

Public education establishment in the earliest colonial period of Hong Kong: a historical re-constructivist explanation

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ABSTRACT

It was explained that education was not important in the earliest colonial period where the colony only contained small Hong Kong Island from 1841 to 1860. The disagreement of this conclusion was found and actually education was one of the major governmental concerns. Britain was starting that education should be funded by public money and the public education system was not yet well established at that time. The Hong Kong government laid special stress on educating Hong Kong pupils in order to facilitate governance, business and building community and citizenship of Hong Kong during this early colonial period. We can criticize the government which did not spend enough money for education, but it is observable that the education policy was initiated and adjusted to suit for the development of the community. The fact must be re-constructed historically.

1. Introduction: the statement of the problems

This paper is bound to study the earliest colonial period of Hong Kong where Britain could only occupied a small Hong Kong Island during the first twenty years from 1841 to 1860. Hong Kong was mistakenly recognized a free market as a laissez-faire policy was adopted. It was the minimum state policy that the government should not intervene economic and social welfare such as public health, education and social security.

Moreover, when the British came, there was already an indigenous tradition of Chinese schooling. Describing education in early Hong Kong, historian Endacott (1973, p.132) wrote that: '*Neither British nor Chinese had any tradition of state education², and in the early years of the colony never demanded it.* And there should be no reason for any government intervention in education. (Chow 1992, p.85) Britain chose Hong Kong Island as a colony and the island could serve as a diplomatic, commercial and military post. Education was not an issue for concern. So as the education policy would not be the key policy for the development of Hong Kong. However, this issue of education should be clarified with the historical reality. This paper wants to explain what education should be in the first twenty years of Hong Kong colony and why the Hong Kong government adopted such policy of education in the island. The truth can be understood upon referring to the documents and reconstructed by the historical evidences. Moreover, the historical context and details should be treated which can help to explain the reason of such education required during this period.

2. The earliest colonial history and Governorship of Hong Kong

The foreign trade allowed in the eighteenth century was the Thirteen Factories (Hong) which was an area of Canton. The western businessmen should stay at Macau first and then they might be allowed to enter China. The foreigners found inconvenient and Lord Napier³ urged that the British government to acquire an island from the Chinese territory in 1834. The island could give greater protection to British merchants, would become a trade emporium and could provide a military and naval base of great strategic value. Prior to 1841, the territory we know today as Hong Kong Island was part of the Ching Empire. It is a small island only in the southern part of Hong Kong, containing the area of 78.59 square kilometers. After the conflict between the Manchu government and the British merchants, Captain Charles Elliot declared Hong Kong Island to be British territory on 20th January 1841 and six days later he made an opposed landing on the

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² As a matter of fact, the public education system was well organized in China as early as Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties before 2000 B.C.

³ He was the first Chief Superintendent of Trade in China and Charles Elliot was the second.

island at Possession Point. Elliot declared Hong Kong as a free port and inhabitants would be treated in accordance with the Chinese laws and customs. Palmerston⁴'s verdict on Hong Kong was a *barren island with hardly a house upon it*. Neither China nor Britain approved this Convention of *Chuenpi* and Elliot was replaced and exiled.

The Treaty of Nanking was signed on 29 August 1842 to make Hong Kong as a British colony. Sir Henry Pottinger⁵, the first Hong Kong Governor, was instructed by Palmerston to prosecute matters with more vigor secure the opening of treaty ports for free trade. The treaty opened five ports to foreign trade, Canton, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai. Hong Kong Island was obviously only a bridgehead for China trading. The Colonial Office created a structure to rule and organize Hong Kong. The basic understanding of the land was occupied, not for colonization but for business, economic and commercial uses. The other advantages were diplomatic and military purposes. However, Pottinger was lonely. His laws mainly disallowed in London and he could not defend the public interests of Hong Kong. He resigned in July 1843, but forced to stay until the arrival of his successor in May 1844.

Sir John Davis⁶ seemed superbly qualified for the Governorship of Hong Kong as he knew Chinese. However, he was no enthusiast for free trade. No local taxes had been raised and the burden of Hong Kong's expenditures fell fully on taxpayers. Merchants were disappointed that *entrepôt* trade had not developed as hoped and people complained that taxes and restrictions were excessive. He aimed to control local Chinese crime and needed new sources of revenue. The ordinance was enacted that residents in Hong Kong had to register with the government and pay an annual fee for the privilege. It was resulted that the entire Chinese working population went on strike. Its poll tax was dropped. He, at last, became unpopular in all circles. However, he successfully initiated public education in Hong Kong.

Samuel George Bonham, the third governor, reaching Hong Kong in 1848, had the chance to improve a colony acknowledged to be floundering. Hong Kong was still in its infancy with many problems. As China's devastating Taiping Rebellion raged, Hong Kong's population nearly doubled. Some forms of representative government were set up, gaining recognized by merchants. Hong Kong progressed apace in the calm atmosphere that he helped to develop. He showed people that the Hong Kong Government would respond to their needs during the great fire of December 1851, where nearly 500 Chinese houses destroyed.

The fourth Governor, Sir John Bowring (Apr 1845 – May 1859), promoted schools for the Chinese and the Inspector of Schools foreshadowed an Education Department. Hong Kong was beginning to take its Chinese population seriously but not in the manner originally envisaged. During the population swelling from 38000 to 85000 in 1853-1859, more gentry were arriving. Interesting enough, when he left Hong Kong, he was honoured with gifts by the Chinese community, but ignored by the European residents. (cited in Bard 2002, p. 29)

The 'Arrow' affair happening in Hong Kong caused the Second Opium War. The Treaty of Tientsin in 1860 led to the legalization of opium imports, British and other legations in Peking, and the right of foreigners to reside, trade and travel in China, and the right to be tried by their own laws. The concession of the Kowloon peninsula suffered from Chinese counter measures. Robinson rushed to replace Bowring at September 1859, only 35 years of age. The Government revenue tripled. To meet the growing needs of trade, banking institutions developed in 1862. The Central School was established by the Government in 1862 and Chinese merchants prospered. The news spread throughout Southern China that Hong Kong provided secure conditions for making money and for living. He gained successful governorship.

3. Method: a re-constructivist history

History is the past events. If History is what historian do, then learning from the past can help better

⁴ Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (20 October 1784 – 18 October 1865) was known as a British Prime Minister. He served as Foreign Secretary during the First Opium War. The Manchu government had sealed China off from the world, permitting only trade under Canton and not allowing diplomatic contact. The upshot was the War and ended in the conquest of Chusan Island by Puttinger.

⁵ As a matter of fact, being the first Hong Kong Governor, he was offered the post of envoy and plenipotentiary in China and superintendent of British trade, replacing Charles Elliot.

⁶ He first came to the Far East in 1816 as a member of Lord Amherst's mission of China. He was a scholar and sinologist of considerable merit. As the second governor, he had the same important duties of the first Governor but resigned his commission and left Hong Kong in 21 March 1848.

understanding the present. Knowledge is not neutral and intentionally constructed. Re-constructive historical method comprises the guidelines with techniques in the evidence of knowledge archaeology and contextual genealogy. This historiography of making explanation of the historical event is raised by the question of the nature and the possibility of a sound history.

The facts and figures appear into relevant realities and the arguments can come with ssi being supported by sufficient and appropriate evidences with historical context. To contextualize the argument, the issue or event of history can be understood and explained which the background information to follow the argument is the historical context. To provide with proper historical contextualization of the Hong Kong early colonial period, the event of public education can be recognized or explored or given a truer or more attractive account of the period than can be found in any one of them.

The information or facts in regard to past events and issues must be derive from evidence of primary sources if these can be. If the issue can be further treated with the historical context, sufficient explanations would be arrived. It can help to correct or amend some mistakes or errors in our history. More evidence or understanding through the historical context can help to re-construct the constructed history in my point of view.

4. The analysis of educational policy in this period

It is believed that, as early as the Han Dynasty, some forms of education provision existed, varying from traditional village schools, vocationally oriented monastery schools, to study halls and colleges designed to educate pupils and later, since the Tang Dynasty, prepares them for the Imperial Civil Service Examination. Starting from the beginning at 26 Jan 1841, Hong Kong Island had only about 2000 people in this *barren rock island with hardly a house on it* (the statement by Palmerson). The majority of them were farmers with small in number, fishermen. The first Census was given on 15 May which the population was 7450 and only 4350 people were on land with other 2000 boat people. The major form of interdependence derived from migration from the mainland to Hong Kong. That is to say that the colonized people from China came to Hong Kong to subject themselves. Elliot announced Hong Kong a free port to encourage trade on 7 June. The Chinese population was composed of merchants, shopkeepers and labourers. They were willing people voluntarily of the British government rather than involuntary subjects of a conquering colonial state. (Tsai 1993, p.37)

The growth of Hong Kong was rapid that Pottinger⁷ appointed the Land Committee to investigate allotted locations of ground and given town planning powers in March 1842. (Eitel 1893, p.375) The building of markets and roads were started gradually. There were evidences of interests where education and religion received recognition and attention in Hong Kong. He made grants to some charitable institutions such as the Morrison Education Society, the London Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Church. (Eitel 1893, p.356)

It was not until Hong Kong officially became a colony on 29 August, 1842 which the Treaty of Nanjing was signed. Not from the first day of its cession could Hong Kong complain that its religious and education wants were unheeded. Government concern for the provision of education was first expressed through Pottinger. The Morrison Memorial School was opened in November, 1842. It was concluded that the first colonial schools in Hong Kong were mainly missionary institutions, which operated on the British model with English as the principal medium of instruction. As a result a western literary type curriculum developed in the early colonial schools. Pottinger gave a grant of land for the purpose of establishment a school building to the Morrison Education society. In addition he made an annual grant of \$1,200 to the society. The Church of England and the Roman Catholics and Nonconformists were already at work. The first Roman Catholic Chapel was consecrated in Hong Kong on 11 June, 1843. In 1842, the American Missionary, E. C. Bridgman opened a school in Hong Kong. The Morrison School was founded by the late Rev. Dr. J. Legge in Malacca and it was re-established as the Anglo-Chinese College (now called Ying Wah College) in Hong Kong in 1843. With the help of the government, educational institutes for Chinese were established quickly and immediately. (Eitel 1893, pp.358-9) The governmental officials were employed but these did not contain

⁷ Sir Henry Pottinger accepted Palmerston's offer of the post of envoy and plenipotentiary in China and superintendent of British trade. He arrived Hong Kong on 10 August, 1841 and was instructed by Palmerston to examine in care the natural capacities of Hong Kong.

educationalists. Schools were private and should be classified as the community organized. As early as August 1843, a few native schools were noted attention to the existence. Pottinger commented the objectives of education to be the diffusion of European knowledge and education and the spread of Christianity among Chinese (CO129/2/251 cited in Bickley 2002, p.2) He was aware, on the other hand, of the political dangers of offering education and religious knowledge. (Bickley 2002, p.2)

Hong Kong grew rapidly and people came were looking for employment opportunities. Davis issued the Ordinance required all residences to be registered in 1844. As Hong Kong faced with the problem of crime increasing, the enactment was applied to control the Chinese population. It provoked the strike and three thousand workers chose to leave Hong Kong in November 1844. The first record of education in Hong Kong Island was given by the following summary (Table 1) in 1844. So, the society did not provide any social service but education was exceptional.

Table 1. Education recorded in the Hong Kong Blue Book⁸ 1844, pp.116-7

<i>District</i>	<i>Name of the Schoolmaster or Schoolmistress, and Salary</i>	<i>Number of Scholars</i>	<i>Expends of each school</i>
Eastern District	Brown ⁹ , \$1500 per annum	32	\$3177.60
	Chinese teacher; \$92 per annum ¹⁰	30	\$12 per month
Victoria District	Legge ¹¹ with a native Chinese teacher (a \$7 per month),an English teacher (\$15), superintendent (\$5)	26 ¹²	\$31 per month
	Chinese Christian, \$96 per year	17	unknown
	Ball with one Chinese teacher, \$12 per month	12	
4 villages	Chinese teachers with \$50 or \$60 per annum contains altogether	56	
Shekpaiwan	A Chinese school	33	

In general, in the very early days, relationships between the British and Chinese in Hong Kong were kept to a bare minimum and were characterized by what one historian had called a *good-natured contempt*. (Fu 1979, p.1 & Endacott 1973, p.137) Local educational effort was left largely in the hands of voluntary societies working in the poorer sections of the community.

The principal part of the population in Hong Kong consisted of servants, coolies, labourers, worker, stone cutters and masons engaged in short-time or temporary works. The great majority of the new comers were of the lowest condition and character. They were the poorest elements of society. Only a few of the better classes of shopkeepers began to settle in Hong Kong. Missionaries labored for years without being brought into communication with Chinese.

Pottinger suggested that one way to reduce crime might be to register all citizens. Davis proposed to register not only the Chinese but Westerners as well. An ordinance was pass and intended to control the Chinese population. This was resulted the Western community feeling their personal respect, their national honour and the liberty of the subject trampled underfoot. (Smith 1985, p.22) This exacerbated popular opposition to the Hong Kong government. The Chinese opted for passive resistance, and some chose to leave Hong Kong. It went to a general strike and shops and markets were closed on 1 November. The government had no choice but to give up the proposal. The society grew and more educational institutes were found in the coming year. (Table 2) Gutzlaff stated that there were eight Chinese schools in 1845.

⁸ It should be reminded that the details in the Hong Kong Blue Book were the government summary reports but these were recorded by hand writing in the early period. Some materials might be missing.

⁹ Rev. Dr. Samuel Robbins Brown graduated from Yale in 1832 and was an American missionary to China. He went to Canton and opened the Morrison School for Chinese pupils. He was responsible for sponsoring some Chinese pupils studied in the United States, such as Yung Wing, Wong Shing and Wong Foon.

¹⁰ It was the Morrison Memorial School as the Morrison Education Society was founded in Canton in 1835 to commemorate the life of Robert Morrison. The school was established in Macau in 1839 and re-established in Hong Kong in 1842. It was built on the Morrison Hill and remained until 1849. The school was forced to close as a result of financial difficulties.

¹¹ Dr. James Legge was a noted Scottish sinologist and representative of the London Missionary society in Hong Kong. The Anglo-Chinese College was founded at Malacca in 1818 and moved to Hong Kong in 1843.

¹² There were 4 girls only, and the other figures about number of students were boys.

Table 2. Education on the Hong Kong Blue Book 1845, pp.144-5

District	Name of the Schoolmaster or Schoolmistress, and Salary	Number of Scholars	Expends of each school
Eastern	Brown and a Chinese teacher per annum £512	30	£625
Western	Gillespie	23	£450
	Cane, per annum £67.10	7	Unknown
	Cheong Hern-kwong, per annum £25	26	£25
	Low Teok-chun, per annum £12.10	15	£12.1
	Lo Ching-woon, per annum £16.13.4	20	£16.13.4
Central	Miller, per annum £112.10	40	£145.16.8
Aberdeen	Tsung yeok-tin, per annum £16.5	15	£16.5
Keonghong	Chow A-woon, per annum £7.18.4	12	£17.18.4
Stanley	Cheong Tak-cheong, per annum £12.10	12	£12.1
Taitamtook	Tow A-sam, per annum £2.1.8	5	£2.1.8
Suhunpu	Woo Kei-toong, per annum £24.1.8	19	£24.1.8
Wongneichung	Chun Kei-to, per annum £15	25	£15

Gutzlaff suggested giving financial assistance to Chinese schools. Eight institutions were found in a miserable hovel, with a few forlorn children, but generally under intelligent teachers. (Gutzlaff 1845 cited in Bickley 2002, p.3) He wrote to Davis on 13 December 1845 and expressed whether the Government would not render some assistance towards schools' support. To allow to each well conducted elementary school, in which at least 15 children were taught, 10 dollars per month, the whole expenditure for all would not amount to more than 1,200 dollars per annum, and a great deal of good to be done to the children. (Gutzlaff 1845 cited in Bickley 2002, p.3) The meeting of the Executive Council was held on 17 December and Davis intimated his intention of consulting the Chaplain as to the best means of promoting education with a view to application of some grant. (Bickley 2002, p.3) However, the procedure was delayed and there were some conflicts among Christian societies.

Davis took a lively interest in the promotion of religion. It is interesting to note in these early days the Government accepted the part of the proselytizer. Three missionary schools started and more schools were established under the fostering care of Davis. (Eital 1895, pp. 307) Most of the clergy regarded the provision of education as an instrument for the spreading of Christianity. They aimed at preaching Christianity and training Chinese clergy. With English and Chinese as the medium of instruction in mission schools, pupils were taught reading and composition in English, Trimetrical Classic and Thousand Character Book in Chinese. The western knowledge of arithmetic, history and geography were conducted with Biblical knowledge. If education was one of the most significant responsibilities of missionaries, the task of the Society had been recorded remarkable in the minutes as follow:

The object of the Institution is to establish and support schools in China, in which native youths shall be taught, in connection with their own, the English language, so as to open to them the stores of knowledge of which is the repository, and at the same time, by sound religious training and instruction, to raise them to the rank of enlightened Christian men.

It is the belief of those most conversant with the state of things in this country, that the hope of civilizing and evangelizing the Chinese can in no way be realized so speedily as by conjoining a vigorous system of educational efforts with the ordinary means of the propagating the gospel. The agency of effect the masses of this populous empire, and to produce any great and desirable change among a people so far civilized, but yet pagan, must be chiefly a native agency. To prepare this form among the young men of the country, is the great aim of the MORRISON EDUCATION SOCIETY. It does not propose to give them a professional education, but a general one, which shall serve to qualify them for the spheres of action for which they may be fitted, whether by their abilities or their principles. To this end, it has, during the last seven years, carried on its operations through a school, which, since the Peace of 1842, has been established as Hongkong. Here native boys have been collected, and while enjoying the privileges of a Christian family, have, besides studying the Chinese, been particularly instructed in the English language, through which they have been made acquainted with Western science and history, but especially have learned to read the Sacred Scriptures, and have been daily taught the way of life.(cited in

Bridgman & Campbell¹³ 1846)

On the other hand, *the original object of the Morrison School was to teach Chinese boys the English language in connection with Christianity; but after an experiment of several years, it was found that the boys had so universally perverted their knowledge of English, by becoming, for the sake of gain, interpreters for opium-traders, sailors, and others - generally for wicked purposes - making, to say the least, but very poor use of their English, and none at all of their Christianity, that the benevolent supporters of the school became discouraged, and I think it has now been for some time entirely discontinued. Full experience has therefore shown that it is a pernicious labor to teach English to the Chinese, and that the only safe method is to teach them Christianity through the medium of their own native tongue.*(cited in Taylor 1860, p.50)

The Chinese tradition contributed to early Hong Kong education in a small extent. Reverend George Smith surveyed Hong Kong Island for prospective mission stations and he found Chinese inhabitants all but beyond redemption. They were demoralized to warrant the effort, being poor, illiterate and socially insignificant. The British tradition of voluntary effort accounted for the major advance. However, The Governor took his other interest in the promotion of education and showed special interest in education for Chinese. Davis was to some extent a religious visionary. He pointed out that the Protestant Missionaries would afford the most rational prospect of converting the native population of the Island. (Eitel¹⁴ 1895a, pp.307-8) However, the Morrison Education Society lost its supporter when Pottinger left Hong Kong. The London Missionary Society appealed land not to be granted by Davis as well. (Endacott, 1973, p.134) Early in 1847, Davis devised in limitation of the English religious education grants. (Eitel 1895a, p.307) The case was hotly discussed in Parliament of Britain, a Government Grant-in-Aid scheme to provide non-compulsory religious education in Chinese schools under the direction of the Educational Committee. Nine Confucian schools were worked for the benefit of the Chinese population early in 1847. (compare Table 3 and 4) Davis was to some extent a religiously visionary, may be inferred from a dispatch to the Colonial Office. (Eitel 1895a, p. 307) *If these schools were eventually placed in charge of native Christian teachers, bred up by the Protestant Missionaries, it would afford the most rational prospect of converting the native population of the Island.* (Davis 1846 cited in Bickley 2002, p.6) He further stated that, *'If these schools were eventually placed in the hands of native Christian teachers bred up by the Protestant missionaries, it would afford the most rational prospect of converting the native population of the Island.'* (the Blue Book 1846, p.7 &cited in Bickley 2002, p.10) Chinese in Hong Kong began to set up schools on traditional lines. (Endacott 1973, p.135)

¹³Minutes of Morrison Education Society's general meeting, held September 30th 1846 in An Anglo-Chinese Calendar for the year 1847, pp.132-134, Canton: the Office of the Chinese Repository, 1847. The document was issued by E. C. Bridgman, President of the Morrison Education Society & A. Campbell, Vice-President in Victoria, Hongkong, December 12th 1846.

¹⁴ Dr. Ernest John Eitel was a German Protestant missionary and served in Evangelical-Lutheran Church. He came to China under the Basel Mission and moved to Hong Kong in January 1870. His book was *Europe in China* first issued in 1895 and printed in 1983.

Table 3. Education on the Hong Kong Blue Book 1846, pp.162-5

District	Name of the Schoolmaster or Schoolmistress, and Salary	Number of Scholars	Expends of each school
Eastern	Macy ¹⁵ assisted by a Chinese teacher; per annum £250	22	£625
Central	Drake, per annum £125 Bright, per annum £22	33 ¹⁶	£147
Western	Batacchi, per annum £150 Gillespie	21 26 ¹⁷	£150 £450
Victoria	Tsui Hing-shing, per annum £12.10 Lei Took-foon, per annum £9.7.6 Lo Tai-shing, per annum £11.13.4 Tsui Shing-cheong, per annum £20.16.8	12 15 14 32	very trifling
Aberdeen	Tsung Yok-tisu, per annum £15.0.0 Tung Tat-tsoi, per annum £12.18.4	10 9	
Heongkong	Chow Sow-chu, per annum £10.0.0	7	
Stanley	Lo Cheong-ho, per annum £6.13.4 Ng A-tuk, per annum £6.13.4 Cheong Keui-fong, per annum £6.5.0	8 9 10	
Soo-kunpoo	Wong Sun-cheong, per annum £11.9.2	21	
Wongneichung	Chun Ket-to, per annum £15.0.0	24	
Ly-yu-moon ¹⁸	3 Chinese schools, unknown, per annum £12 each	unknown	

Chinese migrants came from many native places speaking different Chinese dialects. They are all newcomers and strangers in Hong Kong. These Chinese religions, customs, prejudices, concepts and experiences were brought with forming a new Chinese culture and organizing a new community. Craft, trade and guilds were formed which were not subject to any established regulations of social control. Teachers could make their own schools if their situations were adequate. The Ching government established the Kowloon Walled City and the population of Kowloon increased as well. Local officials followed the consistent policy laid down by the Ching government to set up a publicly funded charity school in the frontier region. The society and community was built and the Lung Chun Free School was opened for the Chinese pupils in 1847. Table 3 and 4 can show that the Chinese schools increased as population and the community developed in Hong Kong Island. It indicated the Hog Kong government required to take more attention to Chinese activities. It marked the beginning of government participation in providing education for the Chinese in Hong Kong. Three schools were selected for the receipt of government grants. To ensure proper control, the Committee recommended the following regulations:

1. that it be left to the committee to apportion the grant in such manner as may seem to them most likely to effect the desired end; 2. that no fixed salary be given to any schoolmaster, but that he be allowed to receive as many pupils as possible whose education will be paid for, or partly paid for, by the government; 3. that reading, writing and arithmetic, after the Chinese mode, be the only branches of learning; 4. that the master shall render to the committee a monthly account of the attendance and members of the scholars; 5. that his school shall be subject to the visits of the committee. (Lobsheid 1859, pp.19-22, also cited in Ng Lun 1984, p.27)

¹⁵ William A. Macy was an American lay-missionary and in charge of the Morrison School.

¹⁶ There contained 15 girls.

¹⁷ There contained 7 girls.

¹⁸ It was the district of Sau Kei Wan, A Kung Nam and Aldrich Bay. The fishing village and community were established after the British occupation.

Table 4. Education on the Hong Kong Blue Book 1847, pp.168-171

District	Name of the Schoolmaster or Schoolmistress, and Salary	Number of Scholars	Expends of each school
Eastern	Macy £250	23	£587.11.7
Central	Drake £150 Lambert £24	48 ¹⁹	£200
Western	Cleland Furby £50	27 ²⁰ 20	£194.6.7 £175
Victoria	Muk Mui-chun Leong Sui-chan Tsui Shing-cheong	25 18 30	£20.16.8 £15 £28.2.6
Soo kun poo	Wong Sun-cheong Ting Tak-ching	12 20	£10 £15
Aberdeen	Man Yok Loo ping-how Tsung Yok-tin	20 27 15	£25 £33.15 £18.15
Stanley	Loo Lin-cheong	8	£15

However, curiously enough the first public grants in Hong Kong were made to the Chinese schools and not the religious institutions. In 1848, three Chinese existing schools gained financial assistance by the Hong Kong Government. The evidence is given that: *with the approval of Lord Gray, Secretary of State for the Colonies, made grant of \$10 monthly to each of three Confucian village schools – those at Tai Ping Shan, Stanley and Aberdeen – whose teachers had promised to give some religious instruction to their pupils.* (Stokes & Stokes 1987, p.3)

Oddly enough the first government grants were paid to Chinese schools, not to those of the missionary bodies. (Cameron 1991, p.113) Davis appointed an Education Committee comprising the Colonial Chaplain, the Chief Magistrate and the Registrar-General. It was unusual in that financial aid was given to the native village schools instead of these missionary schools. The Hong Kong government started financing three Chinese schools by offering grants of 10 dollars a month in 1848. The schools were become as the government Chinese schools. The following year, the Committee for superintending Chinese schools was formed. It was for the promotion of vernacular instead of English education. The cause was to avoid religious issues of distributing grants among the various missionaries and the desire of the government to win the appreciation of the Chinese after the 1844 poll tax issue. In view of the fact that the amount required was very small and that religious differences could arise in the village schools, the Colony accepted the proposal of offering financial assistance to the existing Chinese village schools.

¹⁹ There were 24 girls.

²⁰ There were 8 girls.

Table 5. Education on the Hong Kong Blue Book 1848, pp.194-7

District	Name of the Schoolmaster or Schoolmistress, and Salary	Number of Scholars	Expends of each school
	Macy £296	22	£713.12.8
	Drake £125	45 ²¹	
	Legge	34 ²²	£194..6
	Girard	18	
	Sisters	13 ²³	
Victoria	Chun A-yee £12.10	14	
	Lum Yok-shan	24	£12.10
	Leong Sui-chan	14	£12.10
	Muk Seen-chan	25	£12.10
	Chu Mun-shing	18	£25
	Chcang Mun-chung	4	£15
	Tsui Shing-cheong*	43	£33.15
Sukunpu	Wong Sun-cheong	12	£6.13.4
Heongkeongloo	Tung Foong Kuk	10	£7.5.10
Stanley	Cheong See-wong	15	£12.12.6
	Loo Lin-cheong*	22	£25
Aberdeen	Mun A-yik*	30	£25

*the three schools, each gained the government grant of 10 dollars a month.

The government assisted schools were brought under Bishop Smith, chairman of the Educational Committee and acted as feeders for St. Paul's College. The college produced not a single native minister or any official interpreter, but many of the best educated native residents who received their training there. Dr. Legge's Anglo-Chinese College failed to produce a native preacher or teacher but it could train some eminent English speaking Chinese.

Mr. Stanton's English School was closed. The Morrison Memorial School was also closed in 1849. A class of seven boys was delivered to the St. Paul's College in the spring of 1849. There were three classes of 34 pupils and their studies equally divided between Chinese and English. In fact, the opening of St. Paul's College was made for training native ministers. That so many mission agencies and missionaries appeared in Hong Kong during the first uncertain decade of its history is a clear indication of the expectation which the Christians had for this small colony on the rim of China. (cited in Vikner 1987, p.74) Starting from 1850, St. Paul's College gained £250 annually which was assisted by the Hong Kong government. It received a small grant to train interpreters for the public service.

However, the assistance of such education was believed to be properly appreciated by the Chinese inhabitants of the place. It was of substantial benefit to a number of poor people who would be otherwise unable to procure education. (Hillier, Stanton & Inglis 1850 cited in Bickley 2002, p.33) Report on education for the year 1849 of Committee for superintending Chinese Schools stated:

We beg again to record our conviction that the establishment of schools for the education of the Chinese population, and the exhibition otherwise of a desire to provide for their educational wants, to which they themselves justly attach so great an importance, are most effectual means to conciliate the native inhabitants and to render our Government popular among them. (Hillier & Stanton 1850 cited in Bickley 2002, p.35)

In 1849 the Chinese at Wong Nei Chong petitioned for and secured a similar grant. In the 1850 the Committee of Education reported the teacher at Aberdeen had been dismissed for gross misconduct. For the school at *Wong-nei-choong* opened during the year, the teacher appointed was a schoolmaster by profession. Therefore, the teachers of the four schools were all professed Christians. (Hiller & Moncrieff 1851 cited in Bickley 2002, p.36) In a list of the school books named Bishop Bone's catechism, a Chinese translation compulsorily taught to the sons of unbelieving peasant by professed converts. However, there reported that it was not compulsory on scholars to learn them. If the parents objected, the course of study was confined to

²¹ There were 18 girls.

²² There were 7 girls.

²³ All 13 were girls.

native reading. (Hiller & Moncrieff 1851 cited in Bickley 2002, p.37) In 1851 the Chinese school as Little Hong Kong was put on the list, making a total of five schools in receipt of government assistance. The policy of the Education Committee was to encourage the study of English not only for its own sake, but to act as a bond of union between the many thousands of Chinese who had made this place their residence and handful of Europeans by whom they were governed. Control was exercised through the teachers who received the grant, providing the room and met all incidental expenses.

Also, the Colonial Secretary was informed that the Rev. V. Stanton occasionally distributed Christian books for voluntary reading. (Hillier & Stanton 1850 cited in Bickley 2002, p.34) Hereafter the proselytizing work was strengthened. Such as the next year (1850) education report reported that:

The teachers of the four schools are now, therefore, all nominees of the Government, not receiving, as far as we are aware, any compensation from their pupils, and they are all professed Christians. Christian books have been introduced into all the schools, but it is not compulsory on the scholars to learn them. (Hillier & Moncrieff 1851 cited in Bickley 2002, p.36-37) By giving power of the grants and supervision of the schools to the Education Committee, the government paved the way for the church to dominate educational developments. (Ng Lun 1984, p.28) In the report in 1851, the Bible was in the list of textbooks used in the schools. (Hillier & Moncrieff 1851 cited in Bickley 2002, p.37)

If the parents of any Scholar object to his reading the Bible, then the Master should explain the great benefit of acquiring the knowledge with this book teaches, and should inform them that this religion is not a foreign religion, that it did not originate in England, but in the East, and is common to all the world, having been given by our common father, God. (Lobscheid²⁴ 1859, pp24-4, also cited in Sweeting 1990, pp.8-9& Bickley 2002, p.15)

The Bishop's Chaplain and a representative of the London Missionary Society were able to dominate the Committee. They infused their religious interests into government vernacular schools where Morning Prayer assembly and Bible reading were made compulsory. (Ng Lun 1984, p.29) These years, the governor requested Colonial Office permission to offer financial assistants to local Chinese schools. (Sweeting, 1990, p.2) On the other hand, the Government schools provided English and Chinese education, as the Report on Education for the year 1853 stated that:

*The course of instruction has been, that half the day has been devoted to the study of the Scriptures and books composed under the superintendence of foreigners, and half of the study the Chinese Classics.*²⁵ (cited in Bickley 2002, p.42 & Fu 1979, p.2)

However, the governmental assistance met the problem of scholars' attendance. The parents were unwilling to let their children who were employed or said helpful to earn money for themselves to remain at school. Hong Kong was a small island and the Chinese inhabitants were fishermen and humble farmers. These early government schools were village schools. Each taught by a teacher with an average number of less than twenty pupils. Learning of English did not seem to attract the Chinese pupils. So the attendance at these schools did not show any sign of progress. In 1852 the committee decided to stimulate the teacher to maintain attendance by reducing the grant if the pupil numbers fell below thirty. It was subsequently discovered that this merely resulted in inducing the teacher to claim more attendance than was actually the case.

On the other hand, the economic situation declined in this period. The leading merchants in Hong Kong signed a Petition to Britain in January 1849, soliciting attention to the fact that Colonial Office had not attend as yet to the recommendations of the Report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1847. They stated that the expenditure of Hong Kong should not be thrown on local commerce. (Eitel 1995b, p.363) Hong Kong was insolvent and the public works were suspended and the officials paid a portion of their salary. Bonham restricted public works to the bare maintenance of existing roads and buildings. (Eitel 1895b, p.365)

The Taiping Rebellion begun in 1850 and making the population of Hong Kong swelled, the 1848 total of 21,514 becoming 39,117 by 1853. Also, the percentage of female among the Chinese grew from one-fifth to one third, a clear sign that more families were taking up residence in contrast to the former immigrant gangs

²⁴Rev. W. Lobscheid as a Missionary and Inspector of the Government Schools, published in 1859 the book named A Few Notices on the extent of Chinese Education and the Government Schools of Hong Kong, with Remarks on the History and Religious Notions of the Inhabitants of the Island. (Sweeting 1990: 8-9)

²⁵It seems possible that this is the origin of the division of the school day at the Hong Kong government Central School into two equal parts, one for the English language and the subjects of the western curriculum, and one for the Chinese language and the subjects of the Chinese curriculum (Bickley 2002: 462).

of male labourers.

Table 6. Details of Hong Kong Education from 1848-1860²⁶

year	school	student	population	Expenses/£
1848	3	96	21 514	75
1849	3	90	29 507	75
1850	3	114	33 292	75
1851	4	111	32 983	100
1852	5	114	37 058	125
1853	5	112	39 117	125
1854	5	102	56 011	125
1855	7	153	72 925	125
1856	8	167	71 730	212
1857	15	420	77 094	275
1858	15	557	75 053	915
1859	19	843	85000	1500
1860	20	936	95000	1500

The population of Hong Kong rose rapidly as a result of the Taiping Rebellion. Hong Kong became relatively peaceful and prosperous. Bowring adopted the neutral policy towards Taiping troops. He gave the protection of the flag of Hong Kong to the ships of people and afforded protection to those who formed a vital link in the foreign trade. The development of Hong Kong's commercial prosperity kept pace with the development of population. However, the schools in 1854 had places for only 150 of the estimated 8,868 Hong Kong Chinese children of school age. (Victoria, Hillier, Legge & Odell 1855, in Bickley 2002, p.44) The education Committee offered four proposals: 1.suitable school buildings ought to be provided; 2.a system of apprentice teachers ought to be introduced; 3.all schools capable of enlargement should have assistant masters able to teach English; 4.an inspector of Schools should be appointed to make weekly inspections of all government schools. (Cameron 1991, p.116& Victoria, Hillier, Legge & Odell 1855, in Bickley 2002, p.45)

The Taiping rebels made the population of Hong Kong rise sharply during the administrations of Bonham and Bowring. By 1855, Hong Kong became self-supporting for the first time and from then on it began to prosper. Schooling was free of charge in the government schools. A sum of 25¢ was expected in lieu of tea per month from each pupil. The government schools were not ambitious. In consequence of petitions from the Chinese inhabitants, two more schools were established at Sookoonpoo and showkewan. The schools were small. Curriculum pursued was the general routine of Chinese knowledge. Conditions in the schools were sub-standard. There was no system of teacher training and the moral and intellectual tone of the Chinese teachers was low. The affairs of Hong Kong were believed to be in a more settled condition. Bowring was anxious for reform but he could do little because of the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Chinese War. Bowring was assigned the duty of security British commercial interests where Sino-British conflicts were frequent. The conflicts led finally to wars between 1856-1858 which ended with the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) and the Peking Convention (1860). However, his attention of schooling expressed quite monstrous to see a charge of £ 8620 for police contrasted with the expenditure of £ 120 for the instruction of the people. (cited in Endacott 1973, p.138& Cameron 1991, p.116) He was a secularist and through the schools should be run by layman. (Endacott 1973, p.138) Rev. Wilhelm Lobscheid²⁷ was a German missionary and appointed the Inspector of Schools in May 1857²⁸. He could devote his whole time to the work of visiting schools, controlling the Chinese teachers and endeavor to secure effectiveness to the work of education among Chinese. (Victoria & Challmers (1858 cited in Bickley 2002, p.51)A programme of expansion began, and in Bowring's time the number of schools receiving grants more than trebled to 19. The annual cost of education rose from 1854 to 1859 from paltry £ 120 to £ 1200. (Cameron 1991, p.116-117& Table 6)

²⁶Actually, there are many sources of figures and the precision is always questionable. It is only a rough projection about the development of Education in Hong Kong Island.

²⁷ He was sent to China by the Rhenish Missionary Society and arrived at Hong Kong on 22 May 1848. He entered the colonial Hong Kong government service in 1847 and left for Europe on 2 March 1861.

²⁸About his term of appointment, many book writers expressed that his term was from May 1856 (Endacott 1973, p.138 & Cameron 1991, p.116) to 1860. It was expected in the 1856 report to appoint a suitable European Inspect of Schools. According to the report on Education for the year 1857 by the members of the Chinese Educational Committee, Lobscheid was appointed from May 1847. And he resigned in July 1860.

During this time, the missionary schools declined and were witnessed from 1856 where the Arrows Event started. Chinese residences were not seriously religious and it was quite impossible for them to become religiously zealous enough to be ministers. It should be understandable that they were offered by the mercantile firms rather than being ministers. However, it marked a significant step improved in public education. The Educational Committee did not want to discourage or to supersede privative native schools, and not to place in antagonism to voluntary efforts to provide education for pupils on the part of the Chinese population. (Victoria, Beach, Chalmers & Scarth 1959 in Bickley 2002, p.54) *Few Notices in the extent of Chinese education and the Government Schools of Hongkong* was issued by Lobsheid in 1859. The Rules and Regulations for Government Schools were drawn up by M. C. Odell and approved by Bowring. It was expressed that the Government Schools were instituted for the gratuitous instructions of Chinese pupils, with a view to their prosperity and usefulness. (Lobsheid 1859, p.2) The first rule stated that every inhabitant of Hong Kong Island might send his children to the schools and schools should be instructed in Native and Foreign Books. No fee could be demanded for so doing. (Lobsheid 1859, p.2) These rules were translated into Chinese and hung up in each school. (Lobsheid 1859, p.3)

The Second Opium War of 1856-1860 was not happened in Hong Kong and the fighting did not spill over into Hong Kong. Conflicts could not be isolated. The Treaty of Tientsin was ratified and the Convention of Beijing was added in 1860. The other Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson (Sept 1859 – Mar 1865) brought back the 1860 Education Committee as the Board of Education. He was more successful in freeing the government schools from church influence. As the governor devoted to the administration and control of the affairs of the colony, the government regained the control of schooling in Hong Kong. The Report on Education for the year 1860 was written directly by the governor and for business of Hong Kong, English should enter more into the conduct of schools than it had yet done. (Robinson, in Report on Education for the year 1860, in Bickley 2002, p.67)

Table 7. The Hong Kong Education in 1860 (Report on Education, Bickley 2002, p.67)

District	Name of the Schoolmaster or Schoolmistress, and Salary	Number of Scholars	Expends of each school
Tai-ping-shan	Chan yun kwong £31.1	70	£100.7.6
West point	Li king chau £30	52	£82.5
Sheung wan	Ho yuk tsun £35	97	£114.19.2
	Leung king ham £40	32 ²⁹	£68.15
Chung wan	Wong sz pint £35	109 ³⁰	£135.6.8
Webster' Bazaar	Chueng ku ying £25	31 ³¹	£41.8.4
Bowrington	Tsui kwan sik, £25	72 ³²	£88.3.9
Wong nei chung	Chan tsam fan £25	31	£47.7.1
Tang-lung-chow	Leung shik hing £32	107 ³³	£99.8.9
	Chow ping kwong £25	49	£44.10.2
Show ke wan	Tang show chun £25	45	£32.13.4
	Leung tsz shang £25	28	£36.13.4
Sai wan	Wong yun ko £20	21	£20
Shik au	Chan hui lan £30	32	£29.15
Tai tam tuk	Yip cheong kau, £17.1	11	£20.4.2
Stanley	Chiu yau tsau £25	30 ³⁴	£33.18.4
Heongkong	Su ping un £25	27	£25.3.4
Aberdeen	Tam tsok pan £27	41 ³⁵	£34.19.2
Mahomedan Mosque	Yip cheung sin £222.1	32	£35.7.6
West End	Wong tak fung £20	29	£26.4.7

²⁹ It was a girls school and all pupils were girls.

³⁰ All pupils were girls.

³¹ There were 2 girls.

³² There were five girls.

³³ 4 girls

³⁴ 2 girls

³⁵ 1 girl

Legge suggested to close the government schools in Victoria and opened a new central school for their pupils under European masters in 1860. This plan was to establish a model school to be the core of the educational system of Hong Kong. It was a step towards putting an end to the control of public education by the clergy. A measure aimed at eliminating religious education, introducing into the government schools. It was a non-conformist liberation scheme which preferred secularism to episcopalianism. (Eitel 1968, p.392) The Kowloon Peninsula was ceded to Britain which brought the new development of Hong Kong. It entered into the second period of education in Hong Kong history which the Hong Kong government ran schools directly by their officials and gained the land of Kowloon Peninsula to open a new page of Hong Kong history.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The non-interventionist definition of Hong Kong education is not relevant in the earliest colonial period. The time of this conclusion was drawn in the stage of post-war's state welfarism which social protection and welfare were monopolized by the state intervention. The government practices of laissez faire and social non-interventionism were arguable solely the result of its discursive or doctrinal beliefs.

The period of the history of Hong Kong education showed the government intervention of education by assisting financially certain native schools and selectively some missionary schools. It was observable that the Government began the setting up schools of its own and rivalled the missionaries in a race to Christianized the community by means of education. "Christianity through letters" was indeed the educational policy of the government and proselytizing rather than education was the keynote. (cited in Cheng 1949, p.100) The British state was to dominate and control the society and the domain of private interests. The conflicts between private interest or between private interest and the government represented public interest occurred.

In the other perspective, the Government had to report annually. It was the records of the Hong Kong Blue Book and the Administrative Report of Hong Kong. There were not more than twenty chapters generally but the chapter of education was included. It is the indication of the prominent position of education in the early colonial period of Hong Kong. And it should be a laissez faire policy but the government participated into making public education for Hong Kong pupils.

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