had had some earlier expressions in the Colleges, Chung Chi College had a programme of Integrative Basic Studies, which embraced an introduction to university studies, a study of the main cultural traditions of China and the West, perspectives in the sciences, natural and social, and aimed to develop, inter alia, 'an ability to face contemporary and perennial issues of life and their challenge to rational inquiry, discussion, and personal commitment', New Asia College believed that 'a man should have a broad general knowledge as a framework into which he could later put specialised training, which, without a larger background, would lack human perspective'. United College aimed to produce 'intelligent, informed and well-balanced men and women possessing a sense of social responsibility and well-equipped to serve as well as to assume leadership in society'. A committee on General Education was thus set up under the Senate to keep the general education programmes under constant review and supervision and to see that close coordination existed between the college programmes.<sup>22</sup>

Central to the philosophy of the university, committed to the integration of Chinese and western cultures, was the

conviction that effective bilingualism should be cultivated. In fact in 1969 the Vice-Chancellor also called for the training of bilingualists, and Dr. Lee pointed out that there was a growing demand for people of bilingual ability in Hong Kong. More and more the community was giving equal emphasis to both the Chinese and English languages. An educated individual was expected to have a competent command of both in Hong Kong, Lee continued "some of the important government announcements and notices in the gazette appeared in both English and Chinese. When private firms have vacancies for key positions, they more and more preferred people with bilingual ability. Even in the academic community overseas, a Chinese mathematician or physicist was not considered a first rate scholar unless he was well versed in Chinese Culture. There was no question that the present trend towards effective bilingualism, for public or private, local or international reasons, was inevitable and irresistible".<sup>23</sup>

Thus established as a 'Chinese University', the university naturally made the promotion of Chinese studies its continuing concern, but it never lost sight of its larger mission of bringing East and West close together. Students were expected to draw upon both cultures and to contribute to both, and a competent command of the Chinese and English languages was the indispensable first step. The compulsory first-year General Chinese and General English courses were intended to ensure a solid foundation in both languages, and the general climate within the university continued to nurture students' interest in bilingualism and the interflow of Western and Chinese cultures.

At the 11th Congregation of the University on 6th October, 1970, Dr. Li announced that:

"The Chinese University of Hong Kong will introduce and develop a translation program that includes teaching and research to meet the urgent need for effective bilingualism of Chinese and English in the colony...".<sup>24</sup>

Dr. Li said that "more and more the Hong Kong Community is giving equal emphasis to both Chinese and English languages. With equal emphasis given to both languages, translation becomes a very important instrument to train people to think and write precisely...".<sup>25</sup> He also pointed out that "...Hong Kong is now entering an era of industrialization, and is therefore in great demand for up-to-date knowledge in every category which can be supplied through translation...".<sup>26</sup> He also disclosed that since its inauguration the Chinese University had included translation in its curricula. Its three colleges all gave courses on translation. The Department of Extra-mural Studies of the University offered programme on translation and an advanced translation certificate course. Research had also been done in the field of translation. Since 1967, with the help of Dr. Lin Yutang, a noted Chinese author, the University has been engaged in the compilation of the Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage. In February 1967 the University sponsored a Translation Symposium which was attended by more than 100 experts in translation. Three books on translation were published after the symposium. The symposium was held with a grant from The Asia Foundation.

"...Currently the University is undertaking a Translation / Publication Project to translate the up-to-date outstanding publications of Western authors in the fields of mass communications, sociology and other subjects..." Dr. Li revealed.



"...The University plans to set up a Translation Research Unit to revise its translation curriculum. Next year it will have a more systematic program for translation, with the expectation that in three years' time it will have a solid translation program..."<sup>27</sup> Dr. Li said.

In 1973/74 a significant change in established academic policy and practice took place. The Intermediate Examination was abolished. The increasing desire to de-emphasize the formal university-wide examination was reflected in the increasing interest in the revision of curriculum and degree requirements and in a general policy of continuous assessment of student performance. Even for graduation, the Arts Faculty, for instance, specified that the course assessment grade, obtained by instructors from grades given for tests, assignments, term or year papers, and performance in seminars, tutorials and practical or field work, represented up to 50% of the student's total degree for the relevant paper.<sup>28</sup>

In 1972 the Senate Committee on Staff/Student Relations was formed and it was a break-through for the students' participation in the governance of the university. The Committee advised the Senate on all matters related to student/staff relations, advised the university administration on the operation of the Benjamin Franklin Centre and recommended general policies on student affairs. Each college had a similar committee. Students also participated in the consideration of academic matters through the Student Consultation Committee established for each Board of Studies.

On 19th March, 1971 a University Students Union was inaugurated, with its aims to unite the students of the universities, in a spirit of democracy and autonomy, to promote

student welfare, moral well-being and intellectual development, to organise athletic activities and to serve the community. In 1972 the University Sports Field was completed and an Olympic-size swimming Pool in 1973 was opened. Construction of the University Sports centre commenced.

With the completion of the University Library and the Science Centre on the Shatin campus the Graduate school was able to set up nine new divisions in 1970-1974. Dr. C.T. Yung, President of Chung Chi College, was concurrently appointed to succeed the Vice-Chancellor as head of the school. In 1973-1974 enrolment increased to 174, six times that of 1966-1967, when the school was first launched. Since 1967 a total of 258 students had earned their Master's degree in the fourteen divisions of the Graduate School. In 1974 two categories of Master's degree programmes were offered, a two-year programme for Master of Philosophy (M. Phil), Master of Business Administration (M.B.A.) and Master of Divinity (M. Div.), and a one-year programme for Master of Arts in Education and Master of Science in Electronics. Advanced studies and research on contemporary problems in Asia and other areas were encouraged in the various divisions of the School. There were fourteen divisions in the Graduate School: Chinese History, Chinese Language and Literature, Philosophy, Theology, Biology, Biochemistry, Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics, Geography, Sociology, Business Administration, Education and Electronics.

In May 1973, the School of Education moved out of leased quarters in Kowloon and moved to the premises at Chung Chi. Within the four years' time, the school had undergone considerable expansion and change. Enrolment for the Diploma in Education Programme between 1965 and 1973 increased from 21 to 54 (full-time), 11 (in 1967/68) to 79 in 1973/74. Beginning

in 1973/74 a one-year post-graduate programme leading to an M.A. (Education) degree was offered. Beginning in 1973-1974, undergraduate courses in education were offered for students in all disciplines. Students in all programmes had to go through an intensive practicum programme relating to their specialisation.

Since its establishment, it was the policy and practice of Lingnan Institute of Business Administration to admit graduates in other disciplines in addition to those in the fields of economics and business administration. LIBA's graduates had increased from four in 1968 to a cumulative total of eighty-two through 1974. Although LIBA was primarily a teaching institution, considerable attention was also given to research. Another important aspect of LIBA's work was management education for Hong Kong businessmen and executives. The first programme of this nature was a one-week, 'Advanced Management Programme' in June 1969 for twenty-two executives from various commercial firms and government departments. LIBA continued to receive substantial financial support from the Lingnan University Board of Trustees. An IBM visiting professorship was instituted for the academic year 1974/75. In addition LIBA attracted considerable support from businessmen and companies in Southeast Asia. Three of its lectureships were supported by grants from the B.Y. Lam Foundation Ltd. of Hong Kong, the Lee Foundation of Singapore and Mr. Lee Wing-tat of Hong Kong, and other funds from local sources provided scholarships for needy students.

In the academic year 1974/75 the university established a new faculty of Business Administration that was previously a department of the Faculty of Commerce & Social Science. The new faculty offered courses in accounting, finance,

personnel management and industrial relations, production, marketing and industrial business.<sup>29</sup> A new faculty of Business Administration had two distinctive features. First LIBA was incorporated with the three Departments of Business Administration in the Foundation Colleges. Faculty members of LIBA, who used to teach only post-graduate students were required to offer undergraduate courses while teachers of the departments were encouraged to share in the teaching and research programme of LIBA. Another feature was that instead of rigid departmentalisation the new faculty was divided into areas of concentration, thus broadening the approach and creating new dimensions of fields of study. LIBA also planned to initiate a three-year part-time M.B.A. programme to provide university graduates already occupying managerial positions in the local business sector.

From the very inception of the Chinese University a premium was placed on research. Since 1965 it had set up four Institutes and nine centres. Both institutes and centres were organisational vehicles for fostering faculty research and for training graduate students in research methodologies. Institutes were concerned with broad, multi-disciplinary areas of investigation, and fostered both individual and group research projects. When projects of considerable magnitude were undertaken, requiring a number of investigators and research assistants and when such projects were able to attract outside financial support, a subdivision called a 'centre' might be established in order to provide greater definition of the project. In the Institute of Social Studies and the Humanities, two new centres were established after 1970. They were a centre for East Asian Studies (established January 1971) and a centre for Translation Projects (established June 1971). In June 1971

a Marine Science Laboratory was added in the Institute of Science and Technology. At the beginning of its second decade the university decided that the major thrust in the humanities and social sciences would be Chinese Studies. Thus it was the aim of the university to make Chinese culture the principal object of research not only in the humanities but also in the social and even natural sciences.<sup>30</sup>

In order to achieve effective bilingualism, the university had laid special emphasis on the importance of translation and had included it in the curriculum. Since 1971 the newly formed Committee on Translation had offered an introductory course, 'Principles of Translation', which prepared interested students of other departments to minor in translation in their third and fourth years. In 1972, 16 students were admitted out of 97 applicants. In order to fulfill the requirement for the degree the students translated books under the supervision of the teachers of the Translation Department. Two new teachers were added to the original three in 1973 and another was added in 1974 in order to cope with the increasing number of students attending the introductory course and in anticipation of offering new courses.

Since 1967, with the help of Dr. Lin Yutang, the University had carried out the tremendous task of producing the Chinese-English Dictionary of Modern Usage which was published in December 1972. According to Dr. Lin the new dictionary included all words and phrases that a reader would be likely to encounter when reading modern newspapers, magazines and books. He also pointed out the dictionary determined for the first time what were the Chinese words, and recorded their pronunciation as integrated polysyllabic units and their parts of speech.<sup>31</sup>

In June 1973 the Department of Extra-mural Studies started its North Kowloon programme at Mei Foo Sun Chuen. In response to the new trend towards specialised knowledge the EMSD also designed and offered twenty-one courses that led to the award of certificates to successful candidates. The standard of some of these courses was equivalent to that of post-graduate studies.<sup>32</sup> Beyond conventional classroom teaching EMSD worked in collaboration with Commercial Radio of Hong Kong offering for the first time a certificate course in Basic Business Administration through the medium of radio. In 1973/74 there were 554 courses offered with 18,778 student enrolment.

The late Dr. the Hon Sir Cho-yiu Kwan,<sup>33</sup> chairman of the University Council for the first eight years of the University's existence, contributed the money necessary to construct the Conference Hall as an adjunct to the University Administration Building. The magnificently built Conference Hall was opened on 8th October, 1971. The seating capacity of the Hall was 128 and facilities were provided in the dome for interpreters to view activities in the conference room below through closed circuit television. The completion of the University Science Centre in April 1972 marked a turning point not only in the history of the Science Faculty, but also in that of the Chinese University. The H-shaped structure, situated at the end of the University Hall facing the university library, housed five departments, Biochemistry, Biology, Chemistry, Electronics and Physics, and was divided into approximately 280 rooms which accommodate more than 200 staff members and 800 students. The five semi-circular lecture theatres in the centre section of the building have a seating capacity of 600. The Yale-in-China Association, which donated the University Health Centre, further underwrote the cost of

constructing the Yali-Guest House, which was inaugurated in 1974. The new building provided convenient and pleasant accommodation for international scholars and administrators visiting the university.

The campus and physical plant of Chung Chi were substantially completed before it became a part of the university, albeit of a somewhat lesser standard that adopted for the new development programme. Concurrent with the construction of facilities for the other two colleges, five new buildings were added to Chung Chi, a seminary, a library, staff/student amenities building, minor staff quarters and a 40 bed hostel. The old library was converted into a music centre, the former student dining hall was made into a gymnasium and the previous health clinic was modified to provide quarters for eleven single staff members. In addition the sewage, water, telephone and electric systems of the College were integrated into the university systems and the road network was widened and resurfaced.

New Asia College moved to its new campus in Shatin in July-August 1973, marking the final phase of the complete physical integration of the University. The College occupied the northeastern part of the university campus on the same level as United College. On a promontory 460 feet above Tolo Harbour the 19 acres campus commanded a view of this harbour, the Plover Cove Reservoir and the Pat Sin Mountain Range. In September 1970, Professor Emeritus Y.P. Mei of the University of Iowa became the new President.<sup>34</sup>

January 1972 began a new era for United College for it removed to its new campus in Shatin, ending more than a decade of operation in cramped premises leased from the government on Bonham Road. The new campus was situated on a plateau over-

looking Tolo Harbour. It comprised five buildings on an area of approximately nineteen acres.

It was also in 1974, Dr. Choh-Ming Li, Vice-Chancellor of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, was awarded the ninth annual Elise and Walter A. Haas International Award. The award was given to a foreign alumnus of the University of California who had rendered outstanding service to his country or the betterment of international relations.<sup>35</sup>

The university, over the decade of its existence, had evolved from an association of three undergraduate Foundation Colleges into a complex institution encompassing new organisational units of graduate and professional education, a large group of research institutes and centres, and an extensive programme of public service. In early 1974, a working party on Educational Policy and University Structure was appointed by the Vice-Chancellor, and given the responsibility of thoroughly reviewing the educational policy and organisational structure which developed in the first decade of the university's existence. In the formal charge, the Working Party was requested to consider and to make recommendations on the structure of the university including that of the constituent colleges, with particular reference to the academic organisation, administrative machinery, and the various governing bodies. In addition the working party was asked to consider and to recommend solutions to a number of fundamental issues regarding the nature of undergraduate education. In November 1975, a commission was set up, and consisted of Lord Fulton of Falmer, Sir Michael Herries (ex-chairman of the Hong Kong University and Polytechnic Grants Committee) and Professor C.K. Yang, from the University of Pittsburg's department of Sociology. They were assisted by Mr. I.C.M. Maxwell, Deputy



director of the Inter-University council for Higher Education Oversea as secretary, look into the possible structural changes for the university.<sup>36</sup> But this time the visit of Lord Fulton might not be as well-received as the previous one, since his recommendations could shake the foundation colleges. As the press pointed out, "faculty members of the Chinese University were anxiously awaiting the release of the report of the Fulton commission, due out later this summer. The report could well affect the future status of the three foundation colleges. Twelve-and-a half years after its inauguration the University was still grappling with two staff factions: those in favour of the collegiate system and those who preferred a policy of centralisation".<sup>37</sup> A preliminary report of the working party said the university should maintain a federal system but its structure required substantial changes; departments belonging to the same discipline but assigned to different colleges should be integrated into a single department; and teachers should participate fully in the decision-making process of the university at all levels. But the final report of the working party said that the load of the currently over-burdened university headquarters should be lightened and more significant functions assigned to the colleges.<sup>38</sup>

In July 1976 the Fulton report on the future of the Chinese University of Hong Kong came out with the recommendation that a constitutional arrangement governing the university and its three constituent colleges should be formed. Under the proposals the university rather than the separate constituent colleges should be responsible for academic and development policy, financial management, the matriculation of students, the appointment of staff, the determination of the curriculum, the conduct of examinations and the awarding of

degrees. The participation of senior academics in the governing body should be strengthened.<sup>39</sup> The report recommended that the teaching work of the university should reflect a balance between 'subject oriented' and 'small group' student oriented teaching. Although the commission recommended that the old federal structure of the university be replaced by one more akin to a unitary university, a distinct role was nonetheless proposed for the colleges. The report said the natural home of student oriented teaching was the college which was an association of senior and junior members brought together in pursuits of shared academic interests and aims. But the university was the 'author and guardian' of subject oriented teaching which included formal instruction in its various forms, the lecture, the seminar, the laboratory. Lord Fulton believed that eleven undergraduate should be included in the small group teaching but only 30-40% of the academic staff should provide such tuition.<sup>40</sup> The report suggested measures - such as the introduction of schools of studies - which if implemented, would delegate many more powers to the university under a policy of centralised administration. Fulton's proposals were accepted in principle, and a working group of government and university representatives was to report by the end of July 1976 on how to implement the recommendations.

As a whole the second Fulton Committee injected a new issue of debate of centralisation versus autonomy for the administrative organisation of the University.

The Fulton Committee reported in March 1976, and the report was made public in May. On the college system, the committee claimed that it was not proclaiming the demise of the federal system and the emergence of a unitary university, but it issued a signal of its thinking. "Colleges which claim

complete academic control over a limited range of academic territory are not colleges in any meaningful sense of the word but are claiming to be universities with a narrower than normal range."<sup>41</sup> Autonomy was (seen to suggest), so it seemed, separatism. The committee believed that colleges could see themselves as mini-universities, practitioners of waste, duplication and conflict. The committee also suggested that the university should approach its teaching function from a new perspective; whether oriented towards the 'subject' or the 'student' (which in some measure implies the Oxbridge tradition). More immediately important, however, was the question of control over the powers of the colleges.

The university (rather than the colleges) should be responsible for all powers and functions, including academic and development policy, financial management, the matriculation of students, the appointment of staff, the determination of the curriculum, the conduct of examinations, and the award of degree. Naturally, any assets explicitly vested in the colleges at the foundation of the university and which were to be retained subsequently by the colleges were excluded.<sup>42</sup>

The Council, Senate, and Administrative and Academic Planning Committee should continue, but their composition should reflect the new thinking on the academic distinction between 'subject' and 'student' orientation.

The existing boards of governors (or board of trustees in the case of the United College) should be discontinued, and so should the existing college councils. Property and assets belonging to the original colleges should, however, be supervised and controlled by a newly appointed board of trustees for each college. Certain property had of course been brought by the colleges into the Chinese University of Hong

Kong at its inception.<sup>43</sup>

The colleges would no longer maintain academic departments, though the college spirit should be maintained by an assembly of fellows. The colleges would not be involved in large-scale finance. Salaries of academic staff, property and buildings (belonging to the university) should not be a matter for the colleges at all and academics would all be university appointees.<sup>44</sup>

There were many reactions to the report. The official reaction of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. C.M. Li, was that the basic thrust of the report was not unwelcome because the university was already moving in the educational direction foreshadowed. The official press release did not indicate any view about the questions of constitutional change and the pace of educational development. The Governor, on the other hand, publicly stated that the health of the university required change as quickly as our constitutional processes allow.<sup>45</sup> The press was less restrained. The Far Eastern Economic Review believed that the federal structure meant that the central administration was restricted and planning hindered by sectarian conflicts and jealousies. The Review thought that the distinction between 'student-orientated' and 'subject-orientated' teaching was "a sop for the federalists".<sup>46</sup>

The Review asserted that privately, a few members of the administration and governing boards of the colleges bemoaned their impending loss of power. The college presidents, it was noted, wield some academic and administrative power, and it was believed that 'subject-orientated' teaching would replace them.

The South China Morning Post believed that "the commissioners have drastically changed the role of the colleges and

the old federal structure has been dismantled to be replaced by one that is very much closer to a unitary university". The senior staff in the various constituent colleges were requested to look upon the report in a constructive fashion, and not simply in terms of their reduced future role.<sup>47</sup>

The Hongkong Standard spoke of the 'Fulton Prescription' and gave its support to what was set out but wondered whether it had gone far enough. The comment was made that: "A move towards absolute centralisation would have proved more economical in the long term than the present prescription of the Fulton Committee". This was seen by the committee as going too far in the direction of "freezing and quenching the creative spirit itself".<sup>48</sup> The English press appeared to accept the report as a constructive and long overdue document, though the Chinese press was inclined to be somewhat more suspicious.

However, the colleges saw themselves as threatened and reacted angrily to the Fulton recommendations. They argued lack of consultation and undue haste by the government; they felt they were not represented in the legislation process. The Board of Governors of New Asia College produced two petitions.<sup>49</sup> The first saw a clear indication that the Governor-in-Council was "unwilling to delay... the introduction of legislation embodying the main recommendations of the report of the Fulton Commission". The Chairman of the Board of Governors, Tsufa F. Lee argued: "It was commonly agreed the university should be established on federal principles to ensure that each foundation college would meet the different needs of Hong Kong."<sup>50</sup>

The Fulton recommendations were seen by him as destroying "the federal system by converting it into a unitary and centralised system". "By that time," he argued, "the Chinese

University would become one of the biggest bureaucracies in Hong Kong". The sequence of arguments suggested to him a reductio ad absurdum. "You don't tear down a house simply because there are some household pests".<sup>51</sup>

Other board members complained that the methods of consultation were inadequate and that the University always replied by saying the matter had been sent to the chancellor, thus by-passing the colleges and disregarding the views of them. One attempt to maintain the status quo which was suggested, involved choosing the Vice-Chancellor by a process of rotation amongst the heads of the colleges.

Strong comment of another sort came from Dr. Denny Huang, described as 'a long-time member of the Board of Governors of the Chung Chi College'. He argued that the governors had been neatly reduced to 'nothing more than "managers of an estate"'. He interpreted the change as the completion of a movement already well in progress by which administration was gradually seen to be the province of the central body. "It is very sad but true that over the last few years the Chinese University had been federal in name only but is in fact a centralised or unitary university." Any assurances from the Fulton Committee were, as far as safeguards for the federal principle were concerned, "empty words".<sup>52</sup>

The colleges' complaint that they were being ignored was taken up in private discussions. The essence of the complaint of one of the boards of governors was that they were not consulted on the Fulton proposals, which appeared under the heading 'Any Other Business' in proposed discussions. Attention was also drawn to the fact that the chief officer of the university, the chancellor, was one and the same man as the Governor.

The federal structure itself was always a potential compromise, and the binding together of three highly disparate post-secondary colleges was at the outset an act of faith. In 1963, the colleges were compelled to shed their absolute autonomy in accepting the proposals of the first Fulton Report which set up the Chinese University of Hong Kong.<sup>53</sup> By 1973, the colleges were still arguably thinking of themselves in terms more appropriate to the previous decade. A detached observer might comment that the way ahead was to look at the future, at least at 1983 or 1993, rather than backwards at privileges lost.

There was a tendency to consider all questions of administration in terms of a 'loose' federation, and to discuss the federal question in terms of 'gains' and 'losses' to the centre. The federal approach does have a number of possible meanings. In the context of the Chinese University, however, federalism meant only one thing to most people: it referred to a definite autonomy - to something approaching a 'confederation'. The Fulton Report argued for another sort of federalism, one perhaps, closer to what the political scientist calls a 'staatenbund' rather than a 'bundestaat', a true binding of units, rather than a loose association.<sup>54</sup>

What existed before the implementation of the Fulton Report was a non-cooperative federalism, or even at its worst a non-cooperative confederation. The report stated its views clearly: Potential stalemates have no place in a satisfactory constitution for a university. Obviously stalemates had been commonplace. The belief that there are only two possibilities - a loose association on the one hand, or a centralised unitary structure on the other, became conventional wisdom amongst those who opposed the recommendations of the Fulton Report.

They saw it as an 'either/or' situation, a sum-zero game in which one had either all the power or none of it. By its supporters, the Fulton Report could be represented as a compromise in which the scholarship of the university could be relatively compartmentalized while the physical resources (over which the 'politiking' took place) could be centralised. This might be seen to be the ideal solution. However, in the President's Annual Report 1975-1976, the Chung Chi College shared some of its worry about the Commission's Report;

"The Fulton Commission's report has only just been published. This makes it doubly difficult for me to write my annual report. On the one hand it is too early for me to make any worthwhile comments on the report; on the other, it proposes such radical changes in the University and College that my comments on the events of the past year may seem out of date...

As far as the report itself is concerned, I will only say three things. First, it is a relief to have it published at last, Forward planning has been difficult during the past year as the university awaited the report's proposals. Second, Dr. Yung in his report last year warned the Board of the "rush towards centralisation", and it is clear that the report has come down strongly in favour of centralisation. Third, the report has assigned a very definite function to the Colleges, and it will be a great test for our staff to rise to the challenge presented..."<sup>55</sup>

In facing the future uncertainty, can the university fulfil its unique mission again? Sixteen years ago, Dr. Chien



Mu, one of the founding fathers of the University, shed some lights on an ideal Chinese University in 1960. "I think that an ideal Chinese University," he said, "if it really fulfils its mission, should be able to make a special contribution to the realization of the common ideals of cosmopolitanism. This is not only because Chinese culture, with its long, deep-rooted tradition and its special characteristics, can make a significant contribution to the formation of a new, universal, varied, and richly colored culture of benefit to the future of mankind, but also because, and more important still, in the Chinese cultural tradition and its educational ideal, there has always been an underlying quality of universality. In the Great Learning (Ta Hsueh), above the aims of self-cultivation, keeping the family in order, and governing the country, a higher aim is raised, that of bringing peace to the whole world. Thus, we can say that in the Chinese ideal of university education (for the Chinese term for a university, ta hsueh, 大學 literally means 'great learning') there has always been, from the beginning, an element of universality."

He then went on to say: "In the light of these views, I think ... an ideal Chinese university, if it can fully develop its traditional characteristics in the humanities, should at the same time be able to reach the common ideals and fulfil the common tasks of university education in the world to-day. In other words, I think that traditional Chinese ideals of humanistic education coincide on many important points with the ideals common to the sort of universal education which the world should pursue now and in the future. ...If an ideal Chinese university should really be established in the future, it should be able to make a special contribution to the kind of humanistic education that would be in harmony with world

ideals. Indeed, it would be both inevitable and proper for it to do so ..."<sup>56</sup> In an address at the Nineteenth Congregation of the Chinese University of Hong Kong on 2nd October, 1978, Dr. Li, once more, defined the uniqueness of the University:

"Then what is so unique about The Chinese University of Hong Kong? First of all it goes without saying that we are a modern university with all its necessary attributes. But what is unique is that we have dedicated ourselves to a special mission, namely, the introduction and development of Chinese data into each and every one of the academic disciplines. This special mission is of tremendous importance to us, for it will enable our teaching staff to render their teaching materials more relevant to our social needs, to advance the existing frontiers of knowledge, and to make original contributions to the theories and principles of various sciences. In a nut-shell, The Chinese University of Hong Kong is the university that seeks to include a Chinese dimension in all academic disciplines.

The University motto reads (博文約禮), a quotation from Confucius. In the modern sense, the second character "文". the same as the second character of the name of the University, denotes all academic disciplines. Thus the motto reinforces the proper meaning of the name of our University. While, as I said before, all universities established in China or by Chinese overseas are Chinese universities, ours is The Chinese University, with a capital T, in order to put into sharp focus the

special mission of this University."<sup>57</sup>

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## Chapter Nine:

Footnotes

1. President Yung was born in Hong Kong and received his education in Tsing Hua University with a B.Sc. in Science in 1929 and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1937, and an LL.D. from the University of Hong Kong in 1961. He was awarded unofficial justice of peace in 1944, and an OBE in 1966. Before he took up his teaching post in the University of Hong Kong as Senior Lecturer in Botany in 1951, he had taught in numerous universities in the mainland, such as Tsing Hua, Lingnan University, and had been a visiting professor to the United States under the Cultural Relations Program, US department of state. In 1960 Dr. Yung took up the appointment as the President of Chung Chi till his retirement in 1977.
2. Bernard Mellor, The University of Hong Kong: An Informal History (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Press, 1960), Vol.One, p.132.
3. A native of Canton, Dr. Li received both his B.S. degree in commerce in 1932 and the Ph.D. degree in Economics in 1936 from U.C. Berkeley. He taught at three leading universities in North China for the next six years, and in 1945 was appointed deputy deitector-general of the Chinese Relief and Rehabilitation Administration of the National Government of China. During the late 1940's he represented his country at various international conferences and served as China's permanent delegate to the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1948-1949. Dr. Li returned to U.C. Berkeley in 1951 and served successively as lecturer, associate professor of business administration, and director of the Center for Chinese Studies.
4. Steve S.C. Huang, 'The Chinese University of Hong Kong', in Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol.V, p.91.
5. Hong Kong Annual Report, 1965 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government Printer), p.93.
6. I.C.M. Maxwell, Universities in Partnership: the Inter-University Council and the growth of Higher Education in developing countries, 1940-1970 (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1980), p.332.
7. The First Six Years, 1963-1969: The Vice-Chancellor's Report (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1964), p.5.
8. Ibid., p.10.
9. Maxwell, op. cit., p.337.
10. The Registrar, CUHK, 'Background paper on Curriculum reform: The Chinese University of Hong Kong', in Prachoom Chomchai, ed., Meeting the Challenges of the Seventies: managing the university; seminar papers & proceedings (Bangkok: ASAIHL Secretariat, 1973), p.61.

11. Ibid.,
12. Ibid.,
13. The Intermediate Examination had two sections, with a language test on Chinese and English and a subject test consisting of one paper on a major subject, one on a minor and one on an elective field of studies.
14. The Registrar, CUHK, op. cit.,
15. The function of the Institute of Social Studies and the Humanities was to promote and encourage faculty research in various fields; and to assist in post-graduate training. It embodies the following subjects: economics, public administration, geography, mass communications, sociology, social welfare, world history, modern languages.
16. The Institute of Science and Technology was established for the purpose of promoting faculty research, thus preparing the ground for and contributing to post-graduate training in relevant fields. Initially, the allocation of research grants to the Institute from various sources. It embraced the following subjects in both their pure and applied aspects: biology, chemistry, mathematics and statistics, and physics.
17. This publication is printed from woodblocks cut in AD1200-1250. It consists of 1341 volumes of 15.5" x 11.5" with 100 to 110 leaves to a volume. This is the most important document for research in the philosophy, religion, history, art and archaeology of the Far East.
18. In September 1970, attending the Fifth General Conference of the International Association of Universities, Dr. C.M. Li spoke of the efforts made during the past two years by ASAIHL to establish itself more firmly in its member universities, particularly by involving members of academic staff directly in its activities. Previously the Association had been regarded as a Club for University heads which had little contact with the problems of day-to-day university life. It was decided that when attending ASAIHL seminars members of the Administrative Board should be accompanied by members of their academic staff. It also recommended to set up Regional disciplinary societies.  
Report of the Fifth General Conference of the International Association of Universities; Montreal; 30th August-5th September, 1970 (Paris: International Association of Universities, 1971), Chapter Four: 'The Affairs of the Association', p.255.
19. The Emerging University, 1970-1974: The Vice-Chancellor's Report (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1975), p.1.
20. Ibid., p.10.
21. The Asian Student, Vol.XVIII, No.31, May 2, 1970, Front page.

22. The Emerging University, 1970-1974, op. cit., p.23.  
The University claimed that this re-organisation was in line with the development of other commonwealth universities, particularly in the United Kingdom and Australia, as universities expanded and division of responsibilities became necessary.  
The Association of Southeast Asian Institution of Higher Learning, Newsletter, Vol.V, No.2, August 1973, p.26.
23. The Asian Student, Vol.XVIII, No.5, October 25, 1969, Front page.
24. The Asian Student, Vol.XIX, No.16, October 31, 1970, p.4.
25. Ibid.,
26. Ibid.,
27. Ibid.,
28. The Emerging University, 1970-1974, op. cit., p.23.
29. The Times Higher Education Supplement, October 25, 1974, No.158, p.11.
30. The Emerging University, 1970-1974, op. cit., p.50.
31. The Asian Student, Vol.XXI, No.3, October 28, 1972, Front page.
32. The certificate courses offered included: general business administration; industrial design, teaching of modern mathematics in secondary schools, graphic design, advanced translation, basic system analysis, personnel management, librarianship, music, film and TV, hotel operation, advanced electronics, practical accountancy, modern Chinese ink painting, design and construction of structural projects, buddhism, a foundation course in university mathematics, medical laboratory science and computer programming.
33. Sir Cho Yiu was a prominent banker and lawyer in Hong Kong, and held many directorships in the large corporations, he was awarded CBE and KG and had been a senior unofficial member in the Legislative and Executive Councils.
34. Professor Mei, who served as Chairman of the University of Iowa Department of Chinese and Oriental Studies from 1960 until his retirement in 1969. He had been a member of the Iowa faculty since 1953. Mei came to the United States to live on a permanent basis in 1949, on the eve of the communist takeover in China. He had been in the United States prior to 1949 as a student, having received his B.A. degree at Oberlin College in 1924 and a doctoral degree from the University of Chicago in 1927. From 1928 to 1949 he was at Yenching University in Peking - serving as acting President from 1942 to 1946. For his detailed career, refer to his autobiography, Fifty Years of university education: autobiography at the age of 80 (Taipei: Luen King Publishing Enterprise Co., 1982), Chapter One:

'His birth and school life (1900-1922)', Chapter Five: 'Service in Hong Kong, Taiwan and retirement (1970-1980)'.  
(梅貽寶:大學教育五十年,八十自傳;台北市聯經出版事業公司。)

35. The Asian Student, Vol.XXII, No.15, April 13, 1974, Front page.
36. Report of the Commission on the Chinese University of Hong Kong, March 1976, the terms of reference of this commission was stated as: "Bearing in mind experience in the first decade of the Chinese University of Hong Kong's development and the 'Final Report of the Working party on Education Policy and University Structure', to advise on whether any changes are necessary in the governance, financial and administrative machinery, ordinances and statuses of the University and its Constituent colleges." (p.5.)
37. The Times Higher Education Supplement, June 4, 1976, No.241, p.13.
38. For details, refer to The Chinese University of Hong Kong: Final Report of the Working party on Educational Policy and University structure, 12th July, 1975, Chapter Four: 'Power and Function, IV. Administrative Structure.'
39. Report of the Commission on the Chinese University of Hong Kong, March 1976, p.7., (II) Basic Considerations, (1) Strengthened Academic participation in university government, 20 to 33.
40. Ibid., p.17, (III) The Future Role of the Colleges within the University, 61.
41. Ibid., p.11, (II) Basic Considerations, (2) The Integration of departments of study, 38.
42. Ibid., p.19-20, (IV) The Future structure and organisation of the University, (1) The University, 70.
43. Ibid., p.22, (IV) The Future structure and organisation of the University, (2) The Colleges, 82.
44. Ibid., p.23.
45. Harris Peter, Hong Kong: A study in Bureaucratic Politics (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1979), p.96.
46. Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, 16th July, 1976, cited in Peter Harris, op. cit..
47. South China Morning Post, Hong Kong, 30th May, 1976.
48. Hong Kong Standard, Hong Kong, 29th May, 1976.
49. For details of petition, refer to A Further Collection of New Asia Papers with background documents on the Report of the Fulton Commission and on the Chinese University of Hong Kong Bill, 1976 (Hong Kong: the Board of Governors of New Asia College, CUHK, December 1976), Section Six: 'The chairman's Petition to his Excellency the governor

- (September 25, 1976)', p.21, Section Seven: 'Letter to members of the Executive and Legislative Council by Chairman Tusfa F. Lee (September 25, 1976)', p.27.
50. Ibid., Tusfa F. Lee, Chairman, Board of Governors, Letter to Members of the Executive and Legislative Council, p.28.
  51. South China Morning Post, Hong Kong, 10th September, 1976.
  52. Peter, Harris, op. cit., p.97.
  53. In 1964, President Chien Mu once said in the Convocation held in February that the main reason for the New Asia College to join the CUHK scheme because the college had to consider too much about the future prospects of its graduate and the government recognition for the college diploma in sake of Master-pay scale, so that the graduates would have 'official rice-bowl tickets'. Direct translation from the Speech 'Occupation and Career', by Chien Mu in New Asia Life, Bi-weekly, Vol.6, No.17, 6th March, 1964, p.20. (錢穆 = 職業與事業, 新亞生活, 雙週刊)
  54. Peter, Harris, op. cit., p.98.
  55. Chung Chi College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong; President's Annual Report for 1975-1976, p.3.
  56. Chien Mu, 'An Ideal Chinese University', Journal of Education (Hong Kong: Education Department, HKU, 1970), No.18, p.16-17.
  57. A New Era begins: 1975-1978: The Vice-Chancellor's Reports, Addendum: On the name of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Address by Dr. Choh-Ming Li at the Nineteenth Congregation of The Chinese University of Hong Kong on October 2, 1978, p.16.



## Chapter Ten: Conclusion

In the international social climate of the late twentieth century, Hong Kong is a political curiosity. When most former members of the British colonial empire have for years been either independent or annexed to Asian nations, Hong Kong continues in its traditional colonial status. In a sense Hong Kong is a guest of its powerful neighbour, Communist China, by whom it is tolerated because of its continued usefulness to China as a funnel for trade with the western world. Hong Kong is the most active trading port in South China, a city of modern high-rise office buildings and apartment complexes.

Compared to the nations of East Asia, Hong Kong is very small. All schools in the colony can be reached by car within less than one hour, so that communication and the transport of supplies between the central headquarters and every unit of the school system is a simple matter.<sup>1</sup> Between 97% and 98% of the residents in the colony are Chinese, with European (mostly British ) forming much of the remaining small minority. Thus the home language of most people is Chinese, while the official language of government is English (along with Chinese).

Over the past several decades, Hong Kong has received large numbers of immigrants from China. The rapid growth of the colony's population came after World War II as hundreds of thousands of Chinese crossed the border of Communist China into the British colony. In more recent years refugees from the war zone of former French Indochina -- Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos -- arrived to increase Hong Kong's population. In

1973 Hong Kong had a population of about 4.1 million. By the mid 1970s over 80% was living on about 8% of the total land. Since the cession of Hong Kong to the British, the unequal distribution of land suitable for building purposes has led to high land prices which, in turn, have impeded government and voluntary efforts in building enough schools. Combined with environmental pollution, it has contributed to mental and physical health hazards in schooling, a scarcity of recreational areas, and the unequal geographical distribution of schools, teachers, and pupils.

The population of Hong Kong by the close of 1977 approximately 4,566,900.<sup>2</sup> It represented an annual rate of 2% increase over a 10 year period. The growth rate has not remained constant since much of the population increase has resulted from immigration, mainly of refugees from mainland China and Southeast Asia. A larger influx of immigrants occurred at times of economic distress or political disturbance in the refugees' homeland. The changing composition and location of the population at different areas have influenced educational decision-making.

Like other developing societies, Hong Kong lays great stress on the development of education. The traditional Chinese respect for learning lends added-emphasis in this respect. Many families are willing to undertake great sacrifices to keep their children at school. However a substantial number of children are without schooling. In 1966, 213,000 children, about 22% of all children in the 5-14 age group, did not attend school. Only 78% of the age group were in full-time education. Many children only attended part-time schooling and others did not follow the full course. Provision for technical and vocational education seemed to be inadequate too. In 1969,

there were only 1,900 full-time students in the Hong Kong Technical College.<sup>3</sup> If Hong Kong wants to maintain its 'economic miracle', more technically qualified staff has to be produced and better opportunities for technical training has to be opened up for the pupils in primary and secondary schools. In September 1969, 750,000 children were in secondary schools. There were over 37,000 active teachers.<sup>4</sup> Government expenditure on education in 1968-1969 was over \$370 million (£25 million). This sum did not include the massive private expenditure and expenditure by voluntary and missionary school fees and buy textbooks and participate in the cost of other school activities. Government grants and subsidies, however to a limited degree, reduced the expenditure for some poor families.

The expansion of education in Hong Kong from 1948 to 1968 can be seen in the following table:

THE GROWTH OF EDUCATION IN HONG KONG<sup>a</sup> (1948-1968)

Year	1948	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968	1956	1968
Mid-Year Population	69	81	100	118	138	151	2,610,000	3,930,000
Government Expenditure on Education	30	47	100	215	411	707	\$44 m	\$311 m
Enrolment in all Schools <sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup>	40	68	100	174	278	381	297,000	1,133,000
Enrolment in Primary Schools <sup>c</sup>	45	73	100	184	274	338	214,000	724,000
Enrolment in Secondary Schools <sup>c</sup>	27	72	100	136	296	468	54,000	253,000
University Enrolment <sup>d</sup>	58	114	100	162	434	546	860	4,700

## Notes:

- a A base date of 1956 = 100 has been taken.
- b. Includes: Kindergarten, Primary, Secondary and Post-Secondary Schools, and Adult Education.
- c As at 31st March for all years except 1948 and 1968, which are enrolments at 30th September.
- d As at beginning of the Academic Year.

Source: Hong Kong Government Annual Reports; Hong Kong Statistics 1947-1967 (Hong Kong Government, Census and Statistics Department, 1969)

Between 1948 and 1968 when the population had doubled, Government expenditure on education increased twenty times and school enrolment increased ninefold. The expansion in education had been particularly rapid since 1956. Increased attention was given to secondary and higher education.

The 1961 and 1966 Censuses showed that Hong Kong had experienced widespread expansion in education within five years time. In 1961, the percentage of the population with at least some formal education rose from 72% to 75% in 1966. The educational level attained by the population in 1966 was as follows:

HONG KONG POPULATION 15 YEARS AND OVER-  
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ATTAINED: 1966 (Percentages)

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Primary	37.9
Lower Secondary	12.2
Higher Secondary	12.5
Post-Secondary	1.8
University	2.8
Private Tutor	7.4
No Formal Education of Primary Level or Above	25.4
<hr/>	
TOTAL:	100.0

Source: Hong Kong Government 1966 By-Census Report

Literacy was closely related to education. The Report on the 1966 By-Census noted that: in 1961 all persons aged 10 and upwards who had been to school were found to be literate and all persons aged 10 and upwards who had never been to school were (with a few exceptions) illiterate. In 1971, the Hong Kong Government decided to introduce free education in all primary schools, and in the majority of junior secondary school places for all primary school leavers. Therefore, the examination for primary school leavers was abolished. In the same year, the government also made a 10-year plan for special education. Pre-primary education gained more attention.

In 1978, the government introduced the 9-year free education, which was regarded as a milestone of educational development.<sup>5</sup> In October 1978, a White Paper on the Development of Senior Secondary and Tertiary Education was published. In 1971, the total number of registered students was 49,266<sup>6</sup>; it had risen to 1,379,245 in 1978.<sup>7</sup> The expenditure on higher

education of 1970-1977 was 533,088 thousand dollars<sup>8</sup> and was 1,684,076 thousand dollars in 1977-1978.<sup>9</sup> It could be seen that there was a great rise in expenditure during these nine years. There was also an increase in the number of students during the same period. But in the primary schools section, the number dropped from 764,313 in 1971<sup>10</sup> to 563,384 in 1978.<sup>11</sup> In the later period, 1971 to 1980, it seemed that the government was willing to initiate large scale educational reform and this reform was of a largely economic and industrial orientation. There was at the same time a tremendous enhancement of quantity of education.

In ethnic origin, 98% of the colony's residents were Chinese (mostly Cantonese), but only a small proportion of the older generation was born in Hong Kong. The population consisted of various ethnic communities which related to each other somewhat uneasily. Certain schools were established to cater for particular ethnic groups. However, the interests of the 98% of the Chinese population held paramount in the field of schooling. In religious affiliation, the majority of local citizens were non-Christians. But from the perspective of educational development, Christian groups had exerted a strong influence on the colony's schooling opportunities from the 1840s onwards.

Language patterns in Hong Kong were complex. English had been the official language. All government business was carried out in English, although Chinese has been regarded as the second official language and was used for some correspondence. Cantonese dialect which is the main language of Kwangtung Province is the predominant everyday language today. Over 95% of the population understands Cantonese. Since 1972 there have been two official languages, English and Chinese.

Since Hong Kong was an ethnically pluralist society, with the Chinese majority made up of people from different provinces on the mainland, there were many first languages, especially in their spoken form. Functionally, the majority of the population that were educated beyond primary school were at least bilingual, though usually not equally facile in both languages. The main second language for most educated people is English.<sup>12</sup>

Since its beginning, Hong Kong has been one of Asia's most important ports. Not until the 1950s, the colony was on its way to industrialisation. Much of Hong Kong's economic sustenance derived from industry, commerce, and the tourist trade. Prior to the mid 1960s Hong Kong followed a laissez faire approach to economic planning, after which the government began to take a more interventionist stance on social and economic policy. Consequently a concern over Hong Kong's older reputation for 'sweated' and 'child' labour resulted in upward adjustments of the minimum age for leaving school.<sup>13</sup> A recognition of the importance of skilled manpower encouraged a clearer definition of the roles of schools. It engendered more or less official approval for practical and prevocational education and for vocational training. Politically Hong Kong has been relatively stable, disturbed only occasionally by local reverberations of political disorder in neighbouring mainland China, as occurred in the later 1960s when the Cultural Revolution was at its height in the People's Republic. Therefore, no social conflicts have disrupted schooling for any significant period of time. The structure and personnel of the Colonial government remained relatively stable after World War II, and so the colony has established school practices that have not been radically altered by political change. Yet there is within the colony the constant realisation that

the direction of life and schooling could be sharply diverted at any moment if the Mainland government chooses to take over the colony. This realisation casts over the colony a sense of impermanence. A salient characteristic of British colonial policy was its initial reluctance to accord the State a primary role in the provision of education.<sup>14</sup> This did not necessarily reflect an opposition to schooling for the local peoples. The development of schools was left in the hands of voluntary agencies. The history of formal education in Hong Kong is partly an account of how the British laissez-faire policies were slowly eroded and how the colonial government assumed greater responsibility for educational provision. Initially, this took the form of limited grants-in-aid to voluntary-agency schools able to meet certain minimal standards, but subsequently, the government took responsibility for the payment of teacher salaries, the extension of capital grants, the provision of teacher training facilities and, eventually, the creation of entirely government-supported institutions at the primary and secondary levels. During the period from 1843 to 1900, forces from Britain, China and Hong Kong itself were working in favour of the education system in the colony. These forces included: the British educational system and its philosophy, the attitude of the Chinese towards education, the migratory nature of the population, and finally conditions and events in China. Because of the permissive laissez-faire policy of government, in the nineteenth century, all educational endeavours in the colony were left, as in England, to voluntary and philanthropic agencies such as business and church groups. Two distinct systems emerged, reflecting the major cultural groups -- Chinese and British. The Chinese who wished to educate their children in the Chinese language



and tradition would either organise village and community groups to import a teacher from the large Chinese cities, or they sent their children to Chinese centres of learning. In addition, some of the British missionary schools admitted Chinese as well as European children. The British system, however, had the greatest influence on Hong Kong society. The British educational system in Hong Kong was operated by voluntary agencies. It was modeled on that of the mother country. The educational programme was intended for the elite. It focused on literary and character training. In terms of emphasis, it was similar to traditional Chinese education. Traditional Chinese education emphasised the Chinese classics and history in the same way that British education emphasised English, European, and Graeco-Roman classics and history. British and Chinese educational systems focused on training pupils to be 'gentleman' and of 'good character', although what constituted 'good character' in China was different from that in England. The English schools in Hong Kong were designed for pupils to be prepared for the British examinations. If a pupil passed he would be able to transfer to a school in England or its colonies at any point during his educational career. The schools in the colonies used the same texts, timetables, syllabi and methods as the schools in Great Britain. Moreover the British universities annually sent out uniform examinations to the colonies so that overseas students could acquire the same certificates and university degrees as students studying in England. Thus, children in England, Hong Kong, Malaysia, India and other British colonies prepared for and took virtually the same examinations.

The educational system in Hong Kong was divided into four levels in addition to preschools. A six-year primary course

was offered in Chinese, English and Anglo-Chinese schools. Following the first level, there was a five-year programme for secondary education. Then, there was the advanced level, consisting of one to two years of study, which prepared candidates for the fourth level, the institutions of higher education. A dual system of secondary education existed. There were two systems of schools that existed parallel in the colony: the English schools and the Chinese schools. The English schools and the Chinese schools. The English schools were using English as the chief medium of instruction and the others, Chinese. Like the modern type of secondary schools in other developed countries, the English schools and the Chinese schools in Hong Kong conducted a modern and scientific curriculum. The curriculum for both types of secondary schools, was of a general academic character, with the major function of preparation for the university.

If the content of education, as seen in the school textbooks, used to justify the aims of education, there seemed to be a good deal of evasiveness, neutralism and social indifference prevailing within the schools. It seemed to suggest a picture of a social vacuum.<sup>15</sup> Memorization of the textbook was the common mode of school practice. Examination was based upon examinations throughout the school system from day to day and from the kindergarten to the university. The minds of the young as well as of the teachers, administrators, and even of the parents, were saturated with the concept of examinations. Independent thinking was hardly encouraged. Other useful things such as the cooperative spirit, democratic citizenship, healthful living, and various wholesome interests, including the interest to learn, had not a fair chance to develop. In Hong Kong, diverse socio-political and cultural

practices have been pursued in different types of school from Christian and Buddhist to communist, English language and Chinese language interests, western culture and Chinese culture. Apparently the dominant educational aim shared by the peoples of the colony was the pursuit of self-interest, education being viewed not as a device for implementing a consciously designed socio-political programme or a given set of cultural goals, but rather as an instrument for achieving personal success, for rising in economic terms, and for gaining social prestige.

Stated-specialised goals for schooling have changed over the past century and a half. In the nineteenth century the expressed goals were to train priests and interpreters, to keep problem children off the streets, to protect girls from being kidnapped, and to serve China. In the early twentieth century the goals included providing leaders for the future and offering an alternative to the sweated labour in factories. More recently a stated aim has been to produce personnel to fit the colony's manpower plan. In general, most pragmatic parents and pupils viewed schooling as a key to upward socio-economic-class mobility. There were both official and unofficial goals. The small number of schools ran directly by the Hong Kong Government's Education Department sought to accomplish official goals. Whenever there was a change in official emphasis (language of instruction, hours of operation, curriculum, systems of examination and promotion), the change first occurred in government schools, then was reflected in similar goals in the three main other types of schools in the colony (grant, grant-aided, subsidized and independent).

Unofficial or hidden goals in government schools included producing pupils who would attain respectable pass-rates in

public examinations and, as far as the teachers themselves were concerned, laying the groundwork to be promoted out of the classroom and into an educational administrative post.<sup>16</sup>

The colonial political setting and the traditional Chinese social norms tended to favour the English type of education. In the traditional Chinese society, there were four major social classes: the nobility, officials and scholars, gentry and peasants, craftsmen and merchants. In the colonial polity, the higher reaches of the civil service were closed to the Chinese. As an immigrant and trade-oriented society, Hong Kong was in difficulty in producing its own native gentry class. In the absence of traditional means to acquire status and leadership, the stress was shifted to wealth and the ability to command wealth. A wealthy man might not be well known and respected unless he put on a public face. A rich man in Hong Kong might feel obliged to buy himself into various social positions by participation in a wide range of charitable and welfare organisations. In doing so, he not only caught the public eye, but also made himself a Chinese leader in the face of the colonial power structure. Medals and titles which were highly esteemed in the local community could be conferred on him in recognition of his contributions. He would even be invited to take up a number of non-salaried positions such as membership of certain committees formed to present the viewpoint of the Chinese community.<sup>17</sup> Since such committees were usually policy-oriented, these positions could carry with them considerable power and prestige. The most prestigious were membership of the Legislative and Executive Councils. In order to be appointed to those posts, however, a good command of English was essential, since it enabled the person to attend government functions and make contacts with government

officials. A university degree was also important for entrance into the upper social strata, a formally educated person being considered more competent to advise on public affairs. Thus, wealth, fluency in English, and a university degree were the keys one had to possess to become a member of the elite group in Hong Kong. In fact, these three pre-conditions were closely inter-related. If one was brought up in a wealthy family, one would have a better chance to acquire a good education and the ability to speak English. In turn, if a person was well-educated and English speaking, that person could secure a high-income post and have a better chance to become rich. A situation existed in which wealthy families tended to propagate more wealthy families, while the sons and daughters of poor families went on to produce poor families of their own. Some would like to argue that the chance to break this cycle was relatively higher in Hong Kong, since there was no specific barrier of birth, religion or township to stand in the way of climbing up the social ladder. The opportunity for becoming rich was also relatively greater in a rapidly growing economy, and indeed countless rags-to-riches stories could be cited. However, one could not ignore the fact that the poor still remained the victims. The chance for social betterment through education was not as great as in Western industrialised countries where governments played a greater role and had a stronger commitment to education and allied welfare. Although free primary education was offered to all and free secondary education to some, it was free only in the sense that the pupils did not have to pay school fees. This did not mean that opportunities were then equally distributed. To send a child to school, extra expenses such as textbooks and school uniforms were required. A child in school could not contribute to the

family income, and this itself was a drain on many families. Furthermore, the educational institutions were distributed qualitatively at all levels, and it was said that if a child failed to enter a good nursery school, his chances of entering good kindergartens (which were private, and for which ironically, there were taxing entrance examinations) and later the best secondary schools, would be significantly trimmed. It was not far from the truth that the education of a child was contributed by the rule of 'domino'.<sup>18</sup> Obviously the poor were far less equipped to propel their children through this sort of competition than were the rich. On the level of higher education, Hong Kong originally meant to maintain a single university for its local needs, to sustain the youth of its community brought up under the English school system. Unlike other universities in South-east Asian countries or British Africa established after World War II, the University of Hong Kong was founded in 1910. Higher education started in both Hong Kong and Singapore with medical colleges. But Hong Kong had a university established more than thirty years before the one in Singapore. Both also had Chinese language universities. But strangely, despite Hong Kong's proximity to China, the Singapore Chinese language university was established a decade before the Chinese University in Hong Kong.<sup>19</sup>

The University of Hong Kong, however, had the side-purpose of serving the neighbouring areas too, such as Malaya and the Province of Kwangtung. Like so many British institutions, Hong Kong University appears to have 'just growed' without any particular missionary aim. The University has had its up and downs, including financial crises. Its whole history has been one of struggle with insufficient staff and funds. Though it is an independent body, it relies on the Hong Kong Government

for its support. But in the earlier stage, the government made no strong commitment to support the new-born university, which, had no alternative but to depend on private contributions and donations. This practice and unsound financial status of the university, was seen, to a great extent, to jeopardise autonomy of operation. In fact all universities benefit, in one form or another, from the generosity of individuals, foundations, corporations, and even foreign governments. Only rarely do such benefactions present a moral problem. But critics sometimes protest either because donors make a gift to achieve improper objectives or because their prior conduct makes it awkward or unseemly for the university to accept their donations. However, in some situations, donors seek to attach conditions to their gifts that might invade the "four essential freedoms of the university" -- "to determine for itself on academic grounds who may teach, what may be taught, how it shall be taught, and who may be admitted to study.", and these freedoms are central to the university.<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, an institutions must reject donations that would require it to deviate from the normal standards of admissions. It must avoid giving a donor the power to appoint a professor or restrict a university chair to a person advocating a particular set of values or beliefs. Since donors can decide which activities they will support, universities are bound to be influenced in important ways by the outside world.

After World War II, foreign governments, sovereign and colonial, missions and orders, political parties and commercial groups, each founded universities in South East Asia with different objectives. The founders usually copied the structure from universities in other countries and it was often selected with little regard for local needs.<sup>21</sup>

Like all other universities set up by colonial powers the University of Hong Kong was an elite institution in its early history. Obviously it was so designated not in terms of the social or ethnic provenance of its students but in the sense that it was to remain small and that access to the university was to be based on academic merit as measured by outstanding performance on the School Certificate Examinations. Besides the new university had to enter into a special relationship with the University of London. The structure of London degrees was maintained, but substantial efforts were made, on the basis of joint consultation, to adopt progressively the course content to perceived local needs and realities. The degrees awarded by the university had to be comparable in quality to those offered in Britain. It is an over-simplification, however, to state that the University of Hong Kong had the same objectives as any other British university. The University has throughout its history attached itself to the standards of learning which are at the foundation of the prestige of British universities. It maintains special advisory machinery in London in an attempt to ensure that no person is appointed to a university post whose quality would not justify such an appointment in a home university. Both matriculation standards and degree standards are closely linked with those of British universities at home. If British professional recognition is required as in medicine, engineering and architecture, it is a basic University policy to obtain and to maintain such recognition. However these policies sometimes carry with them the risks of inflexibility.

High British standards reflect the will and the interests of the inhabitants of the colony. Hong Kong is an international centre of commerce. Its professional men be they



doctors, teachers, engineers or architects need to avail themselves of the freedom of the Commonwealth and to possess an unassailable repute in Asia. Because of the connection with England, because of the international status and functions of the colony, and because there is a school system which can feed into the University students of sufficient merit, the University has moved far beyond the state of simply being a centre for western studies; it is a centre for western studies maintaining British university standards of attainment. Therein it differs a noteworthy degree from many other universities in south East Asia.<sup>22</sup>

The British connection is also responsible for one other striking feature -- striking, that is, in nationalistic Asia. The final clause of the University ordinance states that 'no distinction of race or nationality shall be permitted, and no test of religious belief or profession shall be imposed, in order to entitle any person to be admitted as a member, professor, reader, lecturer, teacher or student of the University or to hold office therein or to graduate thereat or to hold any advantage or privilege thereof'. The reality is even more striking than the pledge, because of the tremendous contrast offered by universities in Communist China and to a greater or lesser degree in other universities in South East Asia which have to come to terms with the nationalistic ambitions of their respective governments. The University of Hong Kong however, is a mirror of Hong Kong's own situation. Because of the connection with England, and because of the demand for western techniques, the University has to be a channel for western ideas. But because most of the students are Chinese and because of the close link with China, the University must also be a centre for interpreting Chinese ideas to England and to

the West. There is no room for a policy of apartheid, conceived in the spirit of racial superiority; the Chinese tradition of civilisation is older, and in certain essential ways finer than any developed in the West. The background is that the fertilizing touch of Europe has created a great commercial city from what a century ago was a barren rock; and the city is in turn watered and fed by the perpetual spring of Chinese inventiveness. The university from its situation has a call to spread western techniques and to study and preserve Chinese civilisation at the same time; and it can pursue these tasks in an atmosphere of academic freedom. The British tradition of the independent university stands as a barrier to Government control, and helps to prevent the university from becoming a propaganda or political institution. The process of fusing two cultures at University level are neither political or racial, but are rational and academic.<sup>23</sup> In Hong Kong two great civilisations of East and West come to terms with each other. There is in being a continuous and natural fusion of East and West, and it takes place in social and commercial life as well as in cultural life. Many of the large business enterprises of the colony are under the joint control of English and Chinese managers. Inter-marriage is common, and socially Hong Kong is not divided nearly so much by race as by the dollar. The processes of cultural fusion may be only dimly understood, but they are daily facts of Hong Kong's experience and the University has a leading role in the story. In fact, modern developments are necessitating a new explicitness in the aims of the University that amounts to a reinterpretation. As western scientific and modern subjects develop apace, the University finds its task more complicated both in detail and in scope. As nationalism has developed in the

surrounding territories of the Far East, the University has become more aware that the acquisition of technical knowledge goes hand in hand with the cultivation of attitudes, and that the one is as much the concern of the University as the other.<sup>24</sup>

Since World War II, there has been an extraordinary expansion of educational systems throughout the world. This overall pattern of educational growth has not merely effected enrolment increases in rich countries. Poor countries also have expanded their primary school systems; the pattern for rich countries is different only because the latter has already attained nearly universal primary enrolment by 1950.

Expansion or proliferation has been everywhere accompanied by educational autonomy. Many of the newly created universities in the British colonies have never had the London connection envisaged by the Asquith Report; they have been independent institutions since their inception. The older Asquith university colleges have severed their former tutelary relationship with London University far more rapidly than was originally envisioned and have now emerged as fully-fledged independent universities with power to regulate their own intake patterns, degree structures, curricula, and examination procedures. Despite this, many universities have maintained the British institution of the external examiner, whereby senior academics from Britain or, increasingly from other colonial universities, are invited to scrutinize curricula, examination papers, and student performance in order to confirm that appropriate international academic standards are being maintained. To those British colonies, the special role of the universities and colleges founded on the Asquith plan was defined by the Asquith commission essentially in the context of preparation for national self-government. However

because of the peculiarity of Hong Kong's political status, the University in the colony has had to follow its own course of development.

Ever since Lord Durham recommended responsible self-government for Canada in 1839 British colonial policy has been based on the fundamental aim of teaching the colonial peoples to govern themselves. In 1948 the goal was restated as responsible self-government within the Commonwealth on conditions that ensured to the peoples concerned both a fair standard of living and freedom from oppression from any quarter. However as Harold Ingrams pointed out,<sup>25</sup> many people believed that Hong Kong could not survive if it attempted to follow this path towards self-government. It is not very easy to prove conclusively that to develop internal democratic government as a substitute for capitalist good management would result in the ruin of Hong Kong, but the fact remains that the vast majority of the people are neither devoted citizens of Hong Kong nor greatly attached to the Commonwealth. It does indeed seem difficult for the inhabitants of a country to achieve responsible self-government if most of them have no sense of belonging to it, nor a sense of loyalty to it as their homeland. Few Chinese in fact regard Hong Kong as their home or native land. There are certainly some, of course, who regard themselves as citizens of Hong Kong and British subjects. Although the Hong Kong born Chinese are by British law British subjects, they are also by Chinese law Chinese citizens. They appreciate Britain with their intellects, but love China with their hearts, and regard Hong Kong as a part of China. Furthermore, Hong Kong Chinese do not fall into either categories of the groups of oversea Chinese, as delineated by Professor Wang Gungwu.<sup>26</sup> Wang has identified three groups of overseas Chinese

which have their own characteristics. Group A are those Chinese who are clearly oriented towards China either because of the citizenship that they have or by kinds of activities in which they engage. And they may be citizens of either the Republic of China. They would also include some of the chauvinistic Chinese who may for purposes of business or convenience by actually holding local citizenship in the country in which they are living. Group B are those who generally accept the necessity and possibility of being loyal to their host countries but who hold back from total commitment to all the ideals and aspirations of those countries. Primarily for economic reasons, this group of Chinese generally prefer to keep their identity as members of a clan and one or other of the several Chinese communities, and there may be several varieties of Chinese communities that they may identify with at any one time. The reasons, however, for keeping their identity as a member of a clan or a community are usually practical rather than sentimental, for it is quite clear in almost any part of South East Asia that these family and community ties may be extremely important in business. As for the third group, Group C, this consists of several sub-groups of 'modernised' or 'indigenised' Chinese who, each in its own way, has decided to identify politically with the host countries. In their minds, and probably in many cases also in their actions, this group would be prepared to live and die for their adopted country. Most of the members of Group C would probably have had their education in local native schools or colonial modern schools, but it would be wrong to assume that all those or only those who are locally educated would fit into group C.

On the part of both the London and Hong Kong governments, self-government and then independence was an 'impossible'

destination for Hong Kong. In the early 1950s, Sir Alexander Grantham, the Governor of Hong Kong, had already pointed out that unlike other British colonies, the fundamental political issues for Hong Kong was not a matter of self-government or independence, but one of good Sino-British relations. He further pointed that Hong Kong could not follow the path of other colonies because it could not declare its independence, it would continue to exist as either a British colony or be a part of the Kwangtung Province. It was understood that an independent Hong Kong would create more humiliation to any Chinese government than its retaining the status of a colony.<sup>27</sup> Thus the future for local people was seen to be to make money while they could. Sir Alexander Grantham in a speech to the Legislative Council explained the attitude of Hong Kong in short and succinct sentences:

"On the political side we watch with sympathy what is going on in China. We should like to help that great country in her undoubted difficulties, which, I am sure, she will overcome in time, but meanwhile we cannot permit Hong Kong to be the battleground for contending political parties or ideologies. We are just simple traders who want to get on with our daily round and common task. This may not be very noble, but at any rate it does not disturb others. We do not feel that we have a mandate to reform the rest of the world."<sup>28</sup>

In 1971, Sir David Trench, the governor of Hong Kong from 1964 to 1970, made his defence on the irritant question of self-government to the Hong Kong people:

"You may well ask, why in this day and age, Hong Kong does not have the whole paraphernalia of representa-

tive government -- elections, parties and so on and so forth. There are several reasons which I give in no particular order of importance; they all contributed to this situation. But the first reason is that China has made it pretty clear that she would not be happy with a Hong Kong moving towards a representative system and internal self-government. There are a number of reasons for this, but they can be summed up simply by saying that, as you all know, China won't accept what is referred to as a "Two China" situation. She certainly wouldn't accept "Three Chinas", with Hong Kong added to China and Taiwan. To put it another way, if Hong Kong was not situated as she is politically, she would have been independent thirty years ago. But, placed where she is and composed as she is, and with China thinking as she does, she has to be either firmly under an old-style colonial government or lose her identity -- and that loss of identity is not what Hong Kong's people want."<sup>29</sup>

In the 1960s, social equality as a goal for higher education has dominated many western countries. The vast expansion of higher education and democratisation of its structures have led to the formation of systems of higher education as a means of control and of maintaining order in the face of population growth. In Britain, the Robbins Report on Higher Education in 1963 marked the ultimate expression of the commitment to liberal concepts of higher education. It opened the way to the expansion of British higher education from an 'elite' to a 'mass' system. The logic of its philosophy that 'courses of higher education should be available for all those who are

qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so', was an open-ended commitment to 'universal' access.<sup>30</sup>

Throughout the century, however, the university education in Hong Kong remained an education for an elite. Changes were expected to come, however, and the door of universities would then be more widely opened. Speaking at the fifty-fifth Congregation of the University, held during the Golden Jubilee Celebrations on 16th March, 1961, the Chancellor, Sir Robert Brown Black, once recalled the steady growth of the University of Hong Kong since World War II:

"The University of Hong Kong has changed markedly in the last ten years. The Second World War, a long barren hibernation for the University, the casualty lists of teachers and buildings, created at its full awakening in 1948 a situation and an atmosphere that could scarcely have been more conducive to change. The severance of the working post-war institution from its pre-war origins was extensive and almost complete. The few connecting cables that still held were worn down to the last strand; one main cable, that which led to the graduates, the strain of long years of estrangement had weakened, and this at a time when this link was one of the few left between the old what was to be the new...

There, then, were the conditions for change, and, in many respects, the process has gathered momentum. The expansion of student numbers, which on present plans will continue at least until 1965, has been one propellant. The student body is three times, and will soon be more than four times, that



of 1941. the growth in numbers has brought and will continue to bring changes in the character of the student body.

In the past there have been those who have dubbed our university a rich man's university; we are certainly no longer so. The University may still have the sons and daughters of wealthy parents, but it has spread its net beyond the wealthier classes. Scholarships, bursary grants or loans, or support by casual part-time employment, assist year by year an increasingly large proportion of students."<sup>31</sup>

During the period 1960 to 1970, the growth in numbers of students enrolled in higher education was particularly rapid in Asian countries. In some countries, such as Hong Kong, India, Iran and Japan, the growth in enrolment was, in comparison with the 1960-1965 period, more rapid between 1965 and 1970.<sup>32</sup> In Hong Kong there was a pressing need for expansion in tertiary education in the 1970s. The increased demand for higher education came from two sources: first, the sheer size of the post-war birth cohorts in the late 1950s; and secondly, the rising expectation of the population. The latter factor would continue to operate in sustaining demands for post-secondary education even when the population aged between 15 and 24 decreased in the next two decades. The reason is that higher educational attainment in the last two decades has raised parents' educational expectations for their children and it is likely that the coming generation will demand higher educational levels than their parents did.

In 1963 the Chinese University of Hong Kong, which was originated from the Chinese colleges in the colony, was thus set up to meet the increasing needs for university places and

the increasing needs for graduates.

The University of Hong Kong was still the crown of the English school system. The Chinese University, like all universities, existed to serve the needs of its community - Hong Kong. From this unique bi-cultural society of East-West interdependence, the Chinese University derived its conventional educational mission. From the beginning, the Chinese University was expected to play a special role in Hong Kong, as evidenced by the remarks of the Chancellor, Sir David Trench, at the installation of the first Vice-Chancellor, on 9th September, 1964. The Chancellor noted that Hong Kong now had two universities, but asserted that the two institutions would not be alike, that, instead, they "will be complementary to one another", and that "their duality will suit Hong Kong's needs and nature".<sup>33</sup>

In facing the competition from its counterpart, in the minds of local people and in the eyes of the Hong Kong Government, the Chinese University of Hong Kong has been regarded as a "second rate" university in comparison with the University of Hong Kong. The government itself has been criticised for its deliberate discrimination against the graduates of CUHK. It might be because of the fact that the colony has a highly stratified system of tertiary education that the University of Hong Kong, as its most established institution of higher learning, tends to attract better students. Mushkat in his study, however, pointed out:<sup>34</sup> that the language of instruction in the University of Hong Kong is English, whereas lectures at the Chinese University are often conducted in Cantonese. It could also be said that the general environment of the University of Hong Kong (in terms of its socializing effects) is more likely to produce the kind of graduate

that the recruiting board of local government would be seeking. The University of Hong Kong is closer to the colonial establishment and operates very much like a British institution; the Chinese University, on the other hand, is more of a grass roots institution and increasingly receptive to American educational concepts. Be that as it may, one should not exclude the possibility of some bias against the graduates of the Chinese University creeping in because of the generally lower reputation of their institution in official circles and because local members of the recruiting board are predominantly alumni of the University of Hong Kong.

In order to achieve its mission and to acquire an equal footing with the University of Hong Kong, mere imitation and copying from the University would only result in further degradation of the status of the University. Its future role lies in its ability and eagerness to build up its own uniqueness that is different from its counterpart.<sup>35</sup>

The rapid expansion of Hong Kong's industries in the 1960s, accompanied by a shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour, has prompted government to revise its overall policy in regard to technical education. In 1964, Sir Sik-nin Chau<sup>36</sup> had already reported that domestically manufactured products contributed nearly 77% of total export trade in 1963 this being an increase of 15% over the previous year. This expansion brought forth three problems that dominate the thinking of industrialists:

"The first, the present severe shortage of labour, both skilled and unskilled; the second, the rising cost of production resulting principally from higher labour costs, and the third, the continued difficulty in obtaining land... in addition we are confronted with mounting pressures on our exports

in our principal markets through additional restrictive measures."<sup>37</sup>

The 1961 Census revealed that over 40% of the population was under 15 years of age so that in the long-term the labour shortage might be reversed. Thus if more highly mechanised processes are introduced to meet present needs they may quite soon result in underemployment and unemployment later. Thus, in order to ensure that Hong Kong remains economically viable, industry may have to develop higher technological skills and up-to-date plant but there will also be a need to produce more skilled artisans.

In Britain, as early as 1956 the first Colleges of Advanced Technology were so designated and were allowed to offer a Diploma of Technology that was recognised, in all but name, as being the equivalent to an honours degree from a university. The Robbins Committee in 1963 realised that technological education in a C.A.T. should no longer be thought of as a second-rate alternative to the study of engineering at the university.<sup>38</sup> The needs of industry do not fit easily into the university pattern but this was a reason for not denying the C.A.T.'s a Bachelor of Technology if the courses and students were judged to be of similar quality. The Robbins Committee stated that, as judged by marks achieved at the "A" level examination of the G.C.E., the science student was markedly better qualified than the student taking technology at the University and furthermore that there were nearly twice as many science students as technology students in Britain.

The Robbins Committee recommended that the Colleges of Advanced Technology should be given University status, be allowed to grant their own degrees and have the autonomy normally associated with the universities in Britain. A technical

university was another alternative and would be started as much to stimulate lower level technical work as to produce graduates in technology.<sup>39</sup>

In Hong Kong, it was only after 1970 that the Hong Kong Polytechnic was established (in 1972). The Polytechnic developed from the Technical College which in its turn had been in 1957 the successor of the old Trade School in Wood Road, established twenty years earlier. It was the first and remains the unique Polytechnic in the Commonwealth to be established as an institution separate from Government and at the same time possessing an autonomous character similar to that of the Universities, drawing its subsidies from a Grants Committee which also served the Universities. It is far too early to say what results this special status and this unusual marriage with the Universities will bring, particularly since the autonomy of the Polytechnic appears still to be somewhat illusory. More than a quarter of the membership of its executive Board is filled by ex-officio members of the civil service.

The Hong Kong Polytechnic is in an urban location and involved in courses which are highly relevant to the local employment needs. For no easily discernible reason, it is less well funded than the universities, and it cannot compete with them for well qualified staff on the salary scales offered. Moreover, although it would appear that whilst the two universities are capable of self validation, the Polytechnic must rely on teams of validators brought out from England at great expense. No one appears to ask the question as to whether the British model of Polytechnics and universities is appropriate in the very different situation of Hong Kong.<sup>40</sup>

Looking at size in terms of the student body enrolling in the institutions of higher education, there has been a

great increase in the past decade. The number of full-time students in 1951 was a meagre 850 -- all at Hong Kong University; the number in 1976 at the two Universities and the Polytechnic was very nearly 12,000. The number of degrees and diplomas awarded in 1951 was 39 and this had by 1976 multiplied 60 times to become 2,400.

The interest of the Government in higher education was expressed in 1951 by a small sum for the running of its Higher Chinese School and an annual grant for the single University then recently raised to \$1.5 millions -- a total of perhaps \$2 millions. Funds for the construction of new buildings were at that time found wholly from other sources. In the years which have followed, however, commitments on the government have increased to the staggering sum of over \$300 millions expanded last year, almost one-third of it for new buildings. That was an increase of one hundred and fifty times.

Higher education is assuming an increasingly important role not only in the education system but in the whole life of nations insofar as it must respond to the new demands arising from the rapid transformation of the world, to the needs of society and to the desire of individuals for culture. In many countries this concern has been reflected in an increased diversification of education and a rapid rise in student enrolment, while in others there is growing evidence of a relatively intensive drive to ensure its development.

Higher education is usually classified according to the following types:<sup>41</sup>

- a. education provided in universities and equivalent institutions leading to the award of a degree;
- b. teacher training provided in non-university institutions;
- c. other education provided in non-university institutions.

Higher education systems are asked to contribute to:<sup>42</sup>

1. economic progress;
2. equality and democratization;
3. social betterment.

In Britain, higher education comprises the universities and major institutions of further education, including thirty polytechnics. The latter sector emerged after 1945 from an assortment of technical colleges under local authority control. As in Britain, higher education in Hong Kong comprises two universities and major institutions of further education, including Hong Kong Polytechnic, Hong Kong Baptist College, one government-funded post-secondary college, i.e. Lingnan College, and the privately-owned post-secondary colleges. However, the two universities still play a crucial role in providing the bulk of higher education for the local people. Resistance of the two universities to a rapid expansion of student numbers was not unknown. As in Britain it is quite common to find that the academic principles of excellence and elitism, are in conflict with the social need for rapid institutional growth.<sup>43</sup>

Access to university education has to be gained through superior performance in one of the Hong Kong Examinations (i.e. School Certificate Examinations, Higher Level and "A" Level Examinations) administered by the Hong Kong Examinations Authority. Formerly the University of Hong Kong matriculation examination was administered by the University itself. The nature of the examination system however did not change with the shift in responsibility. Although matriculation or matriculation exemption theoretically held out the possibility of university entrance, the qualification became progressively inadequate in the eyes of the universities. Thus the career

of a university-bound student in the secondary school sector progress or along the following lines. A basic five-year secondary programme is crowned by success (or not) in the School Certificate Examination, at which point the vast majority of students proceed into the labour market. The more talented among them, those who usually aspired to university entry, proceed to two further years of intensive and specialised study in the sciences, humanities, or social sciences in the sixth form. This two-year programme culminates in the Higher Level School Certificate Examination (gaining admission into the Chinese University of Hong Kong) and the Advanced Level School Certificate Examination (gaining admission into the University of Hong Kong), which becomes not only a certificate of completion of higher secondary studies but is acceptable as a qualification for university entry. Greater autonomy and the scarcity of university places enable the universities to set their own minimal requirements, with the result that success in the Higher and Advanced School Certificate Examination do not guarantee university access.

There is little doubt that a major distinguishing feature of Hong Kong education system is the examination system. To a very large extent it has determined the curriculum of the schools. Ordinary parents rely on examinations as a primary, perhaps the primary, indicator of the quality of schooling. It is one of the many paradoxes of the British system that examinations were initiated as a democratising and meritocratic measure. They were intended to eliminate abuses of nepotism and favouritism in the civil service and to provide genuine opportunities for young men of talent without birth or other social connections.<sup>44</sup> The examinations formed part of a system for matriculation, or qualifying for university entrance.



Thus Hong Kong has a long way to go in order to reach the mass university education and the ideals of Robbin. Recently, manpower requirements are recurring words high on lists of national goals for higher education growth and higher levels of education has not escaped the notice of governments. Whatever the stage of economic development, government maintains the view that providing manpower for society's economic progress is a major purpose of advanced learning. The problem of allocation of resources to educational systems as a whole and to sectors within them becomes an essentially political issue. Then the universities more and more become serving agencies for an increasingly complex and centralised society. They have geared themselves to, take more and more money for the purpose; they have trained the experts society needs for the middle ranges of its work upwards. Their professors have become 'department heads' and their vice-chancellors 'managing directors of multimillion-pound institutions', under pressure to talk about plant and cost efficiency, rather than about liberal education.<sup>45</sup> As Dr. Rayson Huang remarked, "a university is looked upon as having three functions. To the two time-honoured ones of teaching and research has been added a third, that of direct service through the participation of university officers and teachers in the political, administrative, and social activities of the university."<sup>46</sup>

It is increasingly accepted today that the contribution of the university to the life of society must take other forms and has furthermore already assumed forms other than education and research. A. King, in his introductory speech to the colloquium on higher education in Europe (Antwerp, September 1966), distinguishes in addition to teaching functions (communication of knowledge, integration of disciplines, training

of highly qualified personnel) and research functions (expansion of knowledge), a critical function, a disseminating function (of new knowledge acquired, and of technical advances) and a stratificational function (the university being able either to contribute to the maintenance of existing stratification, or to create new sources of social discrimination, or, on the contrary, to help abolish existing social classes).<sup>47</sup>

Dr. Huang has further pointed out, the 'over-emphasis on direct and immediate practical service to society, ... inevitably strikes at the concept of a university as a centre of intellectual excellence and fountainhead of ideas and inspiration. The quality of education deteriorates and whatever the immediate service rendered, it may well be held that this is, in the long term, in fact a disservice to society.'<sup>48</sup>

The universities in Hong Kong are no longer the elitist and costly institutions they used to be and with the introduction in the late sixties of a comprehensive government grant and local loan scheme, which was several times augmented and enlarged in scope, students seem to place greater emphasis on the study of professionally or vocationally related disciplines. While this reflects to a very large extent the requirements of the Hong Kong labour market, it is also indicative of the students' own aspirations and needs.<sup>49</sup>

What is the future role of the universities in Hong Kong? Giving the keynote address on the university and the community to the second Asian Workshop of the Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning in December 1971, Professor Wang Gun-wu claimed that the first duty of the university in Asia is to win the right to survive as a university. He went on to say, "a university wins the right to survive by being alert and responsible and political, by having the best

possible relationship it can achieve with whoever represents and acts for the communities of the country."<sup>50</sup> A university wins confidence and trust by continually proving that it was part of a community and prepared to confide in that community. However, the community on the other hand, has also the right to know 'what the university is doing' and if the university can show that it was responsible, creative and fearless despite the difficult conditions under which it has to work, then the community in turn has a duty to give the university every support. Professor Wang finally said, "This is the university's conscience, its commitment to the truth as far as it can be known, and it has the duty to try its hardest to make sure that its conclusions are right."<sup>51</sup>

The same view is echoed by Dr. Rayson Huang, when he spoke of the future role of the university in November 1972; "the university should not only conserve the best of man's heritage in knowledge and expertise and extend the frontiers of knowledge, but should also be an agent for change. The process of development which has gone on some time unknown, and which has increased an university has its role to play in stimulating and guiding this process..."<sup>52</sup>

What will be the future growth of the higher education in Hong Kong?

In late 1981, an Education Branch was established in the Government Secretariat. The appointment of a Secretary for Education has reflected government recognition of the rapid development of education, the increasing complexities of its administration and its crucial importance in the future development of Hong Kong. In 1983 the Secretary's brief was extended to include manpower, and its development, thus securing both a closer coordination between educational provision and the

needs of the economy and an overview by one policy Secretary of the balance between social and economic demand in education.

A Panel of Visitors was invited to come to Hong Kong to review the education system early in 1981. It was led by Sir John Llewellyn, former Director-General of the British Council and Vice-Chancellor of Exeter University, and it carried out a review in eight stages between April 1981 and November 1982.

Sir John Llewellyn and his Panel began the task in their home base with a study of all major policy documents with educational implications issued since 1963, together with background information prepared by the Hong Kong Government on the education system - its nature, development, structure and inter-relationships with other areas of government and community endeavour. In November 1981 the Panel made a two-week visit to Hong Kong where members met the individuals and groups who had made representations to them and visited a sample of schools and other educational institutions.

Between December 1981 and February 1982 the Panel prepared a working draft of their report as a basis for further discussion. In April 1982 Sir John and his team returned to Hong Kong to discuss the draft report with the UMELCO Education Panel, the Board of Education, the University and Polytechnic Grants Committee, government officials and six invited overseas experts.

The Panel's final report, referred to popularly as the Llewellyn Report, was submitted to the Governor through the Secretary for Education in November 1982.<sup>53</sup> The Panel pointed out that the expansion of education in Hong Kong had been very rapid in terms both of the size and of the system, and the range of services it provided; nevertheless there was still

very considerable room for further expansion, coupled with improvement in quality in most sectors. The Panel recognised the vast achievement of the last thirty years in welding a disparate and ad hoc collection of schools (reduced to virtually nothing during World War II) into the large and complex system that operates today. However, in creating a climate for change this rapid development had also spawned a host of problems which had been exacerbated by sharpening public awareness. The call for a solution was making the search urgent.

The Panel identified the critical areas bearing on the future development of higher education in Hong Kong. It is stated:

"Tremendous social pressures from students, parents and industry reveal a need for greater diversification of the educational opportunities available beyond Form VII, so that pressure on tertiary institutions can be relieved and individuals encouraged to choose from more varied provisions related more closely to their interests, to the requirements of the labour market, and to the community generally."<sup>54</sup>

It concluded that whichever social and economic path Hong Kong followed it would require a greater allocation of staff, buildings and equipment for educational purposes, and that more could be allocated to this objective without detracting from other human-welfare services.

The educational problems of Hong Kong are still very great, and much thought, imagination, hard work and money need to be expended on them. There is a sense of urgency now which was not evident before the last war, let alone in last century. Hong Kong has certainly come a long way in the last decade or so in meeting the needs of its people for more and better

education. There remains, however, a number of questions to be answered at the tertiary level, for example, should the two Universities adopt the same basic degree structure of either three years as is the case with the University of Hong Kong, or four years as is the case of the Chinese University of Hong Kong? Should there be a common entry to Hong Kong's tertiary institutions? To what extent should the conventional education system be complemented by distance learning such as an open university? What should be the role of part-time and external degrees? If another university is to be built, what type of university should it be and what should the approach be to professional education, to advanced teacher training and to the validation of academic awards?

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## Chapter Ten:

Footnotes

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Average annual growth rates of enrolment  
in higher education (as a %)

Country	1960-70	1960-65	1965-70
Afghanistan	15.8	15.5	16.2
Burma/Birmanie	11.0	7.0	15.2
Hong-Kong	11.6	4.7	19.0
India/Inde	12.0	10.3	13.8
Indonesian/Indonesie	15.6	19.5	11.1
Iran	9.3	8.4	10.3
Iraq/Irak	13.2	18.3	8.4
Israel/Israel	12.8	18.1	7.8
Japan/Japon	8.7	8.4	9.0
Jordan/Jordanie	16.5	26.6	7.2
Khmer Republic/Republique khmere	17.3	31.0	9.3
Republic of Korea/Republique de Coree	7.4	7.5	7.3
Laos	14.1	7.3	21.4
Lebanon/Liban	19.5	26.0	16.0
Malasia/Malaisie	7.7	9.5	5.9
Mongolia/Mongolie	0	3.0	-3.0
Nepal/Nepal	15.5	11.8	21.0
Pakistan	11.2	12.2	10.0
Philippines	8.6	11.9	4.7
Saudi Arabia/Arabie saoudite	20.6	22.7	18.6
Singapore/Singapour	5.0	11.7	-0.1
Republic of Sri Lanka/Republique du Sri Lanka	10.1	24.9	-3.0
Syrian Arab Republic/Republique arabe syrienne	10.9	17.8	4.4
Thailand/Thailande	2.0	-4.4	8.7
Turkey/Turquie	10.0	8.3	11.8
Republic of Viet-Nam/Republique du Viet-nam	16.2	18.0	-14.1

Notes--Jordan: From 1967 data refer to the east bank only.  
Iran: Growth rates are calculated for university and teacher training college students. Statistics for other non-university institutions are available only from 1967 onwards.  
Pakistan: Statistics refer to the 1960-1969 period and it has not been possible to separate them from data for Bangladesh.

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## Appendix I: The Governors of Hong Kong

Sir Henry Pottinger	1843-1844
Sir John Davis	1844-1848
Sir Samuel Bonham	1848-1854
Sir John Bowering	1854-1859
Sir Hercules Robinson	1859-1866
Sir Richard MacDonnell	1866-1872
Sir Arthur Kennedy	1872-1877
Sir John Hennessy	1877-1883
sir George Bowen	1883-1887
Sir George Des Voeux	1887-1891
Sir William Robinson	1891-1898
Sir Henry Blake	1898-1904
Sir Matthew Nathan	1904-1907
Sir Frederick Dealtry Lugard	1907-1912
Sir Francis May	1912-1919
Sir Reginald Stubbs	1919-1925
Sir Cecil Clementi	1925-1930
Sir William Peel	1930-1935
Sir Andrew Caldecott	1935-1937
Sir Geoffry Northcote	1937-1941
Sir Mark Young	1941-1947
Sir Alexander Grantham	1947-1958
Sir Robert Black	1958-1964
Sir David Trench	1964-1971
Sir Murray MacLehose	1971-1981

Appendix II: The Vice-Chancellors of the University of  
Hong Kong

Sir Charles Norton Edgcumbe Eliot	1911-1918
DR. G.P. Jordan	1918-1921
Sir William Brunyate	1921-1924
Sir William Woodward Hornell	1924-1935
Sir Duncan Sloss	1935-1949
Sir Lindsay Ride	1949-1964
DR. W.C.G. Knowles	1964
DR. Kenneth Robinson	1965-1972
DR. Rayson Huang	1972-1985

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