

The Prewar School Civic Education Policy in Hong Kong: A Historical Comparative Analysis

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The civic education policy at the school level in Hong Kong had emerged before the Second World War, but the Hong Kong Education Department did not really implement this civic education policy. From the statist and colonial perspectives, this phenomenon was due to several factors, such as: (1) how the Hong Kong Government coped with the whole historical period and scenarios; (2) how it implemented the related policy; (3) whether civic education policy really became part of the government agendas; and (4) whether education did clarify some crucial historical questions. This paper wants to make certain about these questions. In fact, the Republic of China adopted modern schooling system which civic education was one of school subject. But it was not the education policy of the colonial Hong Kong Government. Historical reasons about this issue require reconstructive explanation. Under this study, the understanding of misinterpreted history can be amended correctly.

Keywords: re-construction, civic education policy, historical context, Confucius

The researchers pointed out that the school civic education had appeared before the Second World War in Hong Kong, and they guessed that the Hong Kong Education Government implemented this civic education policy. The findings were not. From the perspective of the state and the British colony, how the Hong Kong Government to map the whole historical periods and scenarios is the major concern. And the related policy whether it was actually set as what it was said or the corresponding problem it was reflected is the major concern. They wrote the following about prewar Hong Kong education:

The ultra-nationalistic, anti-colonial and at times anti-British tone of the Nationalist Party's policies ensured a wariness by the colonial government toward their activities. Pre-World War II examples of the direct impact of these suspicions on education in Hong Kong included the introduction of civics into the curriculum as a safeguard against the Nationalist 'New Life Movement' and an alignment of Hong Kong Government officials with *immigre* Chinese scholars of a distinctively conservative outlook. (Morris & Sweating, 1991, pp. 250-251)

Chan Kin Keung had the other interpretation:

Because of the happening of the Canton-Hong Kong General Strike and the boycott against buying British commercial goods, the Hong Kong Government looked at this, perceived the necessity of enhancing the relationship of the local Chinese and reduced the cultural and sensational differences of the two sides. Therefore, it started civic education at all schools at the late twenties. After this, civics was used as the mean of counteracting external political factors. (Chan,

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1996, p. 235)¹

Basically, these two conclusions are contradictory and the findings are problematic and questionable. It should be clarified historically. This paper wants to explain the Hong Kong Government policy of implementation of civic education in this period. The revolutionary Chinese community challenged the British Hong Kong's governance very much. We should put this analysis with the geo-political context where Hong Kong was actually under the external effects.

Citizenship and Education in the Inter-War Period

The concepts of citizenship could undergo changes. Marshall's theory of citizenship analysed the development of citizenship as a development of civil, political, and social rights. A departure from the vision of state citizenship emerged in the course of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. Sketching the development of the citizenship may be the best way to introduce this argument.

There was the expansion of the welfare state, economic protections for citizens and the admission of all ranks of residents to formal citizenship under study from the 1950s. Nowadays, citizenship developed into a national framework for attributing citizenship rights. It should not be the picture for citizenship before the Second World War.

Citizenship became a key criterion for being admission to political rights. It was not surprising that formal citizenship was closely linked to political citizenship. The invention was a political project of modernity. It would not be relevant for Chinese or Hong Kong's citizenship before the Second World War. Also, economic and social rights would not be the required elements during that period. As a matter of fact, with the effects of Confucianism, the Chinese values acted as the alternative for citizenship in the Republic of China and the Hong Kong's Colony. Obviously, the traditional Chinese approach of citizenship was nation-led and Confucian-oriented. It did not like modern citizenship.

Historical Comparative Method

The historical comparative methods would become fertile ground for innovation in social sciences. Researches could be at the fore front of the scholarly effort to rework the role of states as actors or as institutions. Comparative historical analysis would be considered as part of a long-standing intellectual project directed toward the explanation of substantively important outcomes. It was defined by a concern with the use of systematic and contextualized comparison. The research tradition should not be inherently devoted to structural explanation or theoretical orientation. To understand the civic education policy in Hong Kong before the Second World War, we can implement this kind of concern to go through the truth of history.

What happened in our history should be mainly unknown. We can only be made known in a very limited area in our history. Historical documents are helpful to prove the reality in the policy of implementation of education in this context. It is impossible to get the sources of all documents which came from libraries and archives. It is not the case that all historical realities could come out to be analyzed as well. Historical artefacts and sources were made in particular worlds and tied to the political, social, and economic states of the world. The historical comparative method of study can give you the way at one hand to retrieve the historical records

¹ Translated from Chinese.

and on the other hand to mediate the event with history.

We should be engaged in not easily resolved disputes over divergent theoretical frameworks. There are still unresolved epistemological issues that arise from the attempt to do historical particularity. We could make major process toward addressing issues that often were not well treated and presented in the past.

Historical Process of Hong Kong's Education Implementation

We must know the history of the contemporary Hong Kong which is the contemporary China. The author concentrates the analysis on the period of the Republic of China from 1912 to 1941. In addition to the political situation, the key element should be nationalism of China. The society and identity were so complex that we should carry on careful analysis. It should clearly be found through the analysis of the historical context and geo-political understanding whether Hong Kong had implemented its civic education. The study helps to review whether the implementation of civic education would be possible in this period.

What the policy of the Hong Kong Government responded in this aspect should be understood through the basic understanding of the historical context. The conditions and policies in China might affect the development of Chinese education for the oversea Chinese and Hong Kong. The education development and implementation in Hong Kong should show some interesting features owing to its geographical proximity to China and its predominantly Chinese population.

From the British to the Revolution, 1841-1911

From the British coming to Hong Kong, the society was not modeled on Victorian England (Tsang, 2004, p. 56). Most of the newcomers were single men and recruited by labour contractors. They had no intention of settling in Hong Kong. British jurisdiction provided stability, security, and the predictability of British legal system and governance. Hong Kong was the head offices or regional headquarters for British and trading firms which engaged in Chinese trade. It enabled Hong Kong to flourish as a center for world-wide trading. The rising and well-connected firms based in Hong Kong built up a social and financial network to leading international cities. Hong Kong became the global pivot of trade and capital. The suddenly expanding overseas Chinese communities utilized Hong Kong's facilities as a free port. Chinese merchants set up operations in Hong Kong and they were able to bypass the *Ch'ing's* government regulations and restrictions over foreign trade. This international network benefited Chinese traders in providing financial and services in support of their business. They joined these international intermediaries as the full partners in trade with China and the rest of Asia. Obviously, Chinese merchants made good use of these Hong Kong benefits. On the other hand, these internationalized society played an important role during the Chinese Revolution in 1911.

Pupils were educated in Hong Kong who remained in the colony and generally joined forces with the colonial authorities. Chinese members of the European companies were also educated in Hong Kong and the power of the compradors. They acted as a link between the principals and the Chinese business community. They were guides through the complex network of relationships within the community.

In 1883, Sun Yatsen came to Hong Kong and he entered the schools. He was impressed by the sharp contrast between the efficient British administration and the corrupt government in China. He also was deeply touched by the anti-French feelings prevalent among the Chinese in the wake of the Sino-French War. He was convinced of the inherent nationalism and patriotism. Sun was a student of the Hong Kong College of Medicine

for Chinese from 1887 to 1892. He graduated as a medical doctor. His career was not to be in medicine, but in politics. The middle school education at the Central School and the College of Medicine were the settings where his revolutionary thought was initially developed (Smith, 1995, p. 337). At the college, he insisted to involve propagating his political belief. His revolutionary fervour was kindled by his close association with a number of local intellectuals who were concerned with the reform of China (Chan Lau, 1990, p. 21). The opportunities were provided for young people to absorb Western ideas of constitutional government. They found the methods of British Government to be workable alternative to the shaky *Ch'ing* regime (Welsh, 1997, p. 335).

Generally speaking, the government did not bother to legislate to discriminate against the Hong Kong Chinese. It was unnecessary. On the other hand, the ruling class was formed by the British officials and the colonial collaborators. They constituted the ruling elite in Hong Kong and insisted on rigidly following precedence and protocols in society events (Tsang, 2004, p. 63). Exercising authority over Hong Kong through local collaborators was cost-effective and sufficiently secure. It had a clear and segregating colonial hierarchy in this Hong Kong society. Their position voiced the concerns of the community and promoted effectively issues of particular importance to their most powerful Chinese constituencies only. Robert Ho was believed to be the most wealthy man in Hong Kong and he worked as a comprador for Jardine's before building up his immense personal fortune. He played an active role in supporting Sun's revolutionary activities in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Hsing Chung Hui was founded on February 21, 1895. The members received education—a western-style education. Ho supported them and the revolutionaries won the sympathy of some British journalists in Hong Kong.

Eight foreign nations sent expeditions to North China to suppress the Boxer uprising in 1900. A proclamation to foreign countries was entitled the South Eastern "Regulations for Peaceful Rule". It was signed by the revolutionary leaders to be presented to Governor Blake. However, the negotiations failed and London did not support this action. But it did not matter, it indicated the rising effectual power of Hans ethnic gentry instead of Manchu. These were to say that the Sino-Japanese War, the Hundred Days' reform, the Boxer uprising and the foreign expedition to China occurred in North China only. Hoping to use the crisis in North China to their advantage, the South Eastern China was kept peaceful. These did not affect the livelihood of the populace in Hong Kong. Chinese elitist nationalists demanded their top priority on devotion to the state. They should be selfless and disinterested, transcending their self-interest for the common good of the nation. It was a mystification of nationalism.

In 1901, education in Hong Kong came under the control of the Director of Education. The reform education policy of Hong Kong in 1902 showed the dual policy to separate the two languages system in Hong Kong with different extents of financing. The Hong Kong Government changed the policy hereafter the English was given great assistance in education and the Chinese was ignored. It was the aftermath of the Chinese boxer movement. Chinese were more active and powerful. The *Ch'ing's* Government was weakened in controlling Chinese at that moment. So the Hong Kong Government chose that the Chinese should bring their own responsibility in educating their youth.

In the closing period of the Ching Dynasty, military education had been voiced the then educationalists. Notwithstanding the fact that such an education is opposite to the principles of socialism and is consequently out of vogue in other countries, a nation like China which had so much intercourse with foreign powers and which greatly needs internal self-defence must necessary aim at a kind of military education if her long-lost national rights are to be regained some day.

(Tsai², 1927, p. 8)

Accompanying with the revolution, the Hong Kong Chinese followed the hinterland proposal in making military nationalism education. The education of military nationalism was observed and implemented in Hong Kong. This national militarism educated pupils in defense for their nation in some vernacular schools. Even it was not so popular that it caused the Hong Kong Government's attention.

The Aftermath of Revolution to the Warlords Period, 1912-1926

The news of events in November 1911 in Canton to signify the end of the *Ch'ing* Government was received in Hong Kong. Lugard wrote, with "the most amazing outburst which has ever been seen and heard in the history of the colony". The entire Chinese populace appeared to become temporarily demented with joy. The din of crackers was deafening and accompanied by unusual to the Chinese (Welsh, 1997, p. 353). The Chinese Revolution had created an immediate revival in the interest of Chinese education in Hong Kong. An act of indiscipline resulted in the expulsion of a considerable number of boys at Queen's College in 1911. The governor alluded to the debating society and expressed his disapproval of the discussion of political subjects (Cheng, 1949, p. 272). He expressed a hope that Hong Kong might be able to assist China in 1912. He spoke about the sympathy which had been evoked by the recent events in China in an address to the Chinese boys of St. Joseph's College in the following year (Cheng, 1949, pp. 272-273). The following paragraph was reported by the Director of education for the year 1911:

The year has been marked by public excitement due to the grave national crisis through which the Chinese empire has been passing. The discipline of the school has been occasionally put to a very severe test, in all cases with credit to the school. The institution of prefects has resulted in the growth of school patriotism. Their assistance has been enlisted in the maintenance of good order throughout the school and they have shewn themselves to possess a due sense of responsibility. What is at present desired greatly by the headmaster and the staff of the college is that some influence could be brought to bear upon the parents and guardians of pupils to ensure a more regular attendance. (Irving, 1912, p. N3)

The Chinese Revolution stimulated certain enthusiasm among the education authorities in Hong Kong. They tried to help China and be hopeful in educating and training men to serve in New China. It was almost at the same time that the University of Hong Kong was founded. The importance of founding the University of Hong Kong was on the future of China and on the relations between Great Britain and the Chinese nation (Cheng, 1949, p. 268). It was also heard that Chinese parents found by experience that their sons returned from a course of study in a foreign country with revolutionary ideas and became a danger to the state. It should be the special care of Hong Kong University to see that no such pernicious doctrines were encouraged or tolerated (Welsh, 1997, p. 356). The original purpose was to train doctors and engineers to serve in China while arts graduates were to join the highest grades of the Chinese civil services. This purpose was defeated by the unsettled conditions in China (Cheng, 1949, p. 268). The Chinese Revolution had its immediate repercussions in Hong Kong. It was considered of the utmost importance that the university should not be allowed to foster political societies and organizations.

The 1911 China Revolution was actually not successful. China was not deliberated and fell into chaos after the establishment of the Republic of China. Sir Henry May arrived at Hong Kong to be the 15th Governor

² He served as the provisional Republic's Minister of Education in January 1912, but later resigned during Yuan Shikai's presidency. He returned to China in 1916 and served as the President of Peking University the following year. It was during his tenure at Peking University that he recruited such famous thinkers (and future Chinese Communist Party leaders) to the school as Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao, as well as quite different thinkers as Hu Shih and Liang Shuming.

of Hong Kong in July 1912. Though being shot when disembarking at Blake Pier, he escaped injury. This was the first time that Hong Kong was in jeopardy.

It was a story following the military nationalism education. Scouting came to Hong Kong just a few years after it started in Britain. Informal training was adopted in 1910. However, the first Boy Scout Troop of Hong Kong was started in late 1913 after the China Revolution. This was a few years later than elsewhere in the Britain Empire and in British communities in China³. In these early years, scouting prepared a few British boys in the colonial outpost of Hong Kong citizenship (Kua, 2011, p. 47). It was a counteracting process against the China's proposal of newly education system.

As Tsai Yuan-pei was the first Minister of Education for the founded Republic of China, he addressed scholars and educators in Beijing for the Provisional National Education on July 10, 1912. He called to establish a new national educational system for China. The approach of republican education should consider the capabilities of the people to fulfill their duties and enact their rights in society. It was the process of using education to cultivate a modern citizenry. However, this modern schooling system and the standard citizenship curriculum were under debate and experimentation a quarter of century ago. They came to argue over what those capacities should be and how these should be taught in China. It was felt to plan properly for vernacular schools in Hong Kong. A comprehensive survey of schools was made by Barlow. He reported that:

During the recent inspection of the private schools (Chinese) in Hong Kong and Kowloon I was, with two or three exceptions, courteously received, and had very little difficulty in obtaining the information I sought; the exceptions were inclined to be suspicious and gave particulars unwillingly. One or two schools closed very early, no doubt to avoid inspection. (Sweeting, 1990b, p. 282)

His report was full of interesting information. The pupils were under the impression that Hong Kong was Chinese territory. It appeared in some instances that the idea had been fostered. It would be quite an easy matter to imagine some of these schools to be situated in the heart of Canton (Sweeting, 1990b, p. 282). China was in a state of chaos. Canton could not organize itself. Hong Kong fell chaotic after the revolution. Many people came to Hong Kong for shelter during the trouble in Canton, but they did not recognize that they were under British protection. The method inclined to be modern in schools and the children appeared to be intelligent and less hostile to foreigners. Political propaganda and activities of the Chinese nationalists were finding their way into the schools. Barlow's report certainly hastened the drafting of this Education Ordinance to affect some form of control over the Chinese schools (Sweeting, 1990b, p. 281).

As a new schooling system was introduced by the new Chinese Government in 1912, a set of *Republic Readers* was published by the Commercial Press. The system and their books were adopted by the vernacular schools in Hong Kong. However, the authorities realized the desirability of having more suited to Hong Kong. A series of Hong Kong elementary readers were produced. More politicalized society caused an important education ordinance extended the power of inspection to all schools, thereby bringing all private schools under governmental supervision. It indicated the colonial government paying attention to educational contents in Hong Kong under this revolution period. Obviously, the Chinese elite managed vernacular schools were the majority of the Hong Kong education system. The ordinance required all schools to register. The Ordinance had brought 620 schools, with 11,909 pupils under control immediately (Severn, 1914, p. 18). The intention of the

³ Boy scouts had appeared in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa in 1908, and in India and Singapore in 1909. There were European Boy Scouts in Tsingtao in 1908, Tientsin had a local Scout Association affiliated with the British association in 1909, and Weihaiwei and Shanghai had set up similar organizations by 1911.

Education Ordinance 1913 was expressed in the minute.

What the governor wants apparently to do is to get absolute control over all schools except Government and Military schools through a system of compulsory registration. The reason... seems to be chiefly political, i.e., the governor wants to prevent the dissemination of anti-foreign views in native schools... (Sweeting, 1990b, p. 289). The action followed was further expressed by the Hong Kong Report 1914 that the registration of the private schools under the Education Ordinance proceeded satisfactory. The ordinance had not been applied in the New Territories. A new edition of the Grant Code was published in 1914. This was necessary in order to bring it into line with the Education Ordinance. (Severn, 1914, p. 19)

During the war, little attempt or none has been made to adjust the expenditure on education to meet the growing needs of Hong Kong (Irving, 1919). The war expenditure, the completion of the railway, and the cost of the demonetization programme in December 1915 made the reserves of the colony entirely exhausted. The May Fourth Movement of 1919 was the action counteracting imperialism and feudalism. The Student Movement in China led to great enthusiasm in education. A sense of conflict culture pressed Chinese people into seeking some kind of impetus for the development of education and a new foundation for the rejuvenation of the country. The educational scene continued to evolve with typical British flexibility. In 1921, a new Board of Education was set up. This board consisted of officials of the Education Department and representatives of the community. It was quite distinct from the 1860 Board which was the forerunner of the Education Department. On the other hand, the Chinese New School System was passed at the annual conference of the National Federated Provincial Education Associations held in Canton in 1921. During this time, the Nationalist Party was in power in Canton, and intense nationalist propaganda was strongly influencing its intelligentsia. It must also be remembered that the Nationalist Party was at this time under Russian communist influence which was later largely responsible for the outburst of anti-foreign feeling throughout China (Cheng, 1949, p. 288). Anti-imperialist demonstrations by industrial workers and students in Shanghai in 1925 resulted in a massacre by British police force. It soon triggered widespread protests in all major Chinese cities and culminated in a boycott and general strike in Hong Kong and Canton against the British (Luk, 1991, p. 658). Some 250,000 workers joined in the strike which last until October 1926. Everything connected with Hong Kong which was severely censored, despised, and disparaged.

It was reported by the Education Department in Hong Kong that civics was taught in vernacular schools before the Second World War in 1985 (Curriculum Development Committee, 1985, p. 1). But it did not specify the exact content of introducing civic education at that period. After this, scholars generally guessed that the Hong Kong Government implemented civics as a school subject. The findings were not. In fact, citizenship education of Hong Kong was not a traditional subject in English schools. In Britain, the late 1920s and 1930s were the period when discussion of citizenship education was intense in response to fears about the spread of totalitarianism (Fogelman, 1997, p. 85). About the description of introducing civic education in Hong Kong, it was expressed by Kenton in 1927. The problem of schools was how to give some ideas of the meaning of education, and the duties of citizenship to those who (were) about to end their academic education. In general, this (might) be attempted by encouraging a critical view (in the broadest sense) of the knowledge received, in students, and by association of the staff with the students, and by the promotion of activities beyond the ordinary school curriculum, through the organization of voluntary societies. ...The term "Civics is not a pleasant one, ...the subject covers all branches of information from the municipality's duty in the promotion of modern art to a concise course on municipal responsibility for the construction and repair of municipal drains" (Keeton, 1927, pp. 31-32).

As a matter of fact, the introduction of civics into a few of our schools, however, has not been accomplished without a certain amount of criticism. There are those who fearfully raise the cry in this way, undesirable political influences are being introduced into our schools. It is hard to see, however, upon which arguments such a criticism is based (Keeton, 1927, p. 33).

The key observations were the influences of the Chinese Revolution and other nationalistic and cultural movements in China, such as the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and the strikes and boycott of the early 1920s. Hong Kong was merely a *pied-à-terre* for both British and Chinese residents. The contact between the two races was for mutual gain. There was contact but no fusion, no community of thought or feeling (Sweeting, 1990b, p. 462). However, Sweeting guessed that probably partly in recognition of the distance between the average Chinese pupil in a Hong Kong vernacular school and the Hong Kong Government, civics was taught in vernacular schools especially from the late 1920s onwards, that is, after the 1925-1926 General Strike and Boycott of British goods (Sweeting, 1989b, p. 740).

The conclusion is not. The issue was concluded that it was not precise enough to tell and explain the reality. The fact might be true but the explanation hardly described the real situation. It was noted that the vernacular education policy of Hong Kong had followed blindly the developments in China. The radical and impetuous China tended to throw everything old aside, and Hong Kong benefitted from the influx of Chinese scholars (Cheng, 1949, pp. 304-305). Students can have the distinction of still being taught some of the Chinese classics while at the same time keeping pace with new developments in Hong Kong (Cheng, 1949, p. 305). There was an increasing awareness of the value of education. An article was written by Rivers, titled as “The Spirit of the New Education” and issued at *The Hong Kong University Society’s Educational Journal* No. 1 in May 1926. The first paragraph was written as:

The aim of education is good citizenship. Until recent years, the teacher’s ideal student was the boy whose attendance and punctuality could be held up as an example to his classmates; he kept quiet during school hours (the teacher never bothered what he did at other times), and did his home lessons perfectly; at the end of the year he carried off all the prizes of his class. Here was a student to be proud of! The boy passed through school rapidly, entered university on a scholarship, graduated with honours, and, by sheer ability, became head of a big firm in a few years. He settled down in a comfortable home. The world pointed to him—a success, a well-educated man. (Rivers, 1926, p. 32)

The other paragraph was:

The cry of the young Chinese patriot today is “China would be a great nation if we could only educate the poor labourers. We have appointed ourselves the emancipators of China. We shall teach the people”. ... The utter failure of the present system of education is evidenced by the labour conditions that have been prevailing for some time in England, a country where schooling is compulsory and every man is “educated”. With a grand cry of “Up with me and down with everybody else”, the labourers have been going on from one strike to another, deriving no benefits there from, but ruining themselves and the nation. (Rivers, 1926, pp. 32-33)

On the other hand, after the 1925 Strike and Boycott, Forster observed that the lack of a deep sense of loyalty to the British among the local Chinese was observed. He stated that “the Chinese in Hong Kong are not governed by the British, they are governed by, and are loyal to Canton” (Sweeting, 1990b, p. 462).

About the anti-British General Strike and Boycott of 1925-1926, the influential report was written by Sir Reginald Stubbs in February 1926 after his termination of governorship. The report was published by him in a Colonial Office Paper, February 1926 in CO 129/489, named “The strike: Its causes and effects”, written by

Kotewall⁴ in 1925.

The strike was undoubtedly caused by a Bolshevik intrigue in Canton, conducted with the avowed object of destroying the economic life of Hong Kong... The trouble commenced in the various government and grant-aided schools in the Colony... One of the most serious and significant features of the recent disturbances I see part played by schoolboys and students... It is very necessary to learn from these event how to prevent the corruption of schoolboys in future, and particularly their attempts to interfere in politics. It was the students who started the strike in Hong Kong, and it was the students who created the shooting incident at Shameen as in Shanghai. The Hong Kong schoolboys were moved to their turbulent behaviour by some students from Shanghai. These students were said to have put up at the offices of the notorious "Chung Kwok San Man Po", and they had a clear 10 days to do all the mischief they could. So successful were their methods that practically all the schoolboys were more or less contaminated. When the trouble began, the university was fortunately in vacation, but it must be said to their credit that those students who were in residence in the hostels behaved well. The same praise could be accorded to St. Paul's and St. Stephen's Girls' Schools which were the last of the schools to close, all their girls showing pluck in attending regularly in spite of personal threats at a time when many boys skulked off. When St. Paul's girls School was closed, some of the senior girls offered their services, through me, to the Postmaster-General, and although their offer was thankfully declined on account of their delicate physique they were useful to our Propaganda Bureau, in which they were employed for about a month in work requiring in large Chinese character.

Now let us try to trace the cause or causes of the present state of affairs. From the first year of the Chinese Republic schoolboys and students in China have been arrogating to themselves the right and to assist in the government of the country, and they have been encouraged by persons who had their own ends to serve. In so far our own schools are concerned, there can be no doubt that to a very large extent the ground had been prepared for them for this trouble, as during the last two years or so very undesirable literature has been introduced into the schools, particularly the vernacular boy-schools, and some of the Chinese teachers had not been altogether innocent in this respect. (Sweeting, 1990, pp. 400-401)

It was recorded by the history and record of the Diocesan Boys School and Orphanage and the school lost about one-third of its boys who paid full fees (Featherstone, 1930, p. 5). The most outstanding event of the year has been the closing of most schools about one month before the summer holidays. There was a big decrease in attendance in September. They had to reorganize the whole school and the time table. Their numbers gradually increased, but at the end of the year they had still about 130 boys less than in February 1926. The conditions affected the building and the site formation at the new school and they had to cut down the plans by omitting one storey throughout the building (Featherstone, 1930, p. 65). In addition, the bad situation was still noted in the next year report. Owing to the Strike and Boycott, the labour troubles and the financial difficulties, the second storey was not quite complete and the third storey had to be omitted (Featherstone, 1930, p. 69).

Canton and Hong Kong had their effects on the University of Hong Kong. Hitherto, the university was merely to produce scientific and technical academics for China. The vice-chancellor of the University of Hong Kong, Hornell expressed his view that educated Chinese should give long and patient study to the rich inheritance of their own civilization. The principle of attempting to interpret China to the West and the West to China was incorporated into the policy. He further expressed his view that if the British wanted to improve their position in China by making what might perhaps be called as a cultural approach to the Chinese (Cheng, 1949, p. 270).

Clementi expressed that the contribution of the university to China should be the interpretation of British

⁴ Sir Robert Hormus Kotewall (1880-1949) was a Hong Kong businessman and legislator. In 1913, he was named Clerk to the Magistracy and Justice of the Peace. By 1919, Dr Kotewall was in trade as the manager of the Hong Kong Mercantile Company. In 1923, he was invited to join the Legislative Council as an unofficial member, a position he held until 1935. In 1936, he joined the Executive Council.

ideals, civic, ethical, and education to the Chinese people and the promotion of Anglo-Chinese friendship in his speech at the University Congregation held in January 1929 (Cheng, 1949, pp. 270-271). It had a great impact upon education. It was the outcome of movements in Canton. The teaching of the Confucian classics was not suppressed in Hong Kong. The Chinese opinion realized it was important to build on the traditional foundation of students.

The Government Vernacular Middle School was opened on the date of March 1, 1926. It contained not only middle schools classes but also a Normal Division and a Higher Primary Division. Actually, two normal schools were established simultaneously. The one in Hong Kong Island was opened by the using of place of Man Mo Temple which was managed by the Tung Wah Groups of Hosiptal. The other one was established at Tai Po Market. The place was 55-57 Hing Yan Street where “Hing Yan” in Chinese meant to revive benevolence. These normal schools were, of course, the education under the Confucian doctrines and helped to use Confucian ideology to suppress the revolutionary demands. The Hong Kong Government took up some leadership in the field of Chinese education by providing Chinese normal education and traditional Chinese literatures. And the University of Hong Kong reacted to the Chinese Movement by opening a special diploma course in Chinese classics. It was an important step in the development of Chinese higher education in Hong Kong. The government endeavoured to monitor that political propaganda and agitation should be rigidly excluded from the schools of Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Government’s reaction did not include any modern citizenship education.

The conclusion was that:

... The question is can the British Colony event hope to counteract this (Soviet) influence (on China) by being something more than a commercial community, can it ever become a centre for the diffusion of British ideals and British culture, a place where an intellectual entente can be established. The attempt has been made. Schools, very efficient ones, have been established, a university has been founded, but in spite of that, there has been no conspicuous adhesion to the British point of view... (Sweeting, 1993, p. 462)

The Rising China Under Japan’s Invasion and the Communist Party’s Re-Orientation, 1927-1941

It could be concluded that civics should not be introduced to the Hong Kong educational system to counteract these influences. The questionable issue was still going on the other step of education policy. However, the following paragraphs expressed the issue in wrong direction. Let us have reading.

Thus “civics” when introduced in the 1930s was initially a response to the New Life Movement of the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China (Morris, 1990, p. 112). This sentence was referred to the Ph.D. thesis of Sweeting in 1989. On the other hand, the colonial government’s authority and legitimacy were tenuous at best, given that China disputed the treaties that had ceded Hong Kong to Britain. As such, its instinct for survival ensured that it did not promote school curricula that encourage students to focus on their cultural identity, the status and origins of the government, and active involvement in the political arena (P. Morris & E. Morris, 2002, p. 48).

The newest edition of academic article to raise this issue about the introduction of civic education at the prewar period was done by Wing On Lee and Anthony Sweeting in 2004. In the chapter of “Controversies in Hong Kong’s Political Transition: Nationalism Versus Liberalism”, they expressed that the earliest indications of official interest in civic education date back at least as far as the early 1930s. Then civics as a school subject was introduced into the curriculum, largely as a means adopted by British Hong Kong Government to combat

the growing influence of the New Life Movement being sponsored by the Nanjing Government in the Republic of China (Lee & Sweeting, 2004, p. 103). This was referred to the Ph.D. thesis of Sweeting in 1989 at page 740.

A little earlier, a community leader who was also a member of the Hong Kong Executive Council (Exco) proposed the proliferation of “Fascisti societies” as perhaps the most effective way of combating Chinese Nationalism of the GMD (the Nationalist Party) brand (Lee & Sweeting, 2004, pp. 103-104). This was referred to the Ph.D. thesis of Sweeting in 1989 at page 403. For the majority of his Exco colleagues, most government officials, and most teachers, however, the introduction of civics into the school curriculum would have appeared a less dangerous and preferable ploy. This top-down innovation, which, in classroom reality, focused largely on constitutional abstractions and bureaucratic descriptions, did little to reduce the decontextualised nature of the school curriculum (Lee & Sweeting, 2004, p. 104).

Actually, the above paragraphs could not be brought to an in-depth analysis of the real situation. We must revisit the historical context again to redefine the historical reality of that situation. The author must confirm to express his conclusion these paragraphs far from the real situation. The historical reality is hardly known. Sometimes, the evidences are misleading. Hong Kong had its own peculiarity. It was a complex episode in education policy in Hong Kong. We think too much of the implementation of New Life Movement in China. The actual effect to Hong Kong should be suspected.

As the matter of fact, Stubbs and Clementi actively intervened in the politics of Guangdong Province in the 1920s. Clementi was insistent in putting forward his view that Britain should accord recognition to the Canton Government. The ending of the Canton-Hong Kong General Strike and Boycott in October 1926 did not spell immediate for Hong Kong. Chiang Kai-shek and the nationalists had embarked on the Northern Expedition.

Clementi was disturbed by the signs of leftist influence and labour radicalism. He was a Sinophile and his governorship saw the coming to being of the Government Chinese School in 1926 and the Chinese Department at the University of Hong Kong in 1927. Hong Kong, of course, was not unique in this; cultural tradition has its political uses in all modern school systems, such uses varying in direction according to the political orientation of the powers controlling the schools (Luk, 1991, p. 660). He proposed an idea of Chineseness emphasizing cultural heritage over statehood and citizenship. So, what Cheng helped to mention new school subjects had no civics included in Hong Kong (Cheng, 1949, p. 51). The Hong Kong Government was on the alert for communist penetration of the labors unions. New emergency regulations were promulgated to exercise more stringent control over meetings, demonstrations, and processions. An Illegal Strikes and Lockouts Ordinance was passed in July 1927, forbidding politically motivated strikes and making it unlawful for any union to be affiliated to an organization outside Hong Kong. The Nationalist Government was set up in Nanjing in 1927 but brought negligible political stability to China. The communists staged an uprising in Canton and seized control of the central district for three days in December 1927. They were overwhelmed by troops from outside. Some 6,000 communists and their supporters were killed⁵. The British Government recognized Chiang Kai-shek as the ruler of China in 1929. However, the authorities in Canton paid little attention to Nanjing. The governments of Guangxi and Guangdong were effectively outside the control of the Nationalist Government.

⁵ The Guangzhou Uprising (*Gǔangzhōu Qǐyì*) of 1927 was a failed communist uprising in the city of Canton on December 11, 1927.

Clemenli established friendly relations with General Li Jishen in Canton. In the change of international policy toward China, Britain and the US treated with China on the basis of equality. It was on the prevention from rising up of world communism. The British concessions in Hankou and Jiujiang were handed back to China in 1927. China obtained full tariff autonomy and Britain extended diplomatic recognition to the Nanjing government in 1929. The leased territory of Weihaiwei was restored to China in 1931 as well.

A New School System was passed at the annual conference of the National Federated Provincial Educational Association in 1921 which was held in Canton. It was adopted by the Chinese Government and was the American 6-3-3 system. Moreover, New School System was adopted, there was much development both in quality and in quantity in the schools in China. But the influence of this system on the colony was not noticeably felt until the year 1927 when a few middle schools began to take shape. These modern schools have always tried, as far as the education department allows, to follow the curriculum of the schools in China, using the same textbooks, and having the same subjects (Cheng, 1949, pp. 50-51). The Nationalist Government had been trying to control the overseas Chinese schools through its agents abroad since 1928. The influence of the education system was felt in Hong Kong. Some schools tried to follow the curriculum of the schools in China, using the same textbooks and having the same subjects (Cheng, 1949, p. 291). Progress in vernacular education was rapid. The Director of Education Department reported in 1928. The local interest in vernacular studies was well-maintained. Figures were by no means everything but they reflected a tendency, and it was interesting to note the vernacular pupil totals of 1918 and 1928 which were respectively some 16,500 and 42,000 (Wood, 1929, p. 9). The improvement of Hong Kong was mostly in vernacular education in the past few years. Private students dominated the schooling places at primary levels.

The founding of the Nationalist Government should be considered as pivotal event in the development of modern Chinese education. Education was a tool to liberate the Chinese from oppressive tradition and social customs at the height of New Culture and the May Fourth Movement. The beginning of the domination of the Nationalist Party over the Chinese Government was marked in 1928. The focus of education changed. The National Education Conference was held and it was agreed that the objective of education was to realize the San Min Chu I (three principles of people⁶). We should note that the principles did not include democracy. And education became an extension of the Nationalist Party's control over China. As the population of Hong Kong grew and its society became more complex, there was an increasing awareness of the value of education and the need for the formulation of a policy for its development.

The earliest evidence showing the implementation of civic education was in the vernacular schools only in 1926. This was reported by Ng Lun and Chang to show the teaching time table of Sung Lan Middle School⁷ where civics was included in formal teaching schedule (Ng Lun & Chang, 1989, p. 174). Obviously, this evidence was not trustable. From the examination time table of Man Mo Temple Central District Free Primary School in 1929, civics was an independent subject examined. In addition to general subjects, their students

⁶ Based on the three principles of the people, education in the Republic of China should aim to enrich the life of the people, to foster the existence of society, to extend the means of livelihood, and to maintain the continuity of the race, to the end that national independence might be attained, exercise of political rights might be made universal, conditions of livelihood might be developed, and in so doing, the cause of world peace and brotherhood might be advanced (Cheng, 1949, p. 294).

⁷ Actually, the paper might make mistakes too and the conclusion was still questionable. They said to get the Shun Lan Middle School Magazine in 1926 but actually the school opened in 1923 with primary section only. The middle school section was opened not until 1931 (Ng Lun & Chang, 1989, pp. 174, 183). More information can be found through <http://sunglan.hk/slshistory/index.html>.

were particularly required to study the Confucian classics. They were required to dictate both Chinese literatures and the Confucian classics during examinations (Collection of Tung Wah Museum).

Chinese textbooks were prepared by the Nationalist Government which was not only nationalistic but also anti-foreign. In this response, the Hong Kong Education Department formed a committee to review the school curriculum in 1929. A committee was appointed to draw up a syllabus which all private schools would follow. It reacted or controlled the Nationalist Party's influences and text books in Hong Kong schools. In 1930, education reforms went on in all parts of China and Hong Kong became the most congenial centre of the older elements. The old scholars made their effort to run the schools on modern lines in Hong Kong. The committee examined the Chinese syllabus in English schools with a view to the revision as well. They found that the curriculum was too heavy, the course should be a more practical knowledge of Chinese, more up to date books should be used and classics and Chinese history should be reduced in contents.

Chapter IV Report by the inspectors of vernacular schools in Report of the Director of Education for the year 1930 (De Martin, 1931, p. 23) stated:

The policy of introducing new methods into the teaching of vernacular studies, though a comparatively conservative policy, was not always understood or well received—it was, in fact, this misunderstanding that gave rise to the clamour in 1925 and 1926 against the vernacular education in the colony, but that is by the way. Meanwhile, educational reforms have been going on in all parts of China, and Hong Kong appears to have become the most congenial centre for the older element, and at the same time we have a new type of teacher whose knowledge of the classics is less profound but whose general education is somewhat better. The result of all this is that even the old scholars are now making an effort to run their schools on modern lines and the old type of schools where nothing but reading and writing was taught is being evolved into, or replaced by schools of the modern type. Chinese parents, too, have come to realize the advantages of modern school and have less prejudice against the new system.

Peel's governorship was marked by stability, with considerable prosperity. The Chinese Government in Nanjing was in weak position in relation to the treaty powers during the 1930s. There were rebellions in various provinces, the communists posed a permanent threat and the Japanese had seized Manchuria. Peel's administration benefited from the balance of power. There were no major diplomatic crises. The Nanjing Government was anxious to court the friendship of British Hong Kong as it was tormented by the Nationalist internal conflicts, loyalty problems of warlord, the communist threat and Japanese aggression.

The 1925-1926 General Strike was actually harmful to Hong Kong industry. The effect of the western Great Depression was started in 1929 further affecting Hong Kong economy. The Hong Kong Government had difficulty in finding sufficient sources of revenue to finance its activities. The colony has insufficient natural resources. For this very reason, Hong Kong became the *entrepôt* trade through its harbour which depended on its status as a free port. Britain as the holder of the largest foreign stake in China was quite naturally the main target of this anti-foreign sentiment. After the Japanese conquest of Manchuria, Chinese official relations with the British became increasingly friendly. The importance of Hong Kong has grown with the increase of China's trade with foreign countries. Hong Kong was the most convenient outlet for South China and the natural distributing center for imports.

It was more important to be on friendly terms with the regime in power in Canton. There was capable of ruinously interfering with the colony's *entrepôt* trade with Southern China. However, British firms active in other part of China sometimes had caused to be dissatisfied with the policies pursued by Hong Kong. Caldecott visited Canton on September 17, 1936, meeting with Chiang Kai-shek. The new personnel in charge of the

Cantonese Government Wu Te Xin visited Hong Kong officially on April 12, 1937. However, the Canton authorities continued to be unenthusiastic for any changes which might enhance Hong Kong's prosperity at Canton's expense.

With reference of the history and records of the Diocesan Boys School and Orphanage, the curriculum of citizenship education was in history and politics but it was not a single subject of civics. The Hong Kong University Matriculation and senior syllabus in history and politics were English history from 1689 to 1901, with special reference to European and World history (Featherstone, 1930, pp. 209-211). Civics should not be a single subject taught in Grant Schools. Actually, the issues were not brought to an in-depth analysis of the real situation. We must revisit the historical context again to redefine the historical reality of that situation.

On education, civics was mistakenly reported as a response to the New Life Movement of the Nationalist Party's Government of the Republic of China. It was believed to involve a great deal of activity designed to minimize the influence of the Nationalist on education when it was introduced in the 1930s. However, the Oversea Chinese Education Committee of the Nationalist Party did not put in action until 1932. It was not until April 1934, as the successful accomplishment in the 5th Encirclement and Suppression Campaign against the Chinese Communists was closed at hand, that Chiang Kai-shek launched the New Life Movement at Namcheong. He propagated the standards of New Life across China with the help of the mass media and demanded the regularization and militarization of the daily life of the Chinese people. Hong Kong was under this effect later. In 1935, the data of Hong Kong showed the overseas Chinese schools registered under Chinese rule still in low ratio (Chan, 1935, p. 8). Only several schools in Hong Kong might register at the Oversea Chinese Education Committee in 1934.

The other policy for consideration of the issue is the language education policy. In the regulation for overseas Chinese schools issued in 1931, it was laid down that Kuoyu⁸ (mandarin) should be the language medium. Although this had not been attempted by Hong Kong schools, as a result of shortage of qualified teachers and as a result of the fact that practically all the Chinese in Hong Kong speak or understand Cantonese but not mandarin, yet the teaching of mandarin was soon added to the curriculum of a number of Chinese schools. In 1933, it was also added to the curriculum of the Government Vernacular Middle School and the Vernacular Normal School (Cheng, 1949, p. 298). It reflected Hong Kong to adopt the nationalist policy but do not counteract it.

On the other hand, the Hong Kong Government began moving toward a more equitable system of provision of education in the vernacular education in the 1930s. The local vernacular Chinese schools became more important during this period. In 1935, Mr. Edmund Burney, Her Majesty's Inspectorate, visited Hong Kong and submitted the report of Hong Kong Education. He criticized the government for the low priority given to primary vernacular education and its emphasis on providing education for upper class children. He accused the Hong Kong Government of neglecting primary education in the vernacular, leaving it too much in the hands of out-of-date private schools. He recommended that the Hong Kong Government should pay more attention to Chinese primary education. The suggestions were a command of their own language sufficient for all needs of thought and expression, and a command of English limited to the satisfaction of vocational demands. On the English side, he recommended that the teaching of English in Hong Kong should be reformed

⁸ It is standard Chinese, also known as Mandarin. Kuoyu was understood as formal vernacular Chinese, which is close to classical Chinese. By contrast, Putonghua was called "the common speech of the modern man", which is the spoken language adopted as a national lingua franca by conventional usage.

on a frankly utilitarian basis. On the Chinese side, careful consideration should be given to: (1) the time spending on Chinese language; (2) the amount of instruction to pupils who are believed for the most part not to want it in the Chinese classics; and (3) whether the medium should be Cantonese or mandarin (Fu, 1979, p. 9).

In July 1937, Japan attacked North China and Hong Kong became a vital port of entry for military supplies to the Nationalist Chinese forces. Factories were set up to provide equipment for the Chinese army. The Hong Kong trade union movement was revived. The patriotic enthusiasm organized help for China. Hong Kong steadily grew in importance as a source of military supplies to China. Sung Xin Lin started to form the Chinese Defending League Hong Kong in June 1938. However, the government declared the island as a "Mutual Zone" to keep Hong Kong out of the war between Japan and China in September. Canton fell to the Japanese in October. The fall of Canton and the closure of the Pearl River by Japanese authorities effectively reduced the importance of Hong Kong as a channel of arms supplies to China. It was believed that at the height of the influx of refugees that those unfortunates sleeping in the streets numbered about a half million. It had the indirect arm traffic to China anyway. The financing schooling of Hong Kong was structurally unchanged where the Hong Kong Government still ignored the elementary Chinese education.

The Nationalist Government laid down its new educational policy at the Extraordinary Congress in March 1938. The goals for education during the war were to build up the strength of national defense to defeat the Japanese and to foster human resources for the development of the Chinese nation. A motion was passed that history, geography, and civic textbooks should be standardized to promote Chinese nationalism. Attempts by the Chinese Nationalist Party and Government in China influenced the structure and curricula of middle schools in Hong Kong. The development of vernacular education inside Hong Kong with some government support might be seen in this light. About the value education in Hong Kong, it was observed from Education Department, Hong Kong, Annual Report for 1938, p. 7:

(d) Moral and Religious Instruction

21. No direct moral or religious instruction is given in government schools and in the case of schools run by religious bodies instruction of this nature is given in accordance with the Grant Code 1924 Para. 18 which states any time devoted to religious instruction shall not be included in the minimum time for attendance.

In fact, in searching the Annual Report for the Education Department, only such sentences could be found in Ch XI Physical and Moral Welfare under Section (e) in 1939. The same paragraph re-occurred and two more sentences were added as:

In the school certificate examinations several pupils from other schools offered religious knowledge as one of their subjects. Civics and ethics were included in the "seung sik" (general studies) and "go mun" (civics) of vernacular schools. (Sollis & Education Department, 1940, p. 21)

So, civics was mentioned in the Education Report once only in 1939. And also the subject of civics could be obtained from the curriculum of a middle school which was a private school to show this evidence. Meifang Co-educational School was established in 1918 with primary section at first. Until 1929, the school introduced all levels of education from kindergarten to middle school. In 1939, it adopted the curriculum regulations of the Chinese Ministry of Education and referred the curriculum table of the Hong Kong Education Department to set up the school curriculum in Hong Kong. The school adopted to teach civics at all levels which might be reported at the Education Annual Report in 1939. The other phenomena of commercializing education should be observed as well.

To begin with, they all crown their names with a string of title, so as to impress ignorant parents with their qualifications... These titles are usually the names of the different authorities where they have registered. These authorities are usually the Board of Education in China and the Committee for Overseas Affairs (Wu, 1939, p. 36). Some schools could lengthen their tails with an obvious and unnecessary one, i.e., the Hong Kong Education Department. These titles should mean or hint that pupils from these schools could go back to China to study after they had finished school. However, these titles were quite worthless, for even the smallest school, which occupied a flat of two rooms, could get its name registered. It amounted to this that those who had no just claim to educational efficiency must build their establishment on mere names. Confucius was wise in insisting on the rectification of names (Wu, 1939, p. 36). Business was more important than ideology. However, since out-break of the Sino-Japanese War, these shrewd speculators have seized the opportunity to make an even bigger noise about their business. The local news section of the Chinese newspapers was sometimes nearly half a page filled with photographs of committees and ambulances generously donated by schools. This might be only a necessity to inform the public that the money collected was spent in the right way (Wu, 1939, p. 38). If these schools did not register themselves with Chinese authorities, their students or graduates would not be recognized in China and could not join any Chinese schools and universities. It was clear that the Chinese authorities had such indirect control or influence over a number of bigger vernacular schools only (Cheng, 1949, p. 299). These schools differed from the maintained and aided schools in that: (1) Chinese was the medium of instruction at all stage, although English was a compulsory subject in the middle school curriculum; and (2) passed students from these schools could only continue in a Chinese university. In order to be allowed to enter students for the entrance with the Chinese Government, but this did not interfere with their curriculum or the conditions of their registration with the Education Department (Sollis & Education Department, 1940, p. 10).

The explanation was given by Luk. As anti-western feelings subsided somewhat in China under the Nationalist Government at Nanjing and political tensions eased between Hong Kong and China, an increasing number of schools were able to operate with branches on both sides of the border and registered with both governments. In Hong Kong, such schools followed the curriculum and prescribed by the Nanjing Government, used textbooks published in China, mostly in Shanghai, and presented their senior middle graduates for university entrance examinations in China. They engaged teachers trained either in China or in Hong Kong. The colonial government and missionary schools also generally used the Nanjing syllabi and the Shanghai textbooks for Chinese culture subjects, although they probably followed them less closely. For other subjects, they used textbooks from England or from Shanghai (Luk, 1991, pp. 660-661).

With Britain involved in a life and death struggle with the Axis in Europe, the position of the Colony of Hong Kong became precarious. However, the British Government was faced with the danger of war against Germany, unwilling to countenance any overt action that might provoke Japanese hostility. As Hong Kong approached a centenary in 1941, it might well have looked on the advance in education with some measure of satisfaction. Between the two wars, the school population had risen from 25,000 to 116,000. Mark Young, the 21th Governor, placed the Statue of King George VI at the Botneical Garden in celebrating of the 100 years' colony. At last, Hong Kong was attacked by Japan on December 7, 1941, and surrendered on Christmas Day stopping British governance.

Conclusions

To describe Hong Kong, the well-known Dahrendort's paragraph was meaningful. He expressed that:

There is growth and there is poverty. Requirement of innovation completes with demand for justice. Such antinomies offer a first glimpse of the modern conflict... Some people devote their energies to wealth creation, others to the extension of civil rights, and more often than not two parties are at odds with each other. This is strange, because it is not inevitable. Liberty needs both, prosperity and citizenship... The politics of liberty is the politics of living with conflict. (Dahrendorf, 1988, pp. x-xi)

Hong Kong was affected by two centers of influence—Britain and China. The British, although having a small numerical presence in the territory, held military, political, and economic power, while the Chinese community had demographic weight and socio-economic and cultural links with China (Luk, 1991, p. 653). The global center was in Europe but not in Asia. Britain was busy in European affairs as well. Owing to its being a colony, citizenship rights in Hong Kong had never fully developed, nor had the various elements of citizenship developed to an equal extent. From the beginning of the 20th century to the 1940s, a clear expansion and vernacularization of education could be seen, by private education without government assistance. Many poor Chinese denied themselves necessities in order to send their children to school to have often regarded this education as a form of investment for their own future as well as that of their offspring. Parents struggled to send their children to school and the children felt strongly his responsibilities toward his parents as regards of their economic well-being. Government assistance to schools in the form of grant-in-aid was available mainly to schools conducted on western lines. Both scholastic value and monetary gain were rewards attached to these schools. The Chinese gained only limited education.

The conservative approach was in the 1925 General Strike inspired by the National Party at Canton which attracted practically no support from prominent Hong Kong Chinese. It might be summed up that the prominent Chinese engaged in trade and commerce. They were aware of currents of change, clearly realized Hong Kong's unique position and value as a place to which funk money could be conveniently sent from China.

There was a strong impact on the development of schooling in Hong Kong during this period. The importance was the influence of the Chinese Revolution and other nationalistic and cultural movements in China, such as the May Fourth Movement on 1919, the strikes and boycotts of the early 1920s, the New Life Movement of the late 1920s and 1930s (Sweeting, 1990b, p. 343). Political issues were important, by planning education to meet employment needs and social objectives. It was the political context that had served as a powerful influence on the nature of policy and its impact in schools. Hong Kong was a comparatively dull and stuffy place in the 1930s in part because Shanghai was in action. China was much more interesting. Revenue from opium had become minimal and the business community was dissatisfied with the government. What Burney recommended in 1935 was not put in action until Japan's aggression.

Hong Kong was engaged in this balancing political act and prohibited from politicalizing the people who might cause problems within the territory. The gradual development of any distinctive identity and lifestyle in Hong Kong would be avoided if the Hong Kong Government could do so. Chinese language education played the dispositions of the Chinese traditionalists. The policy was safe in respect to the Nationalist political powers. English could promote knowledge of British connection and European culture. The avoidance of sensitive contents would be often politically convenient.

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