THE PLACE OF CHINESE CULTURE IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF HONG KONG

by

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Choi

PREFACE

Few students have dealt with education in Hong Kong, and perhaps none with a topic resembling The Place of Chinese Culture in the Educational System of Hong Kong. This is not surprising in view of the fact that very few students from Hong Kong study Education. According to the Hong Kong Government's annual report, there were from the 1st October, 1961 to the 30th September, 1963, about 1,047, 1,814, 520, and 1,171, students known to have left Hong Kong for the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and Australia, respectively, but only about two to three per cent of these took Education courses.

A striking and foremost example may conveniently be found here at McGill University. Registration figures for the academic year 1963-64 show that, amongst 183 Hong Kong students, only two were studying at the Institute of Education; so that it is even less than two per cent (1.092%) of the total number of Hong Kong students at McGill. This figure remains almost unchanged in the academic year 1964-65, even though the number of students from Hong Kong is markedly increasing year after year.

Likewise, though the enrolment in the Department of Education at the University of Hong Kong 香港大學 is as high as approximately a hundred each year, most of the students register as candidates for either Diplomas or Certificate Course and hardly any proceed to the Master-degree programme. Therefore, it is no wonder that few students have touched this type of problem.

The author chose to write on this subject in order to fulfil a dual purpose: it is with the hope, first, that it may bring to its readers, especially those who are unfamiliar with the situation in Hong Kong, some understanding of how the cultural tradition of China reflects and influences the educational system in the Colony; and, second, that a more creative, critical spirit and keener, absorbing interest may be ignited by this pioneer work. The traditional Chinese culture described here refers exclusively to the pre-1949 culture on the mainland. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to take any account of the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in Red China to-day.

This work is based upon a study of materials gathered from various sources, including the annual Blue Books, Hong Kong Government Gazettes, Ordinances, as well as the local newspapers, both Chinese and English. For the purpose of general acceptance and use, Chinese characters and names are romanized according to the

Wade-Giles system used in Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary; however, common usage, in each case, has been retained. In Chinese each character stands for one separate word, and the Chinese surname, unlike that of the Western people, is always written ahead of the personal name or names.

It is difficult, in a thesis of this type, to distribute one's thanks adequately. A considerable number of books, pamphlets, journals, newspapers, and dictionaries, have helped me. This production would not have been possible without assistance from many persons to whom I desire to extend my thanks. First on my list comes Dr. Margaret Gillett who rendered me her constant help, valuable comments, and thoughtful guidance throughout. Equal thanks are due to Professor Reginald Edwards for his invaluable suggestions, unceasing encouragement, and inspiration. It is a happy privilege to acknowledge the valuable guidance of Dr. Roger P. Magnuson in the early stages of the preparation of this thesis. I highly appreciate the considerable assistance of the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學 who have generously sent me notes and pamphlets. Last, but not least, I am inordinately thankful to both my parents as well as my fiancée, Miss L. F. Yuen, for their help in collecting and sending

me all materials concerned. It is by no means an overstatement to say that without their invaluable assistance this study would not have been completed. My other acknowledgements are, indeed, numerous. To these people there is nothing much that I can do in return except to say a sincere "thank you."

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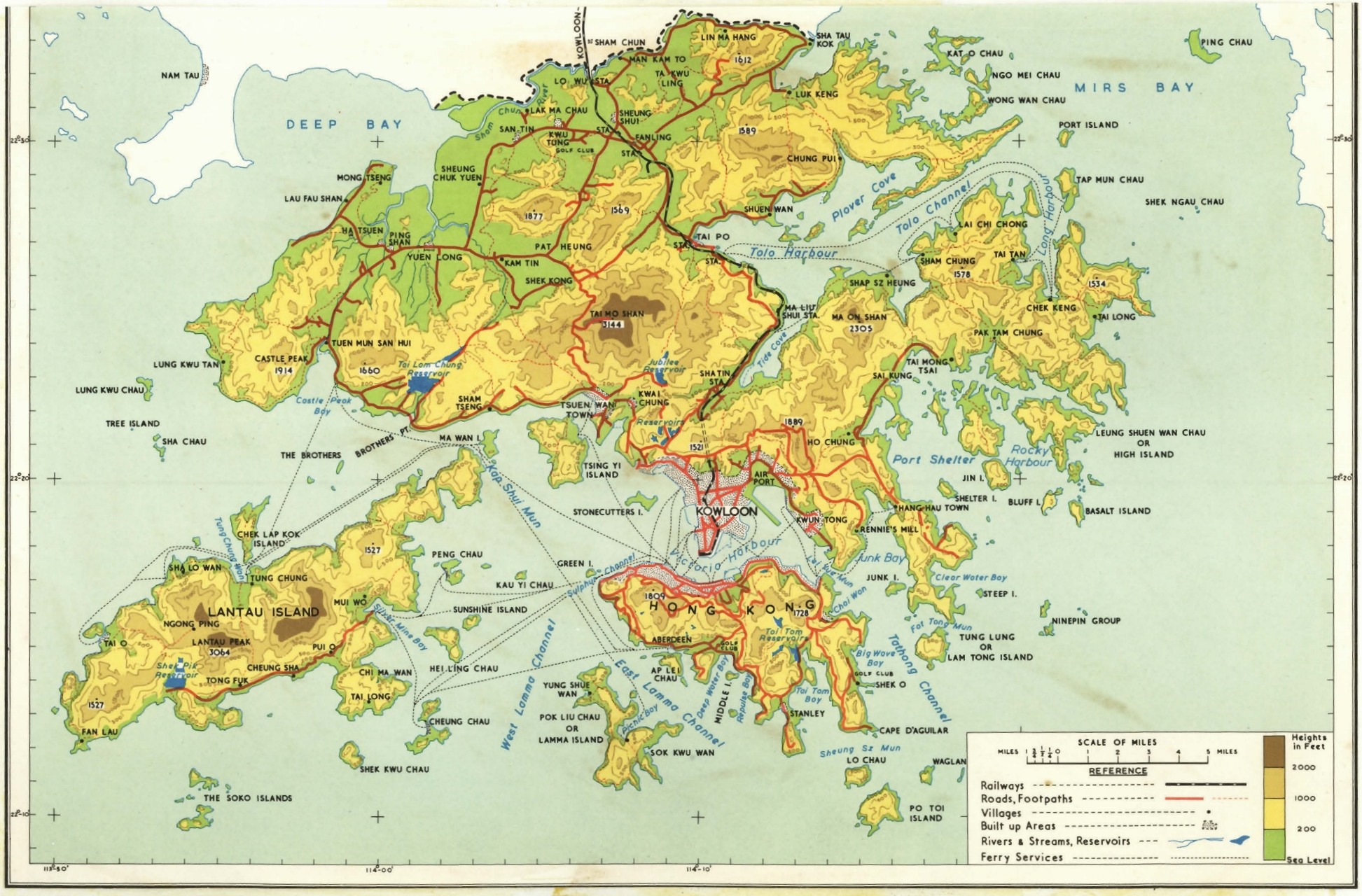
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INTRODUCTION

> . . . A society can neither endure through time nor function successfully at any point in time unless the associated culture fulfils certain conditions. It must include techniques for indoctrinating new individuals in the society's system of values and for training them to occupy particular places in its structure. It must also include techniques for rewarding socially desirable behaviour and discouraging that which is socially undesirable. Lastly, the behaviour patterns which compose the culture must be adjusted to one another. All societies have developed cultures which fulfil these conditions, though the processes involved in their development are still obscure.[1]

Culture is the way of life of a particular society. It refers to "the total pattern of human behaviour and its products embodied in thought, [religion,] speech, action, and artefacts"[2] which a group of human beings who share the same tradition learn and transmit in its entirety to the next generation in the process of education. Education is, thus, a social force, in the sense that any educational system must reflect closely the ethos of the people it is called upon to serve.

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[1]Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1949, p.16.

[2]Philip Babcock Gove (ed.), Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language. Massachusetts: G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers, 1963, p. 552.

Education is an instrument for conserving, transmitting, and renewing culture.

China, like many other countries, has a long tradition in education, and the people are known to favour learning and to respect scholars highly. One of their greatest aspirations is to educate themselves and their children. The Chinese people do believe that man must first cultivate himself to perfection, for only then can he cultivate his family, bring the same harmonious order to the state, and finally extend the same influence all over the world, with the ultimate hope of achieving universal peace and prosperity. To Confucius 孔子 (551-479 B.C.), a person will not fall away from the proper principles when he broadens himself by learning and, in the meantime, regulates himself by the rules of propriety. This view has penetrated to the very foundations of Chinese civilization, and become the ideal of education for more than twenty-five centuries.

Hong Kong, irrespective of its cosmopolitan atmosphere, is still oriental in almost every respect. In its cultural setting the British Crown Colony has a marked Chinese tradition for, on the basis of language and place of origin, some ninety-eight per cent of the total population is Chinese. Behind their apparent westernization, the Chinese at heart remain true to the traditions and manners of China, and keep their own

characteristics. Chinese life and culture go on nearly unaltered by the presence of the Westerner. Whilst there are indications that a growing section of the Chinese community has settled in the Colony, by far the greatest proportion still regard Hong Kong as a temporary home and expect to return sooner or later to their native land. Moreover, because of its proximity to the mainland, Hong Kong has been a refuge for the people whenever there is unrest in China, especially in the south. Furthermore, many of the Chinese scholars who search for refuge from social or political disturbances usually devote themselves to educational and literary careers, thus strengthening and perpetuating mainland culture in the Colony. Therefore, it is important to mold the educational system, which is the instrument of culture, in such a way that it will accommodate itself to the nature of the Colony and satisfy its needs.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL REVIEW

Before the beginning of the nineteenth century, little was heard of the Island we now call Hong Kong 香港. To many people, it was just one of the many islands around the mouth of Chu Kiang 珠江 or Pearl River.

"Hong Kong" which, in Chinese, means Fragrant Harbour, was originally the name of a small village called Hong Kong Village 香港村 at Aberdeen 香港仔 where foreign shipping used to berth in early days. It is quite possible that the British traders, as a result of their inability to understand Chinese, used the name of the place they first visited to designate the whole Island. To-day, the name "Hong Kong" is used to refer to the Crown Colony as a whole and not only to the Island on which the City of Victoria stands. It comprises the Island itself, the subsequently China-ceded Kowloon Peninsula 九龍半島 and Stonecutters Island 昂船洲, and the ninety-nine-year-leased New Territories 新界, which extends to the China frontier and embraces some two hundred and thirty-five adjacent islands, large and small.

Hong Kong, situated on the south-east coast of China, adjoining the province of Kwangtung 廣東省, is just inside the tropics, being less than one hundred miles south of the tropic of Cancer. The total land area of the Colony is about 398 1/4 square miles, and roughly one-quarter of this area is made up of islands. The Island of Hong Kong, from which the Colony takes its name, is less than one-tenth of the size of the New Territories, having an area of twenty-nine square miles; and Kowloon is again slightly over a tenth of the size of the Island, being only three and three-quarters square miles. The New Territories comprise the largest piece of land with an area of about 365 1/2 square miles. "This is not, of course, very impressive compared with the 4,135,000 square miles of neighbouring China, or the 3,000,000 square miles of the United States of America or even the 94,000 square miles of Great Britain."[1]

Pre-British Days, Before 1841

Pottery, stone implements, rings, bronzes, and other utensils unearthed in Hong Kong confirm that the territory was inhabited in Neolithic times (c. 5000-3000 B.C.) by some non-Han Chinese ethnic groups. The discovery

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[1]G. B. Endacott, and A. Hinton, Fragrant Harbour - A Short History of Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 1.

of the Lei Cheng Uk Tomb 李鄭屋村古墓 in Kowloon in 1955 again provides some evidence of Chinese penetration as early as the Han Dynasty 漢朝 (206 B.C.-A.D. 220). In addition to the Han tomb, other historical and cultural remains still existing are the stone statue of the Buddhist Monk Pei-tu 杯渡禪師 of the Five Dynasty 五代 (A.D. 907-960) at Castle Peak Monastery 青山禪院; the Sung Wong Toi 宋王台, a granite boulder commemorating the refuge of the last boy Emperor of the Sung Dynasty 宋朝 (A.D. 960-1279) after his defeat by the Mongols in 1279; as well as many Ming- (明代 A.D. 1368-1644) and Ch'ing- (清代 A.D. 1644-1911) manufactured cannons in some other parts of the Colony.

Prior to the coming of the British, the Hong Kong area was controlled from Po On Yuen 寶安縣 in Kwangtung. The oldest villages in the New Territories, those belonging to an aristocratic Chinese family of the Tang Clan 鄧族, have a continuous history dating back to the Sung Period, and others date from the Yüan Dynasty 元朝 (A.D. 1279-1368). The area was long a favourite resort and sole export centre for both salt and incense. Early in the Han times there had already been a great many people in this area living by salt cultivation, and the industry continued to flourish down to the Ch'ing Period. It is believed that the present Castle Peak Bay 青山灣 and Aberdeen had been bustling meeting places for trading

vessels since the T'ang Dynasty 唐朝 (A.D. 618-907). This trade was finally brought to an end, probably by the constant attacks of pirates who terrified the local people even up as far as Canton 廣州.

Though as early as in the Han Dynasty "there was certainly indirect trade, if not direct contact, between the Roman dominions and the Han Empire in China,"[2] China and Europe still remained alien to each other. It was not until the time of the Yüan Dynasty that the Westerner became conscious of China through The Book of Marco Polo. "This new-found knowledge of China did not have any immediate effect, but it remained in the imagination of Europe. Later in the late fifteenth century and in the sixteenth century, it played an important part in stimulating the European"[3] to open up the sea route to the East by rounding the Cape of Good Hope and then sailing across the Indian Ocean.

Jorge Alvarez, a Portuguese trader, was probably the first European who formed the spear-head of maritime contacts with China. He reached Macau 澳門 by sea in 1513, and it was only forty-four years later that the Portuguese began to set up trading posts at Macau, partly in return for assistance in the suppression of piracy. Yet, this acquisition was not formally recognized by

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[2] Ibid., p. 6.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

the Peking Government until 1887 when Macau became a Portuguese Colony. Following the Portuguese came the Spaniards (1575), the Dutch (1623), the British (1637), the French (1671), and still later the Americans at the close of the eighteenth century (1784). But these foreign ventures were not very successful at the beginning, mainly because the Portuguese traders were afraid of their competition and constantly interfered with their efforts. Thus, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries trade was at a low ebb.

British trade with China was, until 1833, in the hands of the East India Company which held a monopoly of the trade between Britain and the Far East. The basis of this trade was silk and tea; but, by the middle of the eighteenth century, an exchange trade in opium assumed tremendous importance since opium-smoking had become wide-spread. The Peking Government, after many futile attempts at prohibition, took alarm over the deleterious financial, moral and physical effects, and in 1838 the Emperor appointed Lin Tsê-hsü 林則徐 as Special Imperial Commissioner to stamp out the trade. On his arrival at Canton in the next year, Lin took a firmly decisive action by expelling all foreigners from Canton and demanding all opium dealers and masters of ships to sign a bond against the import of opium in future on penalty of death. Again, he confiscated slightly more than

twenty thousand (20,283) chests of opium, and reduced them all to ashes. The Superintendent of Trade, Captain Charles Elliot, however, refused to allow anyone of his countrymen to sign the bond, and the British merchants took refuge in Macau and later in the Island of Hong Kong.

The conflict over the question of opium trade came to a head when Elliot moved against Canton, and bombarded and occupied the Bogue Forts 虎門炮台. The Sino-British War (1840-42), generally referred to as the Opium War, thus broke out but remained undeclared. Finally, on the 26th January, 1841, an agreement - the Convention of Chuenpi 穿鼻條約 - between Elliot, the British plenipotentiary, and Keshen 琦善, the Manchu commissioner, was reached by which the Island of Hong Kong was to be ceded to Britain.

The Island Period, 1841-60

The Ch'ing Government immediately denied the terms of this Convention and, on the British side, too, Elliot was not really satisfied with the Island as a permanent station for commercial operations. The hostilities entered a new phase when his successor, Sir Henry Pottinger, threatened to assault Nanking 南京 in 1842. Unprepared for war, the Manchu Government came to terms, and, in the resulting Treaty of Nanking 南京條約 of that year, the Government acquiesced to British demands

including the opening to foreign residence and commerce of five ports, viz., Canton, Amoy 廈門, Foochow 福州, Ningpo 寧波, and Shanghai 上海; the cession of the Island of Hong Kong to the British Crown for a naval and commercial base; and the payment by China of twenty-one million taels as recompense for the opium destroyed by Commissioner Lin in 1839 and for the expenses of the expedition.

Accordingly, a Chartered Letters Patent of the 5th April, 1843, officially created the Island of Hong Kong a British Crown Colony under the name of Victoria City; and, by a Royal Commission bearing the same date, Sir Henry Pottinger was appointed the first Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony. The Treaty was confirmed the following June, but it left much still to be settled. Further discussions were held on such matters as opium, tariff rates, functions of the consuls, extraterritoriality as well as other diplomatic and commercial affairs. A supplementary treaty - the Supplementary Treaty of the Bogue 虎門善後條款 - was finally agreed upon and signed by both countries in October of the same year. Other Western nations took advantage of China's defeat, and concessions granted to the British were therefore shared by each of them through the conclusion of separate agreements.

The treaties of 1842-44 were satisfactory neither

to the foreigners nor, indeed, to the Chinese. From the standpoint of the foreigners they did not grant enough, whilst to the Chinese, the "unequal treaties" conceded too much. Inevitably friction continued. As is often the case in such strained circumstances, an extremely trivial incident - the violation by the Chinese of a British flag and the arrest of the Chinese crew by Canton officials on a Chinese-owned but British-registered lorcha, the Arrow, on the 8th October, 1856 - easily led to a serious dispute. The British declared that their country had been violated and their flag insulted. An assault on Canton thus began. The French found in the execution of a Roman Catholic missionary, Chapdelaine, in the province of Kwangsi 廣西省 on the 29th February, 1856, an occasion for joining in the war. Early in 1858 Canton was captured, and by 1860 an allied British and French force attacked and seized Peking 北京, and set fire to the Summer Palace 圓明園. With Peking thus threatened the Emperor was constrained to negotiate and sign a convention - the Convention of Peking 北京條約 - by which Britain obtained possession of Kowloon promontory up to present-day Boundary Street 界限街 and Stonecutters Island which had been previously leased in perpetuity by the British.

Extensions to and Development of the Colony up to 1941

The cession of the Island and the peninsula aroused shame and anger amongst the Chinese, and there had been great unrest in the early days. Yet despite this, the Chinese population in Hong Kong continued to grow, mainly because the unsettled conditions, created by the T'ai P'ing Rebellion 太平天國之亂 (1850-65), caused thousands of refugees to seek security in the Colony. Moreover, the Colonial Government strategically employed Chinese laws, customs and usages to govern the native people, and set up the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs as the principal adviser of the Governor on all matters connected with the Chinese population. The Chinese were again given opportunities to participate in government when Ng Choy (Wu Ts'ai 伍才) was appointed the first Chinese member of the Legislative Council in 1880. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, relations between the Chinese and British in the Colony gradually began to improve.

When it was first settled, the Island was so desolate and unproductive that no one could have foreseen that the place would become a world-wide emporium of commerce and wealth and a place so delicately and so musically called the Pearl of the Orient or the Jade of the Eastern Sea to-day. The London Times, on the 17th

December, 1844, commented harshly in these terms:

> The place has nothing to recommend it, if we except the excellent harbour. The site of the new town of Victoria is most objectionable, there being scarcely enough level ground for buildings, and the high hills, which overhang the town, shut out the southerly winds, and make the place very hot and unhealthy.[4]

The Government was, however, not alarmed by difficulties and obstacles; instead, it started a big programme of public works and town planning.

Prior to 1841 there were a few fishermen, a few stone-cutters, and perhaps a few farmers. The number of people on Hong Kong Island, according to the census conducted in May, 1841, was found to be 7,450; but as time wore on, the Chinese population of the Colony steadily grew, and by 1861 it reached a total of 119,321. This growth led to great difficulties owing to the shortage of flat space and accommodation.

> Hemmed in by hills both north and south, the population became concentrated on the limited flat or less steeply sloping land available along the coast. Expansion was only possible by reclamation into the sea and by higher buildings upwards into the sky.[5]

The whole waterfront was repeatedly rebuilt. Reclamation began as early as 1851, and still continues. By 1898,

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[4] The Times (London), December 17, 1844, quoted in F. J. F. Tingay, Living in Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 15.

[5] Hong Kong Government Publications Bureau, Hong Kong - Report for the Year 1963. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, p. 28.

for the purpose of expansion, the British Government again extended the Colony's boundaries by taking over the New Territories north of Kowloon including two hundred and thirty-five surrounding islands on a ninety-nine-year lease.

> As the Chinese population of the Colony grew, so did trade. More and more was imported to feed and provide other needs of the Chinese immigrants; at the same time, through these immigrants more and more goods were sent into China. Gradually Hong Kong became more of a centre for the supply of British goods to China.[6]

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 speeded up communications between Europe and Asia, and brought about rapid changes in the commercial life of the Colony. In the world of trade, Hong Kong became, and still is, an entrepôt for goods to be received and then redistributed to China and other parts of the world. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Hong Kong saw the beginnings of industries, and, with the encouragement of the local Government, various factories were established. The First World War (1914-18), without doubt, interfered with trade, but after the war the Colony again became one of the principal ports in the world.

As the prosperity of Hong Kong increased, the number of immigrants also proportionally increased, responding mainly to the magnet of a higher standard of

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[6]Endacott and Hinton, op. cit., p. 72.

living. The conquest of Manchuria by Japan in 1931 and her attacks on China proper in 1937 made the Colony once more a refuge for many Chinese. "It was estimated that some 100,000 entered in 1937, 500,000 in 1938 and 150,000 in 1939,"[7] and the population grew to over one and a half million at the outbreak of war.

Japanese Occupation, 1941-45

With the outbreak of war in Europe in September, 1939, the position of the Colony became precarious. On the 8th December, 1941, the Japanese, within a few hours of the violent attack on Pearl Harbour, attacked Hong Kong from the mainland, and subsequently the British were forced to retreat from the New Territories and Kowloon to Hong Kong Island. In the wake of heavy bombing and bombardment the enemy began landing on the Island the night of the 18th December. On Christmas Day, after a week of determined resistance on the Island, the centenary year of the founding of the Colony was thus celebrated by a complete, if temporary, collapse.

The Chinese population was drastically and ruthlessly reduced to about one-third of its pre-war total.

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[7]Hong Kong Government Publications Bureau, Hong Kong - Report for the Year 1962. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1963, p. 343.

An unofficial count by the Hong Kong Air Raid Wardens in March, 1941, before the Japanese attack put the population at about 1,639,337; but by 1945, the entire population, according to the publication of the Japanese-controlled Hong Kong News 香港時報, was estimated to be less than 650,000.

During the Japanese occupation the Chinese population had to suffer steadily deteriorating conditions. Trade virtually disappeared, the currency lost its value, food supply was disrupted and government services and public utilities were seriously impaired. After three years and eight months of occupation the Colony was liberated on the 30th August, 1945.

The Post-War Years

In the aftermath of war, many buildings were in ruins, roads had not been repaired, schools were few, there was little transport, and much disorganization. New buildings, new schools, more hospitals, better public transport services - all these things needed immediate attention. By 1946, public services were restored, civil government functioned again, and food supplies were organized.

Thousands upon thousands of Chinese people returned to Hong Kong from the mainland, and the population quickly

reached and passed its pre-war level of a million and a half. The rapid increase put a heavy strain on housing and all the public services such as water supply, schooling, health services, and transport. By 1949, as the result of the success of the Communist Armies in the Chinese Civil War, the influx of immigrants fleeing from China reached an unprecedented height. Despite the intense building activity which has taken place, new housing has been unable to keep pace with the population growth during the past fifteen years. Since then the population has continued to rise at a rate approaching 100,000 a year through immigration and natural increase. By the end of 1964, the total population of the Colony was estimated to be 3,700,000.[8]

> One of the most striking features of the post-war years has been the steadily increasing part which the Government has played, directly or indirectly, in the provision of housing and other forms of social services for the poorer sections of the community. Low-cost housing schemes and multi-storied resettlement estates have called for a heavy investment of public funds; schools, colleges, clinics, hospitals and other essential facilities have been provided on a scale unprecedented in the Colony's history. Despite the substantial progress made, however, the demand continues and is still far from being satisfied.[9]

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[8]Central Office of Information, "The Miracle of Hong Kong," Commonwealth Today, No. 111 (1964), p. 26.

[9]Hong Kong Government Publications Bureau, Hong Kong - Report for the Year 1962. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1963, p. 345.

An accelerated and ever increasing tempo is apparent in every aspect of Hong Kong's daily life. The citizens of Hong Kong have reason to be proud of the speed with which the Colony recovered, just as they can be proud of the way Hong Kong developed from a thinly-populated, barren island into a great port.

CHAPTER II

CULTURAL HERITAGE

It is almost impossible to understand the development of education in Hong Kong without a prior understanding of the evolution of the Chinese culture, for over ninety-eight per cent of the Colony's population is Chinese by birth or is of Chinese extraction. Therefore, the students who go to schools every day are predominantly Chinese. They speak their own native language or dialect; they live in their traditional ways; and besides learning at school, they learn at home their own habits, customs, and many things which concern their families, their friends, and their neighbourhood communities.

The People

Anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians are still uncertain about the origins of the Chinese people and the nature of their early civilization. This is due chiefly to the fact that Chinese literature, though voluminous, gives little incontestable information about the origins of the people and their culture. Likewise,

what many modern scholars hold to be the oldest Chinese historical literature that has come down to us - contained chiefly in the earliest extant collection of ancient songs and poems known as the Shih Ching 詩經(Canon of Odes), and in portions of the Shu Ching 書經(Canon of History) - show a culture which was far from primitive and was presumably the result of centuries of development.

According to the Chinese theogonic myths, P'an Ku 盤古 was the first creator of the world and all living things. He is supposed to have been followed by a host of mythical and semidivine beings from whom men learned the rudiments of civilization, and these in turn by the famous Huang Ti 黃帝(Yellow Emperor), Yao 堯, Shun 舜, and Yü 禹. The last three are the first monarch mentioned in the Shu Ching; however, dates and details are still extremely uncertain. Although it is purely a tradition, and even conservative Chinese historians do not all uphold these chronicles; yet the discovery of the fossilized hominid molar of Peking Man 北京人 (Sinanthropus pekinensis) in cave deposits at Chou K'ou Tien 周口店 has, at least, shown that the territory was inhabited from very remote days, some 450,000 years ago.

The origins of the Chinese are still in dispute, for, from time immemorial up to the present, they have undergone a complicated historical process of acculturation, migration, assimilation, and transformation.

Tribally, the Han-Chinese 漢族 are foremost for they form the majority community of the whole country. The other non-Han ethnic tribes, distributed over a wide area both in the border regions and hilly districts with their own patterns and habits of living, constitute only "about 6 per cent of China's 650 million population,"[1] and culturally, they have become largely assimilated to the Han-Chinese. The Kuo Yü 國語 is the main type of language spoken by a large majority of the Chinese, except in the provinces of the south-east where the Wu 滬, Hsiang 湘, Min 閩, Yüeh 粵, and Hakka 客家, are the most prevalent forms used.

In Hong Kong most of the population is descended from the Cantonese, Hakka, Tanka 蜑民, and Hoklo 學佬, of Kwangtung and Fukien 福建 provinces. The Cantonese and Hakka probably began to settle in the area since the Yüan Dynasty, whilst the latter two who are traditionally boat-dwellers engaging in deep-sea fishing and are, it is believed, of non-Han origin, have been in the region since time unknown. Any local primitive indigenous people either disappeared or were absorbed after the settlement of these new-comers. A great variety of Chinese dialects are spoken in the Colony, but Cantonese 廣州語, the dialect of Canton City, is the lingua franca and is,

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[1]Hu Chang-tu, et al., China - its People, its Society, its Culture. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1960, p. 65.

indeed, the mother tongue of the majority of the local inhabitants. And there is an increasing tendency for the children whose families originated in North China to adopt Cantonese as their first language, for the use of Kuo Yü seems to be on the ebb, and is confined almost to the academic world.

Religion

Ancestor worship is perhaps the oldest religious practice in China. It long antedated any such other beliefs as Confucianism 孔教, Taoism 道教, and Buddhism 佛教, and it constitutes one of the outstanding characteristics of Chinese culture. During festivals such as the Lunar New Year 農曆新年 and Ch'ing Ming 清明 and on occasions of ceremony such as weddings, people have traditionally paid homage to their ancestors. Even in a complex, highly urbanized society like Hong Kong, ancestor worship is still deeply rooted in the Chinese community. In the New Territories many villages have an ancestral hall where the ancestral tablets of the clan are kept and venerated.

In addition to the observance of these time-honoured customs, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism are the main traditional approaches to religion in China. Foreign religious influences are minimal. Islam and Christianity

have failed to gain a substantial foothold in the country, and their doctrines still remain alien to most people mainly because such beliefs will cause them to desert the observance of ancestor worship and the participation in other religious rites.

Confucianism is less a religion than an ethical and political philosophy defining personal relationships in an ideal moral order. Confucius himself was, and still is, venerated but not worshipped. His influence, not to the Chinese alone but also to their neighbours, is so great that, despite its long existence, the ideal of his teachings permeates the thinking of nearly all Chinese. It is not difficult to see why his sayings, which up to most recent times every schoolboy learned by heart, were, and still are, used as a basic guide to man's self-cultivation.

Like Confucianism, Taoism is both a philosophy and a religion; but the latter involves more religious practice. Its chief concern is to spiritualize the self through meditation and ascetic practices. Throughout centuries it has existed primarily as a religion of the broad mass of people, though it has not been nearly so vital as has Buddhism.

Of the three great literate traditions, Buddhism, despite initial rejection by the educated class of Confucian scholars and Taoist followers, is by far most

widespread. Its ultimate aim is to help not only human but also all living beings to reach the goal of the cessation of pain, and to relieve them all from the state of purgatory. For nearly two thousand years since its introduction from India, Buddhism remains an integral part of Chinese cultural life from which it has never been displaced.

> The effect of Buddhism upon Chinese thought, art, [literature,] and the customs of daily life is comparable to the influence of Christianity upon the nations of the Occidental World. It is the only foreign element in the Chinese culture which has penetrated every class of society, maintained its hold over long centuries, and become accepted as an essential part of the national civilization.[2]

In Hong Kong, though Christian denominations are well represented, the majority of the populace still adheres to traditional Chinese beliefs, and there has been a notable revival of Buddhism and Taoism in recent years due mainly to the immigration of Buddhists and Taoists from China. As places of public worship, Chinese temples play an important rôle in the cultural life of many Chinese in Hong Kong. They are usually dedicated to one major Deity, but in most of them several Deities and Bodhisattvas are worshipped. Religious studies are conducted in a large number of monasteries and nunneries and in hermitages built in secluded places where inmates may devote themselves to quiet meditation. The better known

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[2]C. P. Fitzgerald, China - A Short Cultural History. London: The Cresset Press, Ltd., 1958, p. 274.

monasteries are situated in the most remote and scenic parts of the New Territories.

Language

Language, like other phases of human culture, plays an important rôle in the daily life of a nation. The Chinese language belongs to a monosyllablic isolating group. Chinese characters, in the main, are pictographic, ideographic, and logographic scripts in which each meaning has a separate symbol of thing, idea, or word. The earliest forms of Chinese writing are those found on the bone and shell oracles of the Shang Dynasty 商朝 (1751-1385 B.C.?); then followed the Chou 周朝 (1111?-256 B.C.) inscription on stones and bronze socketed celts. In the Ch'in Dynasty 秦朝 (255-207 B.C.) writing became standardized in what are known as the small-seal scripts. Since then, the forms of characters have changed mainly in the style of strokes, and there has been no basic change in structure, as illustrated:

	horse	turtle	walk	ten
Shang Bones c. 1751-1385 B.C.?				
Chou Inscriptions c. 1111?-256 B.C.				
Small-seal Scripts 255 B.C.-A.D. 25				

	horse	turtle	walk	ten
Regular Scripts A.D. 380-present day	馬	龜	行	十

> Pronunciation of literary Chinese depends upon the dialect of the reader: a Mandarin speaker will read the literary language with Mandarin pronunciations and a Wu speaker with Wu pronunciations. . . . Certain written characters have no colloquial rendering, and some colloquial words have no written equivalents. In the latter case, a character of the same meaning may be used as a substitute, or a 'vulgar character' may be invented.[3]

Until recently, wen-yen 文言 or literary written style was the only system of writing used not for scholarship only but for all daily purposes, though there might be great differences of style from age to age and from dynasty to dynasty. To-day, wen-yen is at low ebb mainly because of its divorce from speech patterns. Under the Literary Revolution of 1919, Hu Shih 胡適, together with a host of new intelligentsia, promoted a language reform known as the pai-hua 白話, "plain talk," or vernacular movement, the purpose of which is to eliminate the difference between the vernacular spoken language and the classical written style and to write just as one speaks using Kuo Yü as the national standard. This reform made considerable headway, and before long, newspapers, novels, pamphlets, textbooks, and plays were, and still are, using this new style. A standard form of the Kuo Yü is now taught in the schools throughout the country, a

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[3]Hu Chang-tu, et al., op. cit., p. 102.

procedure which tends towards uniformity in the spoken tongue and towards national linguistic unity.

Literature

Though the system of Chinese writing was found as early as on the Shang bone and shell oracles, it was not until the Chou Dynasty that Chinese literature began to come into existence. Indeed, for nearly nine centuries the Chou Dynasty is memorable for a marked development in culture, and has long been regarded as an age of classics. Never again were Chinese classics so creative and so elegant that they served as model for all succeeding ages. Literature written in this period included the philosophical, the politico-historical, and the poetic, many of which were later compiled and singled out by the Han Government for both educational purposes and research.

The most characteristic feature in literature in the Han times was the fu 賦 or rhyme-prose which is characterized by long elaborate descriptions or panegyrics. Next to it come the wu-yen shih 五言詩 (five-word-line poem) and yüeh-fu 樂府, a musical type of poem, which also enjoyed the highest prestige and status in this period. By the T'ang Period poetry reached a height which it had never before attained, and which has hardly ever been equalled in later centuries. It is, without

doubt, the golden age of poetry in China. The greatest T'ang poets are the realistic Tu Fu 杜甫 and the Bohemian Li Po 李白. The latter is famous for his unusually spontaneous lyrics whilst the former, noted for his patriotic sentiments. As in poetry, form and style of prose writing are exceptionally prized, and the greatest master is Han Yü 韓愈, who favours a return to the simplicity and directness of Chinese prose. The essays of Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 and Su Shih 蘇軾 in the Sung Dynasty also follow his lead.

Towards the end of the T'ang, poetry lost its freshness and a new form of prose-poetry, the tz'ŭ 詞, began to enjoy a measure of artistic status. With its softly vibrating tonal structure and gentle melodies, the tz'ŭ is likely to portray picturesque scenery and feminine beauty, and to express melancholy feelings and tender thoughts. In the Sung times the tz'ŭ became the most distinguished genre. The most outstanding and prolific tz'ŭ writers are Liu Yung 柳永, Su Shih, Chou P'ang-yen 周邦彥, and Hsin Ch'i-chi 辛棄疾, who in their different ways enrich and liberate the tz'ŭ verse.

Prose in this period also came into full flower. Foremost of the Sung prose writers is Ou-yang Hsiu, Wang An-shih 王安石, and Shu Shih. Su Shih's father, Su Hsün 蘇洵, his brother, Su Chê 蘇轍, and their contemporary, Tsêng Kung 曾鞏, all achieved great distinction. These

six, together with Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan 柳宗元 of the T'ang Dynasty, are known as the Eight Masters of T'ang and Sung 唐宋八大家. Prose writers of the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties imitated their classical style, but never surpassed it.

When the ts'ŭ reached its limit as a prose-verse, it gave birth to a new type of musical poetry, the san ch'ü 散曲, with more freedom in rhythm, less literary language, and wider range of subject matter. It was during the Yüan Period when China was under the rule by the Mongols, and when the literati lost prestige but were free to assimilate folk art, the san ch'ü became tremendously prosperous. Equally flourishing was the drama. It became one of the most vital elements in the popular culture throughout the three last dynasties, Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing. The most distinguished Yüan playwrights are Kuan Han-ching 關漢卿, Wang Shih-fu 王實甫, Pai P'u 白樸, Ma Chih-yüan 馬致遠, and Chêng Kuang-tsu 鄭光祖. Perhaps the most celebrated work of this period is Wang Shih-fu's Hsi Hsiang Chi 西廂記(Romance of the Western Chamber), a love story with an excellent dramatic plot in exquisite verse. At the outset of the Ming Dynasty drama continued to flourish, and was much enriched by tunes and dialects. Amongst the most distinguished works the Mu Tan T'ing 牡丹亭(Peony Pavilion) by T'ang Hsian-tsu 湯顯祖 is probably the best, and, for elegance of prose,

vividness of description, and copiousness of imagination, it can be favourably compared with the Hsi Hsiang.

Between the Yüan and Ming dynasties the art of novel writing began to mature. The first successful work of this kind, still the most popular reader in the Chinese language, is Lo Kuan-chung's 羅貫中 Shui Hu Chuan 水滸傳(Water Margin or All Men Are Brothers). In the Ming Dynasty appeared the Hsi Yu Chi 西遊記(Pilgrimage to the West), a mythological tale of rich and brilliant imagination, by Wu Ch'eng-en 吳承恩, and the anonymously written Chin P'ing Mei 金瓶梅(Gold Vase Plums), a realistic story about domestic life. The novel by this time had developed into an important new phase, and many works were written in the pai-hua or spoken language as opposed to the classical style. Under the Ch'ing sovereignty, the prose novel attained its height, and it is, indeed, a period in which the greatest of all Chinese novels have ever been written. The best known and most popular of them all is Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in's 曹雪芹 Hung Lou Mêng 紅樓夢(Dream of the Red Chamber), telling a sad story of love against the background of a great aristocratic family in decline. Another famous and widely-read work is the Ju Lin Wai Shih 儒林外史(Unofficial History of the Literati), a series of sharp-pointed satires on official corruption and inefficiency, by Wu Ching-tzŭ 吳敬梓.

The literary output under the Ch'ing was enormous.

Voluminous literature in prose, poetry, and tz'ŭ or prose-verse, had been written either in the classical style or in the vernacular. Scholars were active in studying and re-interpreting the authenticity of all ancient works and classics. Under imperial patronage, the compilation of vast encyclopaedia, dictionaries, historical texts, and other compendiums of knowledge, reached maturity.

The Literary Movement of 1919, launched by Hu Shih, without question turned over a new page of history in Chinese literature. The pai-hua, vernacular language, was, and still is, used for all purposes in place of the old artificial classical language. Since then numerous attempts have been made at writing poems, essays, short stories, and dramas in the new manner. The common theme is an emancipation from classical restraint. The most important of the few creative writers is probably Lu Hsün 魯迅 whose brief but bitter Ah Q Chêng Ch'uan 阿Q正傳 (Ah Q) is usually regarded as a classic of modern Chinese fiction. However, the contemporary Chinese literature, it is true, still continues to share one important characteristic with that of the past, namely its pre-dominantly didactic nature.

In Hong Kong to-day the study of Chinese language and literature still shows an undreamed-of vitality though, in outward form, students in Anglo-Chinese grammar schools double the number of those who study

Chinese. Scholars and professional groups from the mainland of China and various amateurs devote themselves to literary writings. For the purpose of promoting Chinese learning, space is devoted by most newspapers for the publication of literary and critical works. Special educational programmes for both adults and children are designed to assist them in Chinese literature. The newly-opened City Hall, which acts as a cultural centre, is the best place for research for it contains a library with a collection of approximately 140,000 volumes of Chinese books and classical literature from the Hok Ho Collections 學海藏書, and 8,000 rolls of microfilm of the complete National Library of Peking 國立北平圖書館.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Education Prior to 1841

Prior to the coming of the British, the present Colony was neither a wilderness nor a cultural vacuum. The educational development probably dates back to the Sung Dynasty when the first teaching institute, Li Ying Study-House 力瀛書塾, was opened in the New Territories by a prominent Chinese scholar, Tang Fu Hip (Têng Fu-hsieh 鄧符協). As a man of reputation, Tang "attracted a group of erudite enthusiasts around him, and proceeded to teach. . . . It was largely due to [his] advocacy of the spread of education and learning that literacy began to spread and the local inhabitants became more cultured."[1] Moreover, the practice of selecting men for public officials through the Civil Service Examinations was in full swing; and, as these examinations were open to all without any class discrimination, many a poor parent would cherish the

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[1]Lo Hsiang-lin (ed.), Hong Kong and Its External Communications Before 1842. Hong Kong: Institute of Chinese Culture, 1963, pp. 135-136.

fond dream of supporting a promising son in study and enabling him to rise to the top. Under such circumstances, enrolment increased from day to day, and the institute became more and more closely related to preparing students for the examinations that led to public service and official position. As time went by, more study-houses, with the support of wealthy local people, were founded, and, as a result, success in the examinations became more frequent and then more Chinese were appointed officials. By the time of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the activity of education became so widespread that nearly all the villages provided teaching facilities for the children. Attendance was, indeed, irregular whilst the standard, on the whole, was low. However, such a survey in previous ages does give an indication that the Colony has long been a place with an inherited tradition in education.

Growth of a Public School System since 1841

Almost immediately after the opening of the port in 1841 the mission order came on the heels of the British to embark on the work of education.

> The government set up [on the Island] would maintain law and order, would build a few roads, would watch the interests and the behaviour of the merchants there and in the treaty ports, but there its responsibility would end. It was not yet accepted, even in England itself, that a government should be responsible for education,

> sanitation, health, the care of the poor, or the hundred and one other things that a modern government controls.[2]

Indeed, not until 1870 when the first Education Act, the Forster Act, was passed, was a national system of education established in England. Thus, no wonder that the Colonial Government, from the very first, would leave education to private arrangement or public generosity. In the early years of the Colony education was either church-connected or in the hands of Chinese philanthropic societies.

In 1843, under the direction of Dr. James Legge, the Morrison Education Society which was the first Protestant mission to promote education in China moved its school - the Morrison School - from Macau to the Colony so as to offer children an instruction in English and religious doctrines. Meanwhile, the Anglo-Chinese College of the London Missionary Society at Malacca was also transferred to Hong Kong. Other schools established by religious bodies and foreigners soon opened. In 1849 the Anglican Church opened its first school, St. Paul's College, for the training of Chinese catechists whilst the Roman Catholic Church began to launch its plan for education in the Colony. Nevertheless, regardless of

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[2]G. B. Endacott and A. Hinton, Fragrant Harbour - A Short History of Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 136.

their enthusiasm for operating schools, the churches at the very beginning did not seem quite interested in education; their immediate aim was more a propagation of the faith than imparting knowledge. Unfortunately, however, their start was unwisely premature, and failure was therefore inevitable.

Christianity, in fact, was strange and not welcome to the people, for its ideals were much in conflict with the traditional Chinese culture and with religious practices of the country. To avoid influence from the West, people preferred education of the traditional type, and those from the wealthier families usually sent their sons to Canton or their respective villages to study or would even invite scholars from the mainland to teach their children. Parents, rich or poor, still expected their children to win through the Civil Service Examinations a highest honours degree and achieve an official position in China.

> Local educational effort was thus left largely in the care of voluntary societies working among the poorer sections of the community. This affected not only the school population but also the curriculum which was predominantly of the western literary type.[3]

Under such conditions, the progress of education was slow and standards were far from satisfactory. English was learnt purely because of its commercial value and children

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[3]Education Department, Triennial Survey - 1958-61. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1962, p. 1.

left school as soon as a smattering had been obtained.

Schools of traditional Chinese patterns continued to flourish, but were "all badly housed in hovels."[4] On the advice of Dr. Legge and Charles Gutzlaff, Chinese Secretary, the Government in 1847 began to allot each month a grant of ten dollars to three of these institutes, those at Victoria, Aberdeen and Stanley 赤柱, and an education committee was appointed to supervise the three schools and administer the grant. Since then this education grant became an annual one, and the number of schools receiving it was also increasing with time. This, in fact, paved the way for the public system of education in the Colony. The first annual report of the Education Committee was published in 1848 showing a total of 95 boys attending these three schools. By 1859, there were nineteen such schools in the City of Victoria and in the principal villages on the Island being aided by the Government with an enrolment of 873 boys and 64 girls.

"In these schools the traditional Chinese curriculum was followed"[5] with religious instruction on a voluntary basis, but from 1852 onwards when Bishop George Smith, the first Bishop of Victoria, was made chairman of the Education Committee, "a good deal of the teaching was devoted

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[4]G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong. London: Oxford University Press, 1958, p. 135.

[5]Endacott and Hinton, op. cit., p. 138.

to the Bible."[6] Smith's intention was to utilize these schools to prepare Chinese candidates for the Anglican ministry and not until 1864 when he left the Colony on retirement, had there been any change in the curriculum even though a number of attempts had been made to free education from church influence.

In response to Dr. Legge's suggestion a Board of Education was established in 1860 to take the place of the Committee, and a Government Central School (which was probably not the same as the central schools in England that gave advanced elementary and prevocational courses) was opened in 1862 by amalgamating the three government-aided schools in Victoria. This was the forerunner of the present Queen's College 皇仁書院. The curriculum, including Chinese classics, English, and Biblical knowledge, remained almost unaltered as before. The retirement of the Bishop in 1864, however, opened a new chapter in the history of education in the Colony. In the following year the Board of Education was abolished, whilst public schools were entirely secularized and put under government control. Frederick Stewart, the Central School's headmaster and Inspector of Schools, believed that the curriculum should be purely secular, and the schools should be run by laymen. He also held that "Confucianism was an excellent basis for moral training"[7] and "it was

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Endacott, op. cit., p. 228.

no part of government policy to convert the Chinese."[8] Nonetheless, despite the abolition of religious instruction, attendance was still exceedingly low and highly irregular.

By that time, the Chinese population in Hong Kong was increasing at an unheard-of rate mainly due to the unrest created by the T'ai P'ing Rebellion in Canton and neighbouring districts. The estimated total in 1865 was 12,504, but the number of children in school did not increase in proportion to the population. "It was recognized . . . that Chinese private schools were more popular among Chinese than the free government schools giving a similar vernacular education."[9] It was estimated that in 1866 only 623 out of 14,000 school-age children were in the government schools. In truth, many Chinese distrusted the government schools, and bitterly complained that the existing system of education did not sympathetically respect the cultural tradition of China. They also felt that once children studied English they would become disrespectful to their parents and their own traditional culture. This is probably why people would rather have their children taught in the Chinese "native schools."[10] Hence, during the whole of these years, the

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., p. 280.

[10] Endacott and Hinton, op. cit., p. 142.

Chinese private schools played an important rôle in Hong Kong education.

For purposes of promoting public education the Government introduced in 1872 a grant-in-aid scheme by which financial aid and inspection were extended to the mission and other voluntary schools, in accordance with a Grant Code and its subsequent amendments.

> The relationship between government and grant-in-aid schools has been one of the most important features in education development in the Colony. In 1876 the number of students in grant schools was 460 and in those under the government 1,118; by 1890 there were 76 grant schools with a total enrolment of 3,514.[11]

"In 1898 there were 115 schools under government inspection, 100 grant-in-aid with 5,882 pupils, and 15 government schools with 1,445."[12]

Under the governorship of Sir John Pope Hennessy (1877-82) there had been a rising tendency towards English teaching, and in 1893 grants were made only to those schools in which English was taught. For the purpose of teaching more English, a normal school was established in 1881 as recruitment of teachers from England was too expensive. In 1889 a new school building for the Central School was opened as Victoria College. Five years later it became entirely an English school, and its name was again changed, this time to Queen's College. Without

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[11]Education Department, op. cit., p. 3.

[12]Endacott, op. cit., pp. 241-242.

doubt, the Government's policy by that time was "to elevate the Chinese people of [the] Colony by means of English rather than Chinese teaching."[13] To the traditional Chinese schools the Government assumed an attitude of laissez-faire.

> In 1898 there were 108 private vernacular schools in which the traditional Chinese education was given without government grant and without government control, [and] . . . these schools together had nearly 2,500 pupils.[14]

As the development of education became more mature, a demand for higher education and professional training followed. In 1887, the College of Medicine 西醫書院 was founded by Dr. Ho Kai (Ho Ch'i 何啟) with the assistance of the London Missionary Society. In 1907 the College was incorporated as the Hong Kong College of Medicine 香港西醫書院 and this in turn led to the establishment of the University of Hong Kong 香港大學 in 1911.

Improvements in education continued steadily at the outset of the twentieth century. In 1909 a Director of Education was appointed, and in 1913 the first Education Ordinance was introduced to bring all schools under government supervision. Thereafter the Government accepted full responsibility for the control of primary and secondary education throughout the Colony. By 1920 a

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[13] Ibid., p. 241.

[14] Endacott and Hinton, op. cit., p. 144.

Board of Education was set up to advise the Director of Education on all matters concerning education. Unrest in China following the establishment of the Republic became intense, and great numbers of Chinese, mainly from south China, made their way to the Colony seeking refuge from disorder.

> Progress in vernacular education is reflected in the rate of increase in 1918, 1923 and 1928 when the enrolment figures were 16,500, 29,000 and 42,000 respectively. The Government provided three vernacular normal schools with the dual purpose of raising the standard of vernacular education and producing locally trained teachers.[15]

As time wore on, much attention was paid to Chinese schools. Education in Hong Kong entered upon a new phase when the government-operated Clementi Middle School 金文泰中學 was opened in 1926. This was quickly followed by the opening of other private schools. These vernacular schools were patterned on the type of schools emerging on the China mainland. Thus, a system of Chinese schools roughly paralleling the existing Anglo-Chinese system developed. In 1927, the University of Hong Kong started a School of Chinese Studies which further stimulated secondary education in Chinese. Furthermore, Northcote Training College 羅富國師範專科學校 was opened in 1939 for training teachers for both Anglo-Chinese and vernacular schools. Educational progress was brought to

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[15]Education Department, op. cit., p. 4.

an abrupt close by the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941.

Hundreds of the schools were destroyed during the war. Education was prostrate. After the war "the process of rehabilitation was laborious and difficult: buildings had to be improvised, equipment had to be made, teachers had to be trained, and all this in the face of so many other demands upon the resources of the Colony."[16]

> . . . the numbers of children at school rapidly increased. In 1945 there were just over 4,000 at school; in 1946 there were 65,000. By the next year the number had increased to 100,000 but there were still 60,000 or more without education. Parents were more interested than ever before in getting their children into school. Consequently, not only the number of government, grant-in-aid and subsidized schools increased, but also the number of private schools. By 1954 over 250,000 children were at school but still the places available were far from being sufficient.[17]

At the end of the academic year of 1963-64 the inclusive total in all schools, colleges and education centres was 826,777.[18]

In order to meet the need, the Government began, in 1950, a ten-year expansion programme which would provide school accommodation for all children of primary school age and for a sufficient number of secondary school

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[16] Ibid., p. 5.

[17] Endacott and Hinton, op. cit., p. 149.

[18] Education Department, Annual Summary - 1963-64. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, p. 24.

places for those who might be expected to continue their education. But, unfortunately, the plan was soon overtaken by a flood of refugees from China as a result of the Communist occupation. This, indeed, brought about a number of social and economic problems in the Colony. Eventually, the original ten-year school expansion programme had to be drastically revised and a much more ambitious seven-year plan was introduced "which aimed at creating enough places in primary schools so that all children could attend school by 1961."[19] However, such an expansion does not seem to have borne good fruit owing to the continued growth of population.

School Administration To-day

Government schools and schools for the children of members of the armed forces are directly controlled by the Director of Education, whilst the post-secondary colleges and the two universities are given their own separate ordinances. All grant-aided, subsidized, and private schools in the Colony are subject to the provisions of the Education Ordinance of 1952 (amended 1958 and 1961) which is framed to ensure the provision of adequate education as well as the proper management and maintenance of schools. Under the Education Ordinance,

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[19]Endacott and Hinton, loc. cit.

the Director of Education is entrusted with powers to exercise control over education in the Colony. He is advised and assisted by a Board of Education, which is composed of the Director himself as the Chairman and representatives of the community. The Board is now a statutory body with "power to advise the Governor upon educational matters."[20] Under the Director are a Deputy Director, assistant directors, senior education officers, and other officials as illustrated in Figure I.

Administratively, there are four types of schools in the Colony, namely, the government, grant-in-aid, subsidized and private. Government schools are entirely directed, maintained, and staffed by the Education Department. They include both primary and secondary schools; three secondary technical schools for boys, one for girls, and two co-educational; a technical college; three teacher-training colleges; and four evening institutions, including the Evening School of Higher Chinese Studies.

The grant-in-aid schools are among the oldest and best known in the Colony including many of the leading Anglo-Chinese and Chinese secondary schools. Under the provisions of the Grant Code, the Government pays "the whole of the deficit arising from the difference between

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[20]Hong Kong Government Publications Bureau, Education Ordinance No. 33 of 1952. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1963, p. 7.

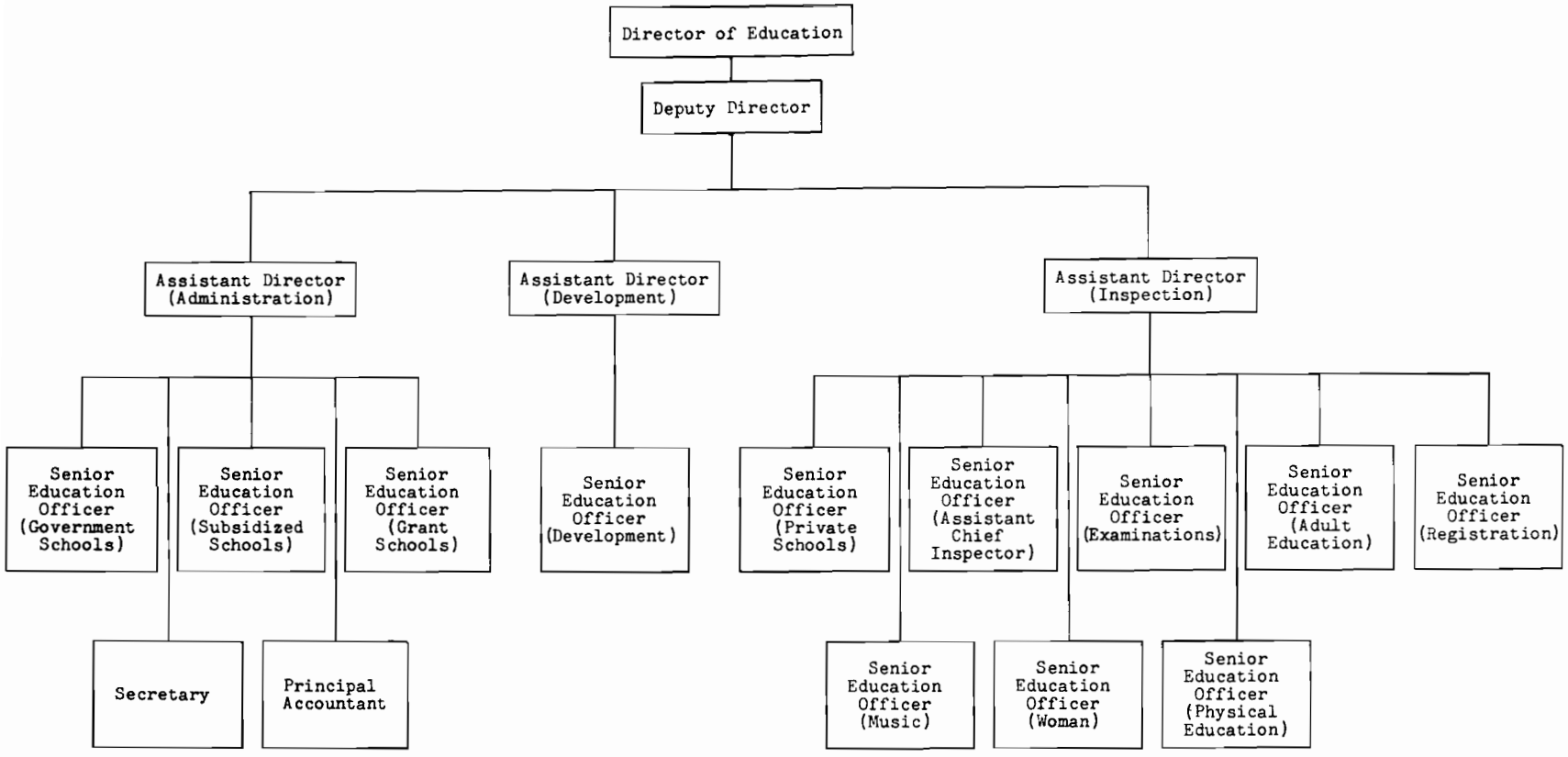

Figure I.--Administrative Organization of the Education Department

(Source: Education Department, Triennial Survey - 1958-61. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1962, p. 21.)

approved expenditure and income from school fees. . . ."[21] Grants may also be made up to fifty per cent of the cost of equipment, new buildings and major repairs. In addition to this aid, interest-free loans may be made for approved new building projects.

Like the grant-in-aid, subsidized schools receive varying amounts of financial assistance from the Government under the terms of a Subsidy Code. They are mainly Chinese primary schools in the New Territories serving small, scattered villages as well as the more thickly populated areas. Capital subsidies may also be made up to fifty per cent of the total cost in providing new buildings, equipment, and major repairs.

Of all these institutions, private schools are, in fact, first and foremost important, for over sixty per cent of the Colony's education is provided in private schools, ranging from kindergarten through primary, secondary and post-secondary to adult evening schools. These private schools may also receive interest-free loans or free grants of land from the Government if they do not run their schools for private profit. In some cases, direct government assistance is also given to selected non-profit-making schools so as to enable them to employ more qualified teachers and have better equipment.

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[21]Education Department, Triennial Survey - 1958-61. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1962, p. 11.

CHAPTER IV

PRIMARY EDUCATION

Hong Kong, like many other places in the world, is a bilingual community, the two languages being Chinese and English. It is thus a meeting-place for both Chinese and Western cultures. Two very different races of people live side by side with each other and with their own respective customs and traditions. Whilst urban development has adopted as its model Western standards, the East is always in evidence. With such widely-varied cultural backgrounds, the educational system in Hong Kong is peculiarly complex and varied.

Educational System

The Government has acknowledged its obligation to provide a dual system of education - one with Chinese and the other with the English language as the principal medium of instruction - so as to meet the needs of the local community. Schools in which Chinese is the language used for teaching are called Chinese schools, whilst those where instruction is in English, and Chinese is taught as

a second language, are known as Anglo-Chinese schools and English schools. Moreover, there are vast differences between these Chinese schools and the English and Anglo-Chinese schools. The vernacular or Chinese schools "rely on traditional patterns of curricula and practice which stem back to Old China and the pre-1949 past of the Mainland, [and] . . . bear a superficial resemblance now only to certain schools of modern Taiwan [formerly called Formosa 台灣]."[1] The Anglo-Chinese Grammar schools, on the other hand, are rather peculiar to Hong Kong and to a few other parts of South-east Asia, and are "typically unlike schools of either the English or the Chinese system."[2] Instead, they blend the characteristics of both with the purpose of providing students with a reasonable knowledge of the two great cultures. Furthermore, there are also a few English schools, "modelled on the English Grammar school as to staff, curriculum, discipline and organization,"[3] for children whose mother tongue is not Chinese. Full details of the educational system are shown diagrammatically in Figure II.

Primary education is of six years' duration. It

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[1]Norman K. Henderson, Educational Developments and Research with Special Reference to Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1963, p. 4.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Education Department, Triennial Survey - 1958-61. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1962, p. 32.

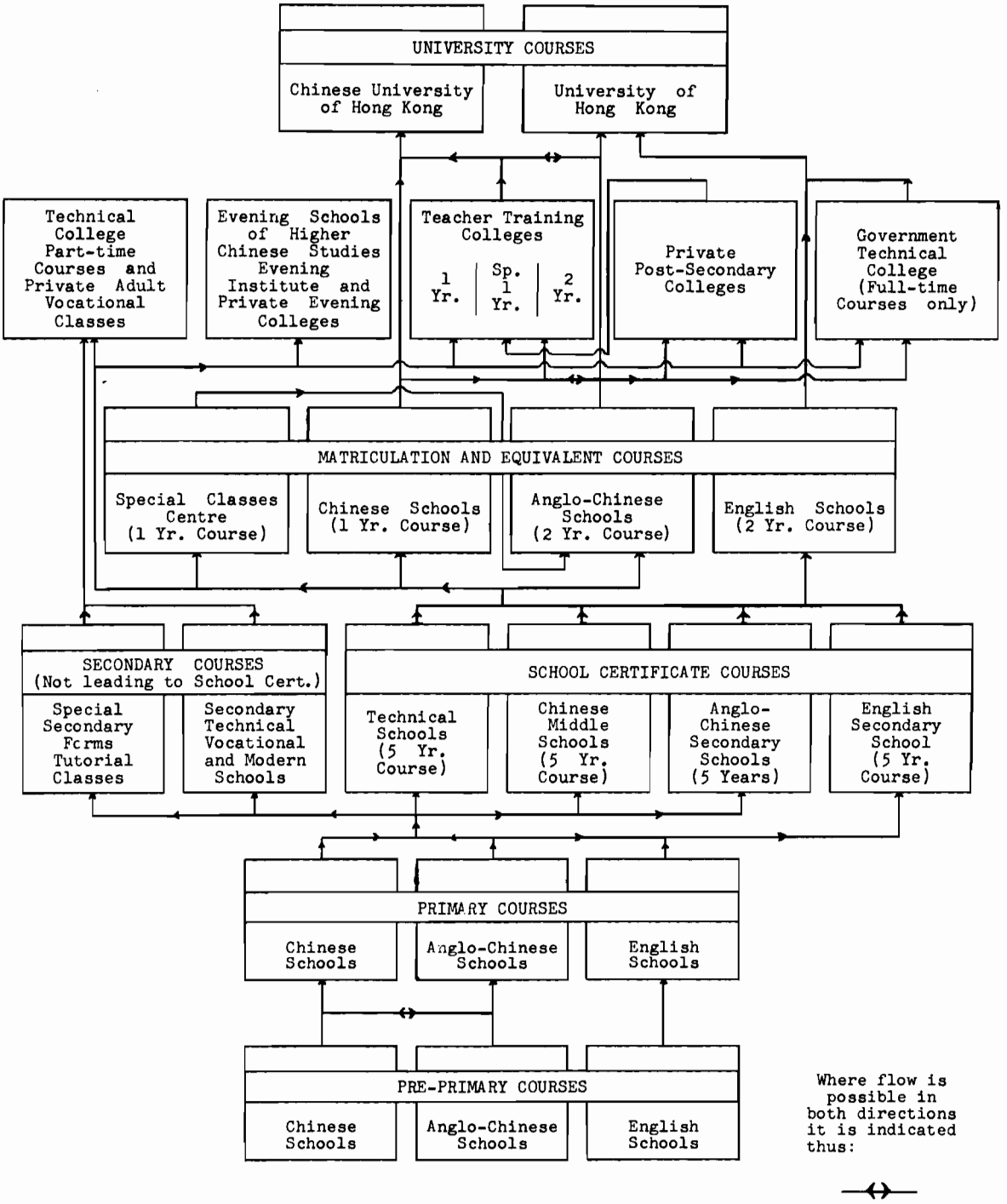

Figure II.--The Educational Structure (as at 31.3.64)

(Source: Education Department, Annual Summary - 1963-64. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964. Adapted from Figure on p. v.)

normally begins at the age of six, and continues to the age of twelve. At the end of the primary course, all pupils in government schools, and selected pupils in aided and private schools, enter a competitive Secondary School Entrance Examination 中學入學試 which was held for the first time in 1962 by the Education Department to take the place of the Joint Primary Six Examination. Successful candidates will be admitted either to government and aided secondary schools or to selected private secondary schools "in which Government provides aided places."[4]

"This system of primary education will continue to operate for Primary 1 classes enrolled in September 1962 until they have completed the course in July 1968,"[5] for, since September 1963, a new system of seven-year programme has been introduced to convert "the existing six-year primary course to a five-year course followed by two years of secondary education."[6] "Pupils entering government and aided primary schools in September 1963 will complete a

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[4]Hong Kong Government Publications Bureau, Secondary School Entrance Examination - Regulations and Syllabuses 1964. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1963, p. 1.

[5]Education Department, Annual Summary - 1962-63. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, pp. 1-2.

[6]Hong Kong Government Publications Bureau, Statement on Government's Policy on the Re-organization of the Structure of Primary and Secondary Education. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1963, p. 5.

special five-year primary course in the academic year 1967-68, a Form I course the following year and . . . a Form II course in 1969-70."[7] The normal age of entry into government and aided primary schools will be raised from six to seven years and, in this case, pupils may continue their schooling up to the age of fourteen. The curriculum was re-organized in such a way "to enable pupils within five years to attain approximately the same standard in language and in number work as they now reach in six years. . . ."[8] The last two years of the programme will be "devoted to a curriculum comparable with that now followed in Forms I and II of existing secondary schools. . . ."[9]

During the transitional period, on completion of the present six-year primary course, those pupils who are unable to gain admission to a full secondary course are now given a seventh year of education in Special Form I classes, provided they are under fourteen years of age. In the meantime,

> . . . government and aided secondary schools will begin a gradual re-organization aimed at the eventual restriction of their use to the last [four] years of the school certificate course and to matriculation work where appropriate. It is expected that these schools will continue to

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[7] Ibid., p. 6.

[8] Ibid., p. 5.

[9] Ibid.

> provide Form I classes up to the academic year 1967-68 and that selection up to 1967-68 will continue, as at present, from Primary 6. In and after 1967-68, government and aided secondary schools will accommodate only Form II and higher forms, and entry will be based on a selective test made at the end of Form I.[10]

However, these changes are confined only to government and aided schools; private schools are free to continue the existing system if they so wish.

The main purpose of this new pattern of education is to shorten the time of study of the children and to provide greater opportunities for secondary learning, for many children in Hong Kong, owing to their financial difficulties, have no prospect of further study beyond the stage of primary schooling. Under this new system of education it is expected that children can benefit from at least two years' secondary education even though they might not have the chance to complete the whole programme of secondary schooling. It is also believed that, if the normal school leaving age were raised to coincide with the statutory minimum age for industrial employment (fourteen), children, after leaving the school at fourteen, might enter directly the factories or workshops to work.

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[10] Ibid., p. 8.

Chinese Primary Schools

Chinese primary schools, where the medium of instruction is Chinese (Cantonese), comprise almost all the primary schools in the Colony. For higher education and better chance of employment, a knowledge of English is usually necessary in Hong Kong as in many other places of the world, but many people believe that, in order to attain a basic understanding of their own cultural heritage, the Chinese must first learn their own language before attempting to study a foreign one. Thus, parents prefer their children to begin with a vernacular rather than an English education. In the academic year 1963-64, the number of pupils enrolled in these vernacular schools was 529,214.[11] In the great majority of Chinese primary schools English is studied as a second language usually beginning in the second year of the course, but the language used for teaching is still Chinese. The basic curriculum in the government Chinese primary schools includes: Chinese, arithmetic, social studies (comprising geography, history and civics), nature study, music, art, handwork or housecraft, physical education, and, for one period per week, Kuo Yü. During the first two years of primary education (Primary 1 and 2) "the stress of a

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[11] Education Department, Annual Summary - 1963-64. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, p. v.

child's study is on Chinese . . . of which he has [sixteen] lessons a week."[12] In private institutions, the study of Chinese receives even greater attention throughout the entire curriculum.

Chinese primary schools are largely run by private citizens or educational groups, some with and some without government assistance. There are also a number of welfare associations and Chinese organizations, including the Buddhist and Confucian Associations of Hong Kong which provide free education for poor children. The Kaifong or Neighbourhood Associations 街坊福利會 organizes primary schools in a similar manner. Other welfare agencies which help education include the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals 東華三院 and the Fellow-Clansmen's Associations (composed of Chinese of the same surname) 宗親會. Furthermore, there are a number of private schools for children below primary school age. In 1963-64 these schools accommodated 37,373 pupils.[13] Though kindergarten education is not included in the government system of education, there is, in recent years, an increasing demand for this type of school and many parents take advantage of this form of education to pave the way for their children's entry to the primary classes.

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[12]Education Department, Triennial Survey - 1958-61. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1962, p. 29.

[13]Education Department, Annual Summary - 1963-64. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, p. v.

The kindergarten school course normally lasts for two years with much emphasis on academic preparation and personality training.

Yet another form of primary education is available for adults. There are a number of private night schools which provide primary-level instruction for those who work by day. The subjects taught are Chinese, arithmetic, social studies, civics, and elementary English. There are also classes in literacy and basic education for adults. Such schools offer opportunities for most Chinese to achieve at least a primary education and though many of them were established merely as commercial ventures, yet they fulfil a genuine educational and social need.

Anglo-Chinese and English Primary Schools

In Hong Kong there are also a few Anglo-Chinese and English primary schools for both the Chinese children and the minority communities. In the academic year 1963-64, these schools enrolled 56,712 pupils.[14] In Anglo-Chinese schools, instruction is in English throughout the five years of the primary course, with Chinese taught as a second language. The curriculum in this type of school is exactly the same as that in the Chinese primary schools,

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[14] *Ibid.*

only with much more emphasis upon English learning. The few English primary schools which approximate, both in age-range and curriculum, their counterparts in England, cater mainly to European children, though they are open to children of all ethnic groups. Instruction is given entirely in English with French or sometimes Chinese taught as a second language. At the age of eleven plus pupils may continue their education in the one English secondary school or may be sent abroad for their studies. In addition, the Education Department also provides in the Evening Institute a five-year elementary English language course for the working class population. This course is designed to provide them with a command of English sufficient for their work as well as make up their education deficiencies and improve their employment prospects.

When considering education in the Colony, one must keep in mind that Hong Kong is a society in which approximately ninety-eight per cent of the population is of Chinese origin. One-third of these people are refugees from the mainland China. Despite the presence of the Western people, the Chinese follow their own way of life, speak their own language or dialects, have their own way of thinking, and practise their own religions. It is, therefore, important for the Government to build up a system of education that will be best suited to the

nature of the local community and will meet the needs of the large majority both socially and culturally. As the bulk of the population is Chinese, a system of Chinese education is, without dispute, indispensable, and, therefore, its further development should be the first and foremost objective of the Colony. It is, indeed, the responsibility of the Government to provide people such a system of education. As Chinese, the people must in the first place learn their own native language, study the history of their own country, and become aware of their own cultural heritage. This is, in fact, the chief reason why people prefer their children at least to begin their education in the Chinese primary schools. Hence the large majority of primary schools in Hong Kong are Chinese institutions.

CHAPTER V

SECONDARY EDUCATION

In regard to the language of instruction and the nature of the course, secondary schools, like primary schools, may be divided into two categories - the vernacular or Chinese middle schools and the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools. Both of these are of secondary grammar-type offering courses that are mainly academic in nature. In general, a student may transfer from one type of school to another, thus completing a combination of Chinese and Anglo-Chinese schooling. However, this often results in more years of total study than normally represented by completion of a given form.

Secondary education normally begins at the age of twelve and lasts for a period of five years. Entry to government secondary schools and, to a lesser extent, to the aided places in selected private secondary schools, is based on the results of the selective Secondary School Entrance Examination as explained in the preceding chapter. Private secondary schools either conduct their own entrance examinations or admit students according to the academic results of the primary schools.

Chinese Middle Schools

The Chinese middle schools are institutions "with roots in Old China and the traditions of"[1] scholarly learning in the past. The aim of these schools is to give a general education based on Chinese culture with the addition of Western knowledge, especially science.

> In methods as in nomenclature, these Chinese schools differ from the English and Anglo-Chinese schools. Instruction is in the Chinese vernacular (Cantonese) and the concepts of scholarship and learning vary from those of the West. There are examinations of a different type, and the nature and purpose of these Chinese schools have little in common with the English schools and Western cultural traditions. They represent educational institutions on which English and European experience has practically nothing to say. The closest type in terms of the foreign language of instruction may be found in Welsh schools; but there the parallel ceases.[2]

The course of study includes Chinese language and literature, English, history, geography, civics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, domestic science, art, music, handicrafts, physical education, and religious knowledge. In Hong Kong religious instruction is not compulsory in government schools, although many schools, private or aided, vernacular or Anglo-Chinese, especially those sponsored by missionary bodies teach Biblical knowledge.

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[1]Norman K. Henderson, Educational Developments and Research with Special Reference to Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1963, p. 4.

[2]Ibid.

Moreover, there are a number of private and government-aided schools under the auspices of Buddhist organizations which have included Buddhist studies in their curriculum. Both Biblical knowledge and Buddhist studies are offered as optional subjects in the school certificate examinations and have proved to be very popular among the candidates.

Teachers in the Chinese middle schools were mainly educated and trained on the mainland of China but, in recent years, many of the new staffs have been recruited from both the post-secondary colleges in the Colony itself and the universities in Taiwan. To-day, the training for this type of secondary teacher is available also at the newly-founded Chinese University of Hong Kong 香港中文大學 which began to produce its graduates in September 1964.

Until the academic year of 1964-65 the Chinese middle schools have offered a six-year course, which is divided into a three-year junior middle school and a three-year senior middle school, leading to the Hong Kong Chinese School Certificate Examination 香港中文中學高中畢業會考 conducted by a syndicate of representatives of participating schools and the Education Department. Since 1960 the course was re-organized and a new five-year course has been introduced by the Government so as to enable the students, like those in the Anglo-Chinese

secondary schools, to take the school certificate examination in five years. Students entering the new programme in that year will sit the examination for the first time in June, 1965. The re-organization, it is believed, will serve a dual purpose: on the one hand, it will help to shorten the time of study for the students without lessening the contents of the curriculum; on the other, it will help to lighten the financial burden upon the parents.

Students who pass in the Chinese School Certificate Examination may proceed to the one-year matriculation course which ends with the matriculation examination of the Chinese University. They may also be admitted to the teacher training colleges, the technical college, post-secondary colleges and the Evening School of Higher Chinese Studies 官立文商專科學校. Those who wish to enter the University of Hong Kong in which the language of instruction is English must transfer either to the upper forms of an Anglo-Chinese secondary school (Form IV or Form V, depending upon the student's proficiency in English) or to the Government Special Classes Centre. This additional training will enable them to be better prepared in English for the University of Hong Kong Matriculation Examination. The Special Classes Centre provides a one-year intensive course in English for selected students from Chinese middle schools so as to

enable them to gain an adequate command of English and to prepare them for the English language portion of the Hong Kong English School Certificate Examination. Successful candidates may then continue their studies for the matriculation examination of the University.

Before the establishment of the Chinese University in 1963, higher education in Chinese was available at the post-secondary colleges and the government-managed Evening School of Higher Chinese Studies or at the universities in Taiwan. However, the unhappy truth is that the qualifications obtained from these non-degree-granting colleges and non-Commonwealth universities are not usually held in high esteem by the local community. Moreover, sometimes such graduates do not earn as much as students from the Anglo-Chinese secondary school. Also, the work they can obtain is usually not what they wish to do, so they are "square pegs in round holes" and will never find contentment and happiness in their work at all. To many people, parents or students themselves, prospects of Chinese learning were indeed gloomy.

Culturally as well as commercially Hong Kong stands at the meeting point of the East and West. Many people, especially those engaged in business, see the advantage in knowing English mainly because of its utilitarian aspects and market value. Students in particular, find English even more useful, as it increases

the chance of employment. In reality, business houses, banks, and many social service agencies give preference in employment to young people who, in addition to professional training and aptitudes, are reasonably fluent in English. Also, as English is the official language in the Colony most posts in government service require a proficient knowledge of English. Moreover, a sufficiently good command of English is desirable for students who intend to pursue higher education. In theory, the status of the Chinese school certificate is similar to the English one; nevertheless, students graduated from the Chinese middle schools usually encounter difficulties in finding jobs, chiefly because of their inefficiency in English.

In this situation, most pupils on completion of primary schooling in the vernacular schools would change to study English, and, in the meantime, there were a number of students who, studying in the Chinese middle schools, transferred to the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools in the hope that they might have better prospects of employment and the chance of further studies. Thus, the number of students in the Chinese middle schools had shown a gradual decrease each year until 1962 when there were only 32,324[3] attending these schools as compared

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[3]Education Department, Annual Summary - 1961-62. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1962, p. 27.

with 69,893[4] in the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools. Accordingly, there were several smaller private Chinese middle schools being forced to close their doors and many others changing to operate the Anglo-Chinese programme so as to meet the demand of the majority. However, the formation of the Chinese University in 1963 has given a reviving stimulus to Chinese studies and the total enrolment in the Chinese middle schools to-day has increased to about 41,501.[5]

Students graduated from the Chinese middle schools can now look locally for their higher education. The degrees of this Chinese University are to be given full recognition by the Government and the holders will be academically qualified for entry to jobs in civil service for which a pass degree of a Commonwealth university is specified. The new University has, indeed, an important part to play in the educational development of the Colony.

Anglo-Chinese and English Grammar Schools

"The Anglo-Chinese school system in Hong Kong is an attempt to offer an English type of education, adapted late in history and making concessions to the Chinese

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Education Department, Annual Summary - 1963-64. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, p. 28.

tradition."[6] As was stated in the preceding paragraphs, this type of secondary education is in demand in the Colony because a good knowledge of spoken and written English is desirable, if not essential, for entry to higher education, the professions, government service and commerce. In recent years the number of Anglo-Chinese secondary schools has shown a mushroom growth owing to the enormous increase of students who intend to study English. At present there are over 150 such schools, accommodating nearly 86,500 students.

Like the Chinese middle schools, the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools provide a five-year course. This provides for the normal academic subjects and prepares students for the Hong Kong English School Certificate Examination administered by a similar syndicate to that of the Chinese school leaving examination. The subjects in the curriculum are somewhat similar to those studied in the Chinese middle schools, generally including English language, English literature, Chinese language and literature, Chinese history, history, geography, economic and public affairs (formerly civics), general science, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, domestic science, art, music, handicrafts, physical education, and Biblical knowledge in schools with missionary influences. Commercial subjects, such as book-keeping,

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[6]Henderson, loc. cit.

shorthand, and typewriting, are taught in some schools as special subjects. Although the medium of instruction is English, the study of Chinese is not neglected, so that students after studying English will not become ignorant of the cultural tradition of their own home-land. Both Chinese language and literature and Chinese history follow a similar syllabus to that in the Chinese middle schools. Successful school certificate candidates may either leave for employment or enter the teacher training colleges and the technical college. For students seeking university admission, there is provision for two years of further study leading to the matriculation examination of the University of Hong Kong.

To-day the increase in the number of students pursuing English studies leads to a proportional increase in the number of Anglo-Chinese schools in order to meet the growing demand for such education. However, this mushroom growth is not a good criterion of the progress of this type of education in the Colony. This is due to the fact that many of these schools, especially those under the auspices of the private bodies or organizations, are operated more as profit-making enterprises than as educational institutes. It is no wonder that people always satirize this type of profit-making school as "school-shops." These schools have no common standard for admittance of students and fail to give proper discipline and guidance. Students in these schools, needless

to say, attain only a low standard of Chinese; however, at the same time, they do not master English either because many of these schools are poorly staffed. Without doubt, these students are likely to fail in the school leaving examination which is the basic qualification for the entry to employment. Under such conditions, these students would probably encounter more difficulty in seeking jobs. This is by no means the students' own fault; the blame rests with those who operate such schools because they are not places to educate and cultivate students, but rather places to ruin students' bright prospects for a career.

The Government has a responsibility to control these schools and, if necessary, cancel their registration in order to prevent their harmful effects on the youth as well as the community. In fact, one of the greatest deficiencies of education in Hong Kong to-day is the lack of moral discipline and fostering of students. From the viewpoint of the Chinese people, moral education is very important to the children, and it is a good thing and an ever-esteemed duty to teach a child to be filial to his parents, affectionate to his brothers and sisters, true to his friends, loyal to his country, and benevolent to all. It is, in fact, only in this way that a system of education can be expected to adjust and create a harmonious social order and human relationship.

In Hong Kong there is only one English secondary school which is attended by children whose first language is English. Instruction is English throughout, with French or Latin or sometimes Chinese studied as a second language. The course of study is similar to that of the secondary grammar school in England, usually including English language and literature, foreign languages, history, geography, science, mathematics, art, and music - all studied over a period of five years in an academic manner. Students are prepared for the General Certificate of Education (University of London) or the matriculation examination of the University of Hong Kong.

Secondary Technical, Vocational, and Modern Schools

To-day the Colony has shown a considerable increase in the facilities for technical education resulting mainly from the expansion of local industry which has replaced the entrepôt trade as the mainstay of the local economy. This in turn has stimulated the public interest in technical education for people believe that careers in engineering, building and textiles can be equally as satisfying in pay and prestige, and that they will find no difficulty in obtaining employment when technically qualified.

Secondary technical schools (total enrolment in

1963-64, 3,254)[7] are mainly government or subsidized institutions. Like the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools, they give a five-year course of general education in English but with a strong bias towards applied science, technical training, and practical work, leading to the Hong Kong English School Certificate Examination. In the first two years emphasis is placed on English and Chinese, and subjects that are the basis for future specialization. After the first two years of general education, boy-students will specialize in either a metalwork, woodwork, or industrial course; whilst the girls will take arts and crafts, commercial subjects or domestic science. Students who complete the course usually continue their studies at the Hong Kong Technical College 香港工業專門學校 or enter for the matriculation examination of the University of Hong Kong in order to qualify for entrance to degree courses in civil, mechanical or electrical engineering.

There is also a Buddhist vocational middle school - the Po Kok Vocational Middle School 寶覺女子職業學校 - for girls from poor families. Instruction is in Chinese, and the curriculum is based on the Hong Kong Chinese School Certificate Examination with a strong vocational bias. Candidates take either domestic science

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[7]Education Department, Annual Summary - 1963-64. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, p. 27.

(including cookery, dress-making, needlecraft, and housecraft), or the commercial course (including book-keeping and typewriting). In addition, there are a number of secondary technical and vocational schools operated by private bodies and welfare organizations recruiting pupils from the primary school. The enrolment of these schools in 1963-64 was 21,344.[8] The courses offered by these schools cover a variety of subjects and are of widely varying standards.

Another type of vocational institution in the Colony is the secondary modern school. It represents a new form of secondary education introduced to Hong Kong in 1960, though this type of school has existed in England since the 1944 Act. Secondary modern schools in Hong Kong (the 1963-64 enrolment 6,068)[9] provide a three-year course in Chinese, specially framed to meet the practical needs of the students so as to prepare them for direct entry to apprenticeship and employment, for further educational or vocational training, and also, in the case of girls, for their future domestic occupations as housewives. Although there is a strong vocational bias in the course, the general education of the student is not neglected. During the first year all students study Chinese, English, mathematics, science, social studies,

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[8] Ibid., p. 26.

[9] Ibid.

music, health education, art, and physical education. After a common first year, during which the students' capabilities are assessed, the boys are divided into streams taking metalwork or woodwork with associated theory, or commercial subjects including typing and book-keeping; whilst the girls take either domestic subjects including cooking, dress-making, and handicrafts or the commercial course. In the second and third years an increasing emphasis is placed on practical training.

Originally, "these schools [were] designed to meet the needs of pupils leaving Primary 6 who are below the minimum age for industrial employment [fourteen years], and who either fail to secure or are unsuited for entry to other available forms of secondary education."[10] However, since primary education was re-organized in 1963 initial steps were taken to convert all government secondary modern schools to five-year secondary technical schools in the school-certificate course. The conversion is expected to be completed by September, 1965.

From the facts mentioned above, one can easily understand that prior to the birth of the Chinese University Chinese education in the Colony seemed to be on the ebb. This situation was brought by the gloomy prospects of Chinese education for both employment and further study.

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[10]Education Department, Triennial Survey - 1958-61. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1962, p. 35.

Alternately, the study of English has prospered day after day. Children after completing their primary schooling in the vernacular schools would try, to the best of their ability, to get into an Anglo-Chinese secondary school. These schools, providing English studies, would probably assure them of a better career future. Likewise, children would usually enter vocational or technical training rather than go into the Chinese middle schools. Students from the vocational and technical schools, owing to the prosperity of Hong Kong industry, usually have no difficulty in getting jobs. In this situation, many people were fearful that the study of Chinese would sooner or later collapse and Chinese culture would vanish. It is true that Chinese studies are also encouraged in the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools; however, few students take a serious interest in them because they believe that since they are studying English, Chinese studies are only of secondary or even less than secondary importance. In fact, it is obvious that had not the Chinese University been established, Chinese education in Hong Kong would never be stimulated and eventually it would remain only as a once-present part of the history of Hong Kong education. As a result, Chinese culture would disappear from the community.

CHAPTER VI

TERTIARY EDUCATION

In the twentieth century, education has become fundamentally and absolutely indispensable to the human being. The school represents the major effort of society to shape and cultivate the rising generation of adults who, as the future parents and citizens, will have to share an immense responsibility in meeting the problems of a complex society. A hundred years ago, when mastery of the rudiments of the three R's was sufficient, the necessary schooling could be obtained just in a few years. Education beyond the stage of primary training was generally considered the privilege of the few from the highly placed as well as the wealthy classes. However, changes in the views on social and mental discipline have led to the idea that the right to education beyond the primary stage belongs to every child regardless of his social and financial status. Thus the number of years of school attendance has been increased. In some advanced countries children are provided with both free and compulsory education up to secondary school level, whilst in others, students can finish their higher education free if they wish to.

The Chinese people, as already noted, have been imbued with high respect for learning. To them, education is the only path that leads to pleasing prospects, high status, and wealth. People, therefore, usually make great sacrifices to educate their children and strive to give their children something better than they themselves had been able to enjoy.

In post-war days people in Hong Kong are more interested than ever before in getting their children into school. Their interest has extended beyond secondary to higher levels of education. Likewise, the sudden expansion of the Colony's economy in the days following the Second World War, together with technological progress and a steadily rising standard of living, has called for an increasing demand for college-trained men and women in the public services, in commerce, as well as in industry. Thus, the number of students who are demanding entry into colleges and universities is increasing each year. In the 1963-64 academic year, there were 22,874 students attending various types of colleges and universities in both full-time and part-time courses.[1] This is a substantial increase over the number attending in 1960 which was 15,535.[2]

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[1]Education Department, Annual Summary - 1963-64. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, pp. 20-49.

[2]Education Department, Triennial Survey - 1958-61. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1962, pp. 44-84.

Higher education in Hong Kong, like the primary and secondary, has developed in line with a dual process: one being the imitation of English practice and the other the maintenance of the Chinese mainland tradition. Higher education and professional training on the British model is provided at Northcote Training College (English section), the Technical College, and the University of Hong Kong. In the pattern of Chinese tradition, it is available at Grantham Training College 葛量洪師範專科學校, Sir Robert Black Training College 柏立基師範專科學校, Northcote Training College (Chinese section), the post-secondary colleges including the Evening School of Higher Chinese Studies, as well as the Chinese University of Hong Kong. The programmes of these institutions are outlined below.

Teacher Training in English

The training of teachers for the primary and lower forms (Forms I and II) of secondary Anglo-Chinese schools is conducted in the English section of Northcote Training College. The College offers a two-year general education course in which instruction is given in English. Qualification normally required for admission is a pass at ordinary level in the matriculation examination of the University of Hong Kong. Thus, applicants for entry to

this section are mainly from the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools. Successful students from this course are qualified to teach in the government and government-aided schools. In 1963-64 there were 196 students enrolled in this two-year course, and about one half were in the English section.[3]

Teachers for the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools are recruited mainly from the University of Hong Kong. The University offers a one-year full-time post-graduate course leading to a teacher qualification diploma. It provides also a two-year part-time course to enable graduates already employed in schools to obtain professional qualification. The 1963-64 enrolment in these two courses was 123.[4]

Technical Training and the Hong Kong Technical College

Traditionally, Chinese people have looked on craftsmen with contempt, and this is, in essence, the chief reason why China has trailed the advanced countries in the Western World by as much as a half-century in developing industry. They "thought of society as divided into groups, ranked in order of their value to society

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[3]Education Department, Annual Summary - 1963-64. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, p. 31.

[4]Ibid., p. 47.

and their consequent prestige. First came the scholar-officials, then the farmers, who were the backbone of society, then the craftsmen, and then the merchants, who were regarded as parasites."[5] Therefore, until the end of the nineteenth century, "Chinese industry remained in the craft-guild stage, and commerce was limited largely to direct sale over the counter by the maker of the article."[6] The Chinese traditional form of vocational training was carried out by means of an apprenticeship system which is still common in industrial establishments in Hong Kong to-day. The apprenticeship system in the small household industries, intended as a form of vocational training, sometimes becomes a means for obtaining inexperienced and cheap child-labour. In Chinese establishments, an apprentice may secure his position because of his kinship with the owner or foremen of the firm. Having been accepted he then receives on-the-job instruction as he assists the artisans. At the end of three to five years he finally becomes a skilled worker at his particular trade.

However, the rapid expansion of Hong Kong industry and the increasing complexity of modern industrial processes

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[5]Meribeth E. Cameron, Thomas H. D. Mahoney, and George E. McReynolds, China, Japan and the Powers - A History of the Modern Far East. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1960, p. 53.

[6]Ibid., p. 50.

have created organizations quite different from this traditional pattern of small family business. This development has produced a corresponding need in the demands for skilled workers capable of making, operating, and servicing the products of modern technology. As the world becomes more complex, employers tend to require greater competence from their young employees. This post-war industrial revolution in the Colony has, therefore, resulted in a big demand for technical education. To meet this requirement, the percentage of students entering technical and vocational training has been greatly increased in recent years. In the academic year 1963-64, there were 730 students enrolled in full-time courses at the Hong Kong Technical College, whilst 9,250 attended part-time day and evening classes.[7]

The Technical College recruits students either from the secondary technical schools or from the secondary grammar schools, Chinese or Anglo-Chinese. The College comprises Departments of Building, Commerce, Electrical and Telecommunications Engineering, Mechanical and Production Engineering, Mathematics and Science, Textiles and Navigation, all of which have day and evening classes. Instruction is mainly in English though some of the larger courses have parallel classes taught in both

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[7]Education Department, Annual Summary - 1963-64. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, p. 24.

Chinese and English.

Full-time students are prepared for two-year ordinary and three-year higher college diplomas and for the associate membership examinations of the British professional institutions, such as the Institutions of Mechanical Engineers and Electrical Engineers. In addition to the full-time course, the College provides part-time day and evening courses leading to the college ordinary and higher certificates and to the City and Guilds of London Institute.

Part-time courses are usually divided into senior and advanced sections. The senior course requires a three-year attendance preparing students for the Ordinary Certificate Examination. Students who obtain the ordinary certificate may continue to prepare for the higher Certificate Examination after a two-year further study. Apart from the Government Technical College, there are a number of classes for voluntary organizations, offering a wide range of subjects. The total enrolment in these private institutions in 1963-64 was 5,428.[8]

The University of Hong Kong

The University of Hong Kong is a self-governing body incorporated under the University Ordinance of 1911

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[8] Ibid.

(revised and re-enacted in 1958). The University now offers regular courses in the Faculties of Arts, Science, Medicine, and Engineering and Architecture with an enrolment of 1,956 students[9] at the conclusion of the 1963-64 academic year. Before the inauguration of the Chinese University in 1963, the University of Hong Kong was the only degree-granting institution in the Colony, recruiting students mainly from the English and Anglo-Chinese secondary schools.

The University was originally planned with special emphasis on professional training in the Faculties of Medicine and Engineering, and its stated aim was, and still is, "to provide . . . education for Chinese, similar to that given in the British universities."[10] However, at the very beginning the University failed to attract many students, for Western learning, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter, was not very welcome to the Chinese community in pre-war days. Parents always complained that children, by being educated in the English type of school, usually became denationalized and demoralized, and were often found to look with contempt on the methods of life and the principles that their fathers held in reverence. Indeed, Hong Kong itself is, in the

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[9] Ibid., p. 47.

[10] G. B. Endacott, A History of Hong Kong. London: Oxford University Press, 1958, p. 283.

main, a Chinese-speaking society; factories, banks, and trading companies are wholly Chinese-owned and operated. To many people, students trained in the medium of Chinese would probably give more useful leadership to their own people than those trained to think and work in English. Furthermore, the Anti-Manchu Revolution in 1911 brought about in the local people a new consciousness of nationalism in the very year that the British-modelled University of Hong Kong was founded. This revolution, rising in part from the resentment at the privileges held by foreign governments in China, stimulated the growth of anti-foreign feeling. This in turn led to the pressure for the encouragement of vernacular education in the Colony and diminished support for the new University.

In order to secure more co-operation from the Chinese community and to provide teaching facilities which Chinese parents considered necessary, the University started a one-year selective course in Chinese literature and history in 1912 with two Han-lin 翰林 scholars, Lai Chai Hay (Lai Chi-hsi 賴際熙) and Au Tai Tin (Ou T'a-tien 區大典) as lecturers. It was, indeed, owing to their reputations as learned scholars and to their activities in creating interest in the Chinese community, that the study of Chinese quickly gained extended prestige and world-wide popularity. Moreover, apart from conducting courses at the University, Han-lin Lai,

together with a small group of celebrated scholars, in 1923 founded a Chinese study centre called the Hok Hoi Shue Lau 學海書樓. This centre has provided facilities for public lectures and research in Chinese literature. Thus, the propagation of Chinese culture at the popular level was given considerable stimulation in the Colony.

A few years later (1926), for the furtherance of Chinese studies, the University appointed a special committee - the Willington Delegation - to advise on the teaching of Chinese. Recommendations were made that the course of Chinese studies should be developed as part of the university curriculum and incorporated into a separate department. Sir Cecil Clementi, the Governor of Hong Kong and Chancellor of the University, himself a distinguished Chinese scholar, was particularly enthusiastic in support of this idea. He expressed his great concern for it in this respect:

> It is one of the tasks of our University to study the institutions and culture of China. . . . The ultimate aim of our study is to work for the benefit of humanity. To preserve the intellectual heritage of our ancestors and to transmit it unimpaired to our descendants should be our basic principle.[11]

As a result, by 1927 the Department of Chinese was formally established with Han-lin Lai as Head of the

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[11]Sir Cecil Clementi, speech on the Congregation of the University in 1927, quoted in Lo Hsiang-lin, The Role of Hong Kong in the Cultural Interchange Between East and West. Hong Kong: Institute of Chinese Culture, 1961, p. 33.

Department. Four years later, the present Tang Chi Ngong School of Chinese 鄧志昂中文學院 and a Chinese library, the Fung Ping Shan Library 馮平山圖書館, were built. Meanwhile, large collections of Chinese books were given by various persons bringing the total number of books at that time to nearly 40,000 volumes. This formed the nucleus of the Chinese collection in the Colony. With these improved facilities and with this enlarged outlook, the Department of Chinese entered upon a period of steady growth and consolidation. It has, indeed, played a key part in promoting Chinese studies in the Colony.

During the next few years the curriculum was gradually expanded, and in 1935 when Hsü Ti-shan 許地山, both an eminent Chinese scholar and specialist in Buddhism from Yenching University 燕京大學, Peking, was appointed first professor of Chinese at the University, the curriculum was further developed in three sections, namely, Chinese literature, history, and philosophy.

The University was closed in 1941 as a result of the occupation of Hong Kong by Japanese. On the re-opening of the University after the Second World War, Ma Kiam (Ma Chien 馬鑑) was appointed professor of Chinese and the curriculum in the Department of Chinese was again revised and expanded to include Chinese art and archaeology in addition to literature, history, and

philosophy. Since then the standard of Chinese studies has been raised not only in the University, but also throughout the secondary schools. In 1952 an Institute of Far Eastern Studies (presently called the Institute of Oriental Studies 東方研究院), attached to the Department of Chinese, was established to provide facilities for research in Chinese and Oriental studies. This has given a further impetus to Chinese studies in the Colony.

In addition to these means of higher education in the Colony, there are a number of institutions in which the medium of instruction is Chinese. A discussion of these follows.

Teacher Training in Chinese

The majority of primary school teachers in Hong Kong are Chinese-language teachers, for almost all the schools in the primary stage, government, aided, or private, are Chinese institutions where the medium of instruction is Cantonese. In this respect, the training of primary school teachers, needless to say, must be designed to meet this demand. At present, these teachers are usually trained in the three government-operated institutions, namely, Grantham Training College, Sir Robert Black Training College and the Chinese section of Northcote Training College. The colleges select students

for a one-year primary-school-teacher course from among those who possess either a Chinese school certificate or an English school certificate with a credit pass in Chinese language and literature. Instruction is in Chinese. Emphasis is placed on demonstration lessons, criticism lessons, tutorials, and teaching practice. The programme is followed by a compulsory continuation course for two years during which students serve as probationary teachers in the primary school. The 1963-64 enrolment in this one-year course was 759.[12]

In addition to the one-year course, Grantham and Northcote Training Colleges offer a two-year course in Chinese which qualifies successful students to teach in lower classes (Classes I and II) of the Chinese middle schools. The programme includes Chinese language, general education courses, and teaching practice. This two-year course enrolled about 100 students in the academic year 1964-65. At Northcote Training College, there is also a special one-year course for graduates of post-secondary colleges designed principally to train teachers for the Chinese middle schools. It accommodates about 50 students.[13] Furthermore, apart from providing full-time courses, the three colleges also organize two-year

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[12]Education Department, Annual Summary - 1963-64. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, p. 31.

[13]Ibid.

in-service courses for teachers who are either untrained or in possession of unrecognized professional qualifications. The total enrolment of teachers under this training in 1963-64 was 1,508.[14]

Teachers for the Chinese middle schools are recruited mainly from the post-secondary colleges and the Chinese University or from the universities in Taiwan. The Chinese University plans to establish a School of Education by September, 1965. It is expected, therefore, that more well-trained Chinese-language teachers will be produced. This will probably increase the number of students entering teacher training, and eventually help to solve the chronic shortage of secondary Chinese-language teachers.

Post-Secondary Colleges

Over the years, the principal weakness of Hong Kong's educational system was probably in the lack of university education for students educated in the vernacular institutions. It was, indeed, not until 1963 when the Chinese University in which the medium of teaching is mainly Chinese was formed, that a completely Chinese system of education was made. For the first time there was available in Hong Kong itself an institution of higher learning for the graduates of the Chinese schools.

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[14] Ibid.

Before the advent of the Communist régime in China, students who completed secondary school education in the Chinese middle schools in Hong Kong would naturally go to China to receive their university education and return to the Colony after graduation. However, by 1949, with the changing circumstances on the mainland, this became no longer possible. Students graduated from the Chinese middle schools began to look locally for their higher education formerly available to them in China. Moreover, there were large numbers of Chinese students and scholars who came as refugees to Hong Kong in search of academic freedom and wished to continue the scholastic careers they previously pursued. As a result, a number of refugee colleges, as they were then called, were founded to provide post-secondary education for both refugee and local students who found entry to the University of Hong Kong difficult or impossible. Their main purpose was "to preserve [and promulgate] traditional Chinese culture and to balance it with Western learning that students might at once have a thorough knowledge of their cultural heritage and be prepared to cope with the modern world."[15] Thus, Hong Kong has, in fact, become a major centre of Chinese culture and education with a responsibility entirely new in its history for the development and

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[15]New Asia College of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Calendar for 1964-65. Hong Kong: Tang King Po School, 1964, p. 6.

strengthening of Chinese university education.

In an effort to provide students who start off along the Chinese stream with an opportunity for higher learning, the Government supported the creation of an Evening School of Higher Chinese Studies in 1951. The School (1963-64 enrolment 315)[16] offers a three-year diploma course in advanced Chinese studies, including Chinese literature, philosophy, sociology, philology, Chinese poetry, the study of the Chinese novel and drama, English language and literature. The next year (1952) the Government again set up a Committee on Higher Education, under the Chairmanship of John Keswick, to consider the principles that should guide the promotion of higher education in the Colony. The Keswick Committee rejected the idea of forming any new degree-granting body, in which the medium of instruction would be Chinese, in the Colony. Instead, it suggested that certain degree courses, particularly in the Faculty of Arts, at the University of Hong Kong should be taught in both Chinese and English in order that students educated in the Chinese middle schools might enter the University to complete their university education:

> In the first place, higher education must be related to Hong Kong's own needs, professional, technical, and cultural. Because of the connection

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[16]Education Department, Annual Summary - 1963-64. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, p. 20.

> with England, it should provide especially for English studies and for modern technical and professional studies of an English type and standard given in the medium of English. Because the people are Chinese, and because of the close link with China, it should also provide for a variety of higher Chinese studies. Hong Kong students should therefore have the peculiar advantage of being influenced by the best of both English and Chinese thought. They should be of the East but have a sympathetic understanding of the ways of the West. . . .[17]

The University agreed after considerable discussion to try to implement this recommendation if adequate finance could be found. However, as a first step in this direction the teaching staff of the Department of Chinese was increased, and, in the meantime, an Institute of Far Eastern Studies was founded to provide facilities for post-graduate study and research as well as for intensive training in the Chinese language.

On the other hand, the refugee colleges, owing to the delay in implementing the recommendation, continued to flourish and soon attracted many students not from the Chinese middle schools alone but also from the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools. It is reported that by 1957 there were 3,197 students attending these refugee colleges.[18]

The attraction of these new institutions is not hard to understand, even though they were poorly equipped

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[17]Keswick Committee, Report of the Committee on Higher Education. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1952, p. 4.

[18]South China Morning Post (Hong Kong), December 18, 1957.

and had little or no academic reputation. For the refugees and the Chinese school graduates there was no alternative in Hong Kong, and for many of the Anglo-Chinese graduates they offered hope for an otherwise unobtainable higher education. This was particularly true since the number of students attending the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools was increasing rapidly year by year chiefly because, as already mentioned, a working knowledge of English became more desirable in post-war days both for employment and proceeding to higher study. However, very few students, owing to the limited accommodation of the University, could successfully be admitted to the University of Hong Kong even though many of them would likely have passed the matriculation examination. Therefore, except for a fortunate few whose families' financial status permitted sending them abroad to study, the majority had to look locally for their higher education. Under these circumstances, many students from the Anglo-Chinese secondary school desired to attend these refugee colleges in hope of securing a higher qualification.

As time went by, the status of these refugee colleges was progressively improved. By 1959 the Government began to give financial support to three selected colleges, viz., Chung Chi College 崇基學院, New Asia College 新亞書院, and the United College of Hong Kong

香港聯合書院, which have now become Foundation Colleges of the Chinese University. In fact, early in 1957, these three colleges had already come together to form the Chinese Colleges Joint Council 香港中文專上學校協會 in hopes of promoting Chinese higher education in the Colony and securing Government recognition of the post-secondary colleges. In 1960 a Post-Secondary Colleges Ordinance was enacted, thus giving official recognition to those refugee colleges whose registration under this Ordinance was approved, and enabling them "to raise their standards to a level at which they might qualify for university status."[19] About the same time, the Government announced that a commission would be set up at an appropriate time to assess the three post-secondary grant colleges and to establish a federal-type of Chinese university in Hong Kong in the hope that the new university would work in close relation with the University of Hong Kong, providing complementary facilities in Chinese.

The three post-secondary grant colleges have now become the Foundation Colleges of the Chinese University, while there are still a number of private post-secondary colleges in the Colony accommodating 2,327 students.[20]

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[19]Fulton Commission, Report of the Fulton Commission. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1963, p. 2.

[20]Education Department, Annual Summary - 1963-64. Hong Kong: The Government Press, 1964, p. 24.

These colleges have an important part to play in promoting Chinese education in Hong Kong.

The Chinese University of Hong Kong

> The desirability of encouraging Chinese traditional scholarship and developing modern studies in the medium of the Chinese language [have long] been recognized, and attention [has] . . . been devoted to the importance of providing university education for students from the Chinese middle schools . . . whose standard of English [is] inadequate to enable them to enter the University of Hong Kong but who nevertheless [merit] university training.[21]

Moreover, the University of Hong Kong, however high its standards may be, cannot be hoped to meet the social and educational needs of a predominantly Chinese-speaking population, for it has been modelled too closely on the lines of an English university and many of the courses can have no real interest or final meaning for Chinese students.

As has been discussed in the preceding section, the demand for higher Chinese education has become increasingly great, especially since the time of the Communist take-over on the mainland of China which closed the path to higher education in China. A thousand or so graduates from the Chinese middle schools were emerging each year and were forced to look locally for their higher education. Although there were some opportunities,

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[21]Fulton Commission, op. cit., p. 1.

these were limited and the situation was not at all satisfactory. On the one hand the refugee colleges offered post-secondary training, but in practice graduates from these institutions did not usually gain esteem from the community and always met with difficulty in finding employment. On the other hand, the University of Hong Kong could not meet their needs. The Government had already intimated to the University of Hong Kong its view that one of the most urgent needs for expansion was to provide for the entry of a limited number of the best students from these vernacular schools to specialize in Chinese studies in the Department of Chinese. This, however, could benefit only the fortunate few; what is more, the plan was not carried out with sufficient speed to help significantly. In this situation, the provision of facilities for higher Chinese studies became obviously and undeniably necessary.

As an important preliminary measure, the Government in 1959 introduced Post-Secondary Colleges Grant Regulations. These were designed to provide financial support to the three selected refugee colleges (Chung Chi College, New Asia College, and the United College of Hong Kong) and at the same time to raise and maintain standards at a higher level. In the meantime, the Government proclaimed that a commission would, in due course, be appointed to advise as to when "any of the post-secondary colleges

were ready for advancement to university status."[22]

In 1962 the Fulton Commission was appointed to advise the Government on the creation of a Chinese university in the Colony. After a ten-month-long study, the Commission, under the chairmanship of J. S. Fulton, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sussex, submitted its report - the Report of the Fulton Commission - in February, 1963. As anticipated, the report earnestly recommended that a federal university should be established incorporating as Foundation Colleges, the three government-aided post-secondary colleges. The recommendations were accepted in principle by the Government and, accordingly, a provisional council was officially formed to implement the Commission's recommendations. At length, a Chinese University of Hong Kong Ordinance was enacted to bring the University officially into being on the 17 October, 1963, and Dr. Li Choh-ming 李卓敏, Director of the Centre for Chinese Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, was appointed first Vice-Chancellor.

The Chinese University offers four-year courses in the arts, science, and commerce under the supervision of a Faculty of Arts, a Faculty of Science and a Faculty of Commerce accommodating 1,867 students.[23] Affiliated with

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[22] Ibid., p. 2.

[23] The University Editorial Board, The University Bulletin of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Vol. I, No. 5 (November, 1964), p. 3.

New Asia College is an Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies and Research which was founded in 1953 to provide a two-year post-graduate course in Chinese learning and research in the field of Chinese history, literature, and philosophy. The basic aim of the Institute is to preserve and promote the study of the cultural heritage of China and to help students to understand the tendencies in the historical development of Chinese literature and learning. In addition, the Institute provides also in the Section of South-East Asian Studies the facilities for "historical as well as contemporary social and cultural investigations of South-east Asia, particularly the relationship and influence of China in that area."[24]

It is a declared aim of the Chinese University "to preserve and propagate the traditional culture of China and to assist in the adaptation and development of such culture in the light of changing world conditions. . . ."[25] In addition to their particular fields of study,

> . . . students of all three Faculties must take prescribed courses in Chinese, English, Chinese history, philosophy, and the social or natural sciences. These general requirements are designed to make the student competent in the use of Chinese, to equip him with a working

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[24]New Asia College of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, op. cit., p. 121.

[25]United College of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Calendar: Session 1964-65. Hong Kong: Tai Sun Printing Press, 1964, p. 93.

> knowledge of English and to enable him to have a general understanding of Chinese culture, Chinese history, science, and the values of life."[26]

The opening of the Chinese University has, indeed, turned over a new page in the history of education in Hong Kong. This University has an important rôle to play in the revival of Chinese culture.

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[26]New Asia College of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, op. cit., p. 38.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATIONAL PROSPECTS

The Potential Impact of the Chinese University

A university, if it is to reflect truly the purposes of the society, should have close ties both of culture and sentiment with the community which it is to serve. Sir Robert Black, the former Governor of Hong Kong and first Chancellor of the Chinese University, spoke of the function of a university in the inaugural address of the Chinese University on the 17th October, 1963. He quoted a statement from the speech of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong, Dr. Lindsay Tasman Ride, as follows:

> . . . it [the function of a university] 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 ever higher level of academic achievement, and at the same time fitting each individual to serve the everyday requirements of our complex society.[1]

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[1] South China Morning Post (Hong Kong), October 18, 1963.

Set in a community like Hong Kong where the people are predominantly Chinese, the Chinese University thus has to carry out a mission which should involve a leading part in the teaching of Chinese learning and the fostering and developing of the study of the cultural heritage of China. It must do this in order to meet the needs and nature of the Colony as well as the desire of the local people. Moreover, in Hong Kong as in China itself

". . . the dislocation and destruction of the Japanese War, subsequent civil strife, and the drastic recent changes on the mainland, have caused traditional forms of Chinese education to suffer severely."[2]

One of the principal problems for the continuation of traditional education has been the lack of adequate secondary Chinese-language teachers, particularly those teaching Chinese literature and history. This problem would probably have increased in magnitude year after year, had there not been a Chinese university to produce new scholars in Chinese studies as many of the older generation of mainland trained scholars had either reached retiring age or had died.

Secondly it is also true that, without the reviving stimulus of a Chinese university, Chinese studies themselves would have fallen into a drastic decline. It is

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[2]New Asia College of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Calendar for 1964-1965. Hong Kong: Tang King Po School, 1964, p. 120.

reasonable to have expected that more and more students would have changed to study in English, for many students found that the studies of Chinese gave only limited promise both in seeking employment and in proceeding to higher studies. The Chinese University, established in this place, at this juncture, has, therefore, a direct responsibility for "filling the rapidly increasing need for scholars and teachers steeped in a knowledge of traditional China and her unique contributions to world culture."[3] It must, then, bring to the Colony a renaissance in Chinese studies, and make it an important centre of Chinese learning in the world.

However, a university can hardly expect to create a pleasing impression and have good prospects for the future without international support and recognition. To this end, the Chinese University should attempt to participate in international co-operation and assistance, so as to develop its international character and raise its academic status. In reality, close ties between its Foundation Colleges and other foreign educational institutions and associations, notably the Harvard-Yenching Institute 哈佛燕京學社, Princeton-in-Asia, Yale-in-China Association, Asia Foundation, the University of California, and Kyoto University, already exist. Such co-operation has, indeed, a significant part to play, for

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[3] Ibid.

aside from promoting an interchange of knowledge, it will attract more young foreign students and scholars to pursue Chinese studies at the Chinese University. This would enable Chinese culture to be introduced and promulgated throughout the world. It is, therefore, hoped that such ties and co-operation will be further strengthened and developed throughout the academic world.

Regarding service to the community, the Chinese University should provide a form of higher education that will fill the social, economic, cultural, and educational needs of Hong Kong. In doing this, the Chinese University should work as closely as possible with communal, industrial, and commercial interests of the Colony. It should offer and encourage the kind of study that will be best suited to the times and community needs. To this end demands are growing for the creation of faculties and departments which do not presently exist.

On the recommendation of the report of the Fulton Commission, plans are now under way to establish a School of Education that will probably open its doors by September, 1965. This is, indeed, welcome, cheerful, and long-awaited news for the local people because, through this School of Education, the Chinese University will be able to make a significant contribution towards the solution of the chronic shortage of trained Chinese-language teachers. Once there is an increase of university graduates the

shortage of secondary teachers in the Chinese middle schools will automatically be alleviated.

In the meantime, the Chinese University is going to initiate extramural programmes aiming to provide a wide variety of courses in educational, cultural, and social studies wherever they are needed in the Colony. It is hoped that these studies will help to provide the general populace with a basic understanding of the spirit of traditional Chinese culture. This will in turn stimulate a greater interest in Chinese studies in the Colony. Needless to say, it will be a most pleasant situation if the Chinese University is successful in these endeavours.

However, the Chinese University should not be considered as having fulfilled all of its responsibilities at this point. It should provide, as soon as possible, training in medicine and engineering to cope with growing needs of the community. This would give students from the Chinese middle schools opportunities equal to those enjoyed by students from the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools, to enter the medical and engineering professions. The Chinese University should also provide in-service training for those medical students whose courses in China were interrupted and for those who had completed their studies but whose qualifications are not registrable in the Colony. This would help to fill the rapidly growing need for qualified medical doctors.

Furthermore, it is the purpose of a university to train men and women for higher grades of service in the community which the university is to serve. However, university education must be interpreted in a broader sense. A university should have a duty to young people which goes beyond just preparing them for their professional careers. The highest goal of university training should be the development of character and the cultivation of the tastes and manners which make gentlemen and ladies. The development of character and the pursuit of knowledge should, therefore, be harmoniously developed and should substantially reinforce each other.

Probably the most serious defect in Hong Kong education has been that it places too much emphasis upon the development of scholarship and professional training with comparatively little attention to students' virtues and manners. This may result in a decline of social morals, courtesy, and good manners, particularly of girls; and eventually in an increase of juvenile delinquency and anti-social behaviour. Fear of this occurring has recently been expressed in the Hong Kong Chinese newspapers. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the Chinese University can play a leading and influential part in lessening these shortcomings. In doing this, the Chinese University should have a function which is concerned not only with the cultivation of the mind but with

the wholesome, well-rounded development of each individual as a person and as a member of the family, the community, the nation and of the human race.

Further Development of the Private Post-Secondary Colleges

Chung Chi College, New Asia College, and the United College of Hong Kong, now the constituent members of the Chinese University, were not the only post-secondary colleges in the Colony. At present, there are still a number of private government-recognized institutions offering post-secondary study in the medium of Chinese language. As already mentioned many of these post-secondary colleges had their origins in the colleges or universities formerly flourishing on the China mainland, and most of the teaching staff are Chinese refugee intellectuals who have had long experience in university teaching or administration. These post-secondary colleges have all seen their future purposes as the promotion of teaching and research of university standard for the people of Hong Kong and especially for the growing number of children who would be attending the Chinese middle schools in the coming years. Their earnest hope is to be able to make a contribution to higher education in Hong Kong which will, in due course, achieve, in the eyes of the community, an esteem similar to that given the Chinese University.

With the exceptional few that are better established and equipped, most of these private post-secondary colleges are suffering from financial undernourishment. This is probably reflected in the difficulty of providing facilities for laboratories and libraries as well as adequate salaries of teachers. The most urgent need, therefore, is to seek a substantial increase in capital and recurrent resources for teaching and research. They need, in particular, additional staff and additional laboratory and library accommodation so as to bring the quality of the courses offered to the universally acceptable standards. In this respect, the Government itself should accept a large share of financial responsibility for the private post-secondary colleges in order to enable them to provide more efficiently for higher education and better facilities as well as to improve the salary scale of the teaching and administrative staff. In addition, it might be anticipated that the Chinese University should offer whatever support lies in its power to assist the development of these post-secondary colleges so as to enable them to achieve independent university status or become constituent parts of the Chinese University itself. The Chinese University may advise them on desirable lines of development, and students from these colleges should (in order to qualify for a degree) be presented for the examination of the

Chinese University similar to the external degree examination of the University of London. This would probably furnish greater opportunities for students from the Chinese middle schools to enjoy university education in the Colony.

It is to be hoped that such energy and creativeness will be manifested soon, for only through the expression of these qualities can Chinese studies hope to be stimulated and Chinese culture be preserved and promulgated.

An Overview of Chinese Culture and Education in Hong Kong

When examining closely the entire development of history in the present-day Colony, one can readily recognize that Chinese culture has, indeed, an important part to play in the predominantly Chinese Hong Kong community as well as in its system of education. Had Chinese education not been important in the Colony, there would not have existed a Chinese school system. Also, it would not have been necessary to provide facilities for Chinese studies at the University of Hong Kong. Furthermore, had there not been a demand for Chinese education at the University level, there would not have been the need for the development of the post-secondary colleges and the Government would not have created the Evening School of Higher Chinese Studies. Finally, if these colleges were

not providing the type of education required by the community, indeed the present Chinese University would not have been established.

The situation in Hong Kong is entirely different from those of other former colonial territories overseas. In America, Canada, Australia, India, Africa, and some parts of South-east Asia, the society is a multi-racial one, and peoples, though living in the same place, speak different languages and dialects and have different customs and cultural backgrounds. The situation is still more complex in Africa mainly because of the absence of written language. Under such conditions, English becomes the essential tool for mutual communication. In contrast to these communities, Hong Kong is, in the main, a Chinese-speaking one. The Chinese belong to a race with rich and long traditions of culture and civilization. They have their own ideals and traditions of education, which have withstood the test of time as well as any system of the modern world. They have their own ideal of "a scholar and a gentleman." Facilities for education from primary through higher levels, as far as they were thought to be needed, have long existed in China.

In Hong Kong the vast majority of the students from every level of education are Chinese. Their way of life and thinking, their language or dialects, as well as their home and social backgrounds, are completely and

thoroughly Chinese. Since education is an instrument to conserve, promote, and transmit human culture and since the underlying aim of education is to serve and meet the needs of the community, the educational authorities in Hong Kong have, therefore, taken all these factors into consideration in deciding upon the framework of administration, constitution, teacher training, and curriculum organization of the much-needed Chinese system of education.

As was said earlier, English studies in pre-war days were, indeed, not welcome to the local community. People would rather send their children to the mainland to receive education than send them to the government-operated schools, chiefly because most of these schools, by that time, used English as the language of instruction. Moreover, during this period, the people in Hong Kong were far more rigidly conservative than they are to-day. Although the contact with the Western World has, indeed, brought to China many innovations, particularly in modern technology and science, the traditional spirit of its culture still remains in the hearts of the Chinese people. China's philosophic heritage, notably the thought of Confucius, still remains a dominant part in Chinese intellectual life, and his teaching still governs the minds of the people. It is no wonder then, that the people have not been greatly influenced by the West and

hence were unwilling to send their children to Anglo-Chinese schools to study. For this reason, the vernacular schools flourished throughout the whole period.

However, time and circumstances have changed this situation. The collapse of the Nationalist Government on the mainland brought to the Colony an increased flow of refugees. Both Hong Kong-born people and these refugees had to look locally for their education in the Colony. Moreover, as business and commerce in Hong Kong became increasingly prosperous, a knowledge of English became important for people who had to make contact with peoples from other parts of the world. In this situation, people, especially those whose business or work involved English, found a knowledge of English necessary. At the same time there were no proper facilities for higher Chinese education in the Colony. These are the chief reasons why Chinese education in the post-war days was not vigorously pursued.

In Hong Kong as in many other places in the world, it is undeniable that a knowledge of the English language is desirable, if not essential, mainly because of its utilitarian aspects. Although Hong Kong is in essence a Chinese-speaking society, it is also a place where the East and West meet. Therefore, people in Hong Kong should, as far as possible, learn both Chinese and English well so as to help to develop understanding and

interchange between the two great civilizations. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the value and study of the Chinese language should be underestimated and that the study of Chinese should be in a position secondary to that of English. As Chinese is the mother tongue of the large majority of the population, it should be given priority in the school curriculum. Being Chinese, the people should learn and master their own native language as well as have a basic understanding of their own cultural heritage and historical background before attempting to study English. Would not those people who know only the Chinese language find it easier to communicate with and serve the community, since it is a Chinese-speaking one, better than those who are educated only in English? Would it not be a shame if people whose mother tongue is Chinese were to lack a knowledge of their own native language? The unhappy fact is that, at the present time, some parents desire to educate their children in English from the very beginning of their schooling. These people entirely neglect the study of Chinese and show no concern for preserving their identity. Although, at present, this group of parents forms only a minority in the community, this attitude could one day become dangerously wide-spread and broadly general in the absence of an organized effort to promote Chinese studies. As a result, the study of Chinese culture would diminish

and finally vanish.

However, there were a number of mainland students who possessed a strong feeling for education in their native tongue, and felt that something alien was being forced upon them by education presented wholly in a foreign language. In addition, there were a host of Chinese scholars from the mainland who were eager and enthusiastic to promote Chinese culture in the Colony and to provide facilities for Chinese higher studies. These refugee scholars banded themselves together and started post-secondary college groups. These colleges, as clarified before, had a very humble beginning, but they soon gained support both locally and abroad. As time wore on, the number of students enrolled in these colleges increased. These students were attracted not only from the Chinese middle schools but from the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools as well.

It may seem contradictory to say that Chinese education was declining and, at the same time, the Chinese post-secondary colleges gradually prospered. In the preceding chapter, it has been clearly indicated that despite the rapid increase in the number of students entering to study in the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools and despite the great attraction of English learning because of its business and working value, very few students from the Anglo-Chinese schools were able to

attend the University of Hong Kong mainly because of the intense competition for entry. Although students realized that qualifications from these post-secondary colleges were not recognized by the Government and that these colleges had a low academic status, they wished to acquire their education there, because there was no alternative for them.

Thus, these post-secondary colleges have played an important part in Chinese education in the Colony. They not only helped to promote Chinese education and rescued it from its decline, but also enabled Chinese culture to be preserved and spread out in the Colony. The credit for all these booming successes, needless to say, should be attributed chiefly to those who operated and maintained these colleges as well as the local community which encouraged their continued efforts. Without such efforts the Chinese University would never have been established, Chinese education would never have been stimulated, and finally, Chinese culture would not have been preserved and promoted.

The setting-up of the Chinese University of Hong Kong has brought to the Colony a new era of history, particularly of the history of education. It introduced a complete system of Chinese education, thus providing students from the vernacular institutions with an opportunity for higher education to be given in their

native language. It will help to raise the average standard of Chinese language of the students in both the vernacular and Anglo-Chinese schools in Hong Kong and thus bring to the community a reviving stimulus of Chinese studies. It is also believed that since students from the Chinese middle schools are now given the opportunity for higher education and their qualifications from the Chinese University have been given full recognition by the Government, the circle of service of these students in the community will gradually be widened.

At present, there exists an apathetic attitude towards Chinese studies, resulting mainly from the fact that people with a Chinese education usually encounter difficulty in obtaining employment. This is probably the most important single factor contributing to the fact that people have become increasingly interested in studying English. A working knowledge of English gives to many people apparent security in seeking work. However, since the problem of obtaining employment has now been alleviated to some extent, it is felt that the attitude towards Chinese studies will be more favourable. Thus, the status and prestige of the students of the vernacular schools will be raised and become equivalent to those of the students of the Anglo-Chinese secondary schools. Children now graduating from the vernacular primary schools will not find it necessary to study English but

will be able to enter the Chinese middle schools directly. Upon graduation from the Chinese middle school they may enter the Chinese University.

The Chinese University, established at this strategic period in the history of Hong Kong, has the tremendous responsibility of meeting the needs of a population of three and three quarters million people. The Chinese University has, therefore, the task of providing a reviving stimulus to Chinese studies, changing people's attitude towards vernacular school students, and finally promoting Chinese culture in the Colony. It is only through its leading part and effort that the decline of Chinese studies will be prevented and Chinese culture will be preserved.

To conclude, the Chinese University has not only a duty to promote Chinese culture in the Colony but also, through its influence, bring about a better understanding of China and its culture throughout the world.

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