

HKU SPACE and Its Alumni The First Fifty Years

Lawrence M. W. Chiu and Peter Cunich

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— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

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Introduction

THE MISSION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG (HKU), like all great modern universities, has long been to promote and sustain international excellence through ‘outstanding teaching and world-class research’. In recent years, however, these two core aims have been complemented by what has been dubbed a ‘Third Mission’ — the provision of opportunities for ‘lifelong learning’. As one of the three basic goals of the University, ‘lifelong learning’ has been incorporated into the Council’s strategic vision for the future. Two of the University’s eight stated long-term goals encompass lifelong learning:

- To provide a comprehensive education, developing fully the intellectual and personal strengths of its students while developing and extending lifelong learning opportunities for the community; and
- To produce graduates of distinction committed to lifelong learning, integrity and professionalism, capable of being responsive leaders and communicators in their fields.¹

This commitment to lifelong learning is manifested in many ways throughout the University, but the most obvious commitment to this goal is to be seen in the School of Professional and Continuing Education (HKU SPACE). HKU SPACE has been a successful component of the University over a long period, is currently the largest provider of continuing and professional education opportunities in Hong Kong, and has become one of the largest providers in the world. HKU SPACE celebrates its fiftieth anniversary in 2007 and the present volume marks that anniversary. It aims to provide a history of extra-mural, continuing and professional education at HKU which demonstrates clearly the University’s sustained commitment to serving the Hong Kong community.

The formal provision of what used to be called ‘extra-mural studies’ began at the University of Hong Kong in 1957. However, the University has been providing opportunities for ‘external’ studies from its very first days. The number of students taking advantage of external studies fluctuated from year to year in the period up to and after World War II, but the University’s early commitment to education outside the normal process of university matriculation perhaps helps to explain why extra-mural studies blossomed in the late 1950s. In the pre-War years a high value was placed on close relations between ‘town’ and ‘gown’, and many of HKU’s early students (both undergraduates and non-matriculants alike) proved to have considerable leadership skills in their various fields. The move to provide ‘external’ studies on a more systematic basis than had been possible before the War was a recognition of the value of such studies for the community as a whole, and a response to the growing demand for such educational opportunities. Consequently, the Department of Extra-Mural Studies was able to find support from all areas of Hong Kong’s varied business and professional community. There was little government policy or funding for post-secondary education in these years and much of the inspiration for extra-mural studies came from the United Kingdom which already had a long tradition of liberal higher adult education.

From small beginnings the Department grew quickly into a powerful institution in its own right, while at all times service to the wider Hong Kong community was a clear goal. Where the University was not able to provide educational opportunity, The Department of Extra-Mural Studies (renamed the School of Professional and Continuing Education in 1992, and HKU SPACE from 1999) stepped in and developed strong links with members of the community who would otherwise not have enjoyed such educational opportunities. It is not surprising, therefore, that the alumni of HKU SPACE and its predecessors have responded to such opportunities by making major contributions to Hong Kong’s growth and development over the last fifty years. In this way, the early traditions of close partnership between ‘town’ and ‘gown’ continue, with HKU SPACE playing a very special role on behalf of the University.

While this study focuses primarily on the history of HKU SPACE, its wider aim is to integrate this story within the University’s attempts to provide educational opportunities beyond the undergraduate population from its earliest years. It is therefore of interest to survey the ‘pre-history’ of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies in order to identify clearly the ways in which the early history of the University provided a positive environment for the eventual development of extra-mural studies in the late 1950s. Chapter 1 begins by examining the founding ideals of Lord Lugard and the supporters of his ‘university project’. This is necessary in order to understand why it was that ‘external studies’ was initially thought of as inferior to the courses undertaken by matriculated students, even though both groups of students attended the same lectures. The early success of external studies as a

source of student fee income ensured that the University would continue to provide opportunities for non-matriculated students throughout the first half of the twentieth century, but the reason for such provision gradually moved beyond the merely financial and would ultimately build a basis for the introduction of more formal structures of extra-mural studies in 1957. It has to be admitted, however, that the University's few efforts in extending its educational services beyond the confines of the campus before 1957 did not reflect the international trend for large-scale extension and extra-mural work in the first half of the twentieth century. Some of the reasons for this will be explored in the first chapter.

Chapter 2 deals with the process by which the Department of Extra-Mural Studies was established in the years between the publication of the wartime Asquith Report of 1945 and the formal decision by the Court of the University on 21 May 1957 to establish the Department. The Keswick Report of 1952 was of central importance in moving this process forward, but there were many reasons why HKU was slower than other universities in the British Empire to institute a dedicated department to provide extra-mural studies of a liberal and professional character. Chapter 3 moves the story forward in examining the earliest days of the Department's growth under the first two directors, Mr Gerald Moore (1956–60) and Mr Ieuan Hughes (1960–67). This was a period of financial and other difficulties which were not resolved for some years, and this phase of development was perhaps marked principally by the University's attempted marginalisation of extra-mural studies. Yet, during these early years the Department of Extra-Mural Studies very quickly established itself as one of the more dynamic areas of the University's overall development, and within only two years of establishment it had a larger student enrolment than the University proper.

Continuing difficulties with funding, staff retention and accommodation led to a period of retrenchment in the mid-1960s. New pressures from the University Grants Committee and competition from the Chinese University of Hong Kong created difficulties for the Department during this period, but there was also much consolidation and a number of advances, including the opening of an Extra-Mural Town Centre in 1967. These developments will be dealt with in Chapter 4. Until 1964 the Department of Extra-Mural Studies focused largely on 'liberal' courses, but from the mid-1960s a new focus was found in vocational and professional studies. The University had been founded in 1911 to provide professional training in medicine and engineering, and architecture was later added, but opportunities for professional training of any kind in Hong Kong remained limited until the 1960s. Chapter 5 therefore surveys the role of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies as what Michael Luk refers to as the 'cradle of professional studies' in Hong Kong. The twenty years covered by this chapter includes a wide range of developments which indicate a gradual change in priorities within the Department accompanied by a significant increase in size. Several of the new areas of extra-mural education, including legal and management studies, will be examined in detail.

Chapter 6 considers the key years of the late 1980s and early 1990s when, under the leadership of Professor Lee Ngok, the Department changed in both name and nature to become the institution that it is today. This was a time of rapid expansion in both student enrolments and the range of programmes provided to adult learners as an ‘adult education market’ developed in Hong Kong. The financial success of continuing and professional education set the scene for a reduction in government and University subventions during the 1990s, and the eventual financial independence of HKU SPACE from 2000. Chapter 7 considers more recent developments, including the acquisition of new learning centres across Hong Kong, the introduction of quality assurance mechanisms, and the expansion of HKU SPACE’s activities into mainland China. Chapter 8 deals with a major new activity of SPACE, the two community colleges which have been established under its guidance to help extend the provision of post-secondary education in post-handover Hong Kong.

One of our problems in writing about the development of HKU SPACE and its predecessor over such a long period of time has been trying to identify exactly what sort of education it was that the institution was attempting to provide at various times. The terminology adopted in describing various types of adult post-secondary education over the last fifty years has changed dramatically.² Undergraduate education is the one constant against which this educational provision has been contrasted, and whenever we refer to ‘undergraduate education’ we understand this to mean the teaching of matriculated university students who, in the case of HKU at least, were normally full-time learners who had recently completed their secondary educational qualifications. In the pre-War period, all other students were referred to as ‘external’ students or simply ‘externals’, and this was a term that continued to be used until only recently when ‘visiting’ student became the norm. It should be noted, however, that in other jurisdictions, ‘external’ students are quite often defined as fully matriculated undergraduates who pursue their studies through distance or part-time learning modes. This has never been the case at HKU for reasons that will be discussed in Chapter 6.

In the early post-War years, the terms ‘adult education’ and ‘extra-mural studies’ were sometimes used interchangeably, but we have adopted a stricter usage. Whereas ‘adult education’ can refer to a very wide range of educational programmes (including all sorts of vocational and technical training) at different levels, from literature-for-interest classes to university-level degree programmes, the term ‘extra-mural studies’ has always been more limited in its application. Extra-mural courses are university-type courses which are taught to people who are literally *extra muros* (outside the walls) of the university. From the 1940s until fairly recently it was common for British universities to have ‘departments of extra-mural studies’ to describe the units which provided this form of education to ‘non-students’, and thus it was that the same nomenclature was adopted by HKU when the Department

of Extra-Mural Studies was established in 1957. Such educational activity by universities was sometimes also referred to as 'extension' work, but in the British context this term was used at a much earlier period and had a more limited meaning. In Hong Kong the term 'extension work' was hardly ever used after the Second World War. Likewise, reference to 'tutorial classes', which is common in the British literature on adult education both before and after the War, is largely absent in the Hong Kong context.

Another term which sometimes appears in studies of adult education in Hong Kong is 'technical and further education'. While universities have in the past provided such educational opportunities elsewhere in the world, especially where polytechnic universities are common, in Hong Kong this has not been the case. The more common terminology, which HKU eventually adopted for its extra-mural activities in the early 1990s, is 'professional and continuing education'. This terminology covers a broad spectrum of adult educational programmes ranging from short courses for personal development and training for professional qualifications through to doctorate-level programmes which are difficult to distinguish from mainstream university programmes.³ Indeed, around half of students currently engaged in 'continuing' education already hold an initial tertiary-level qualification, so the student body is very complex and learning expectations vary a great deal from one student to the next.

During the early 1980s the term 'open education' was used in Hong Kong to denote a variety of non-age specific manifestations of education ranging from basic literary to tertiary-level studies, and these learning opportunities were often linked to the distance mode of delivery.⁴ A more recent addition to the lexicon of adult education is 'lifelong learning', a term which can be applied equally to the mission and teaching activities of both HKU SPACE and the University itself. Since its introduction into the Hong Kong higher education context in the late 1990s, it has been used by successive government administrations and educational policy bodies to force changes in the way that people think about adult education, a process which we are now encouraged to believe begins at the very earliest stages of formal education.⁵ It has also been used as a major support for government policy initiatives to extend the provision of post-secondary educational opportunities to a larger proportion of the eligible age group in Hong Kong.

Both the University and HKU SPACE have used this new terminology of 'lifelong learning' rather creatively in 're-branding' themselves during recent 'vision and mission' exercises. This gives an impression of change and 'progress' in the educational philosophy behind the provision of adult education programmes by HKU. What strikes the non-specialist writers of the current study most forcibly, however, is the similarity between this new term and the sorts of views about adult education which were being expressed in the late 1950s when the Department of Extra-Mural Studies was established.⁶ So while the mission of HKU SPACE can be

interpreted as having changed significantly over the last fifty years, there is also a core vision which has remained largely unaltered and which perhaps helps to explain the obvious success of the institution. Part of this success is certainly due to an enduring commitment to serve the community at large, a value which was high on the University's agenda from its earliest days. HKU SPACE has also demonstrated an ability to respond in a timely fashion to new demands placed upon it by society, and this responsiveness no doubt enables it to claim an important place in the annals of education in modern Hong Kong.

Our aim in writing this book has been to provide a factually accurate and broadly comprehensive historical account of the first fifty years in the development of HKU SPACE. It is celebratory in nature because of the golden jubilee which it marks, but the authors have been given complete independence in arriving at their conclusions, and for this reason our findings are far from uncritical in places. While this book is aimed at a general audience which we believe will be primarily interested in the actual story of HKU SPACE, its teachers, and its alumni, we have nevertheless attempted to provide some analysis of the development of HKU SPACE as an educational institution, and the international and local contexts in which that development took place. We see our role more as providing signposts to future educational historians than as attempting to provide a definitive and academically critical study of HKU SPACE. Our main theme is therefore the ways in which HKU SPACE has attempted to provide opportunities for people in Hong Kong 'to feel the play of university influences upon them, and under the stimulus of those influences to unfetter imagination, to refine taste and judgement, and to deepen insight'.⁷ This is therefore a story about people as well as the institution itself. While it has not been possible to include in this volume as many stories about HKU SPACE alumni as we would have wished, we nevertheless hope that the account which we give in the pages ahead will enable the hundreds of thousands of HKU SPACE alumni to place themselves and their educational experience in the context of the longer history of the University of Hong Kong and its School of Professional and Continuing Education.

C H A P T E R O N E

External Studies at the University of Hong Kong, 1912–1957

THE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG'S Department of Extra-Mural Studies was not established until 1957 but, as this chapter will demonstrate, the University has provided opportunities for 'external' studies from its very first days. This chapter therefore concentrates on the 'pre-history' of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies. It seeks to identify clearly the ways in which the early history of the University eventually provided a positive environment for the development of extra-mural studies in the late 1950s. It is necessary first of all to examine the founding ideals of Lord Lugard and the supporters of his 'university project' in order to understand why it was that 'external studies' was initially thought of as inferior to the courses undertaken by matriculated students, even though both groups of students attended the same lectures. The early success and flexibility of external studies ensured that the University would continue to provide opportunities for non-matriculated students throughout the first half of the twentieth century and would build a basis for introducing the more formal structures of extra-mural studies in 1957. It also has to be admitted, however, that the University's few efforts in extending its educational services beyond the confines of the campus before 1957 did not reflect the international trend for large-scale extension and extra-mural work in the first half of the twentieth century. Some of the reasons for this will be explored in this chapter.

External Studies and the Purpose of the University

When the University of Hong Kong was established in 1911, the founders gave little thought to the provision of external or extra-mural studies. Like all universities in the British Empire at that time, HKU concentrated primarily on the education

of its matriculated student body, those students who had successfully passed the entrance (or matriculation) examination and in so doing became full members of the University. Initially it seems that external students were not expected to form part of the student body.¹ Nor was there any mention of extra-mural work. Yet from the very beginning, non-matriculated students were present within the University and at times constituted quite a large proportion of the student body, particularly in the first few years. While the number of external students fluctuated greatly until the beginning of the Second World War, one of the defining features of university life at HKU in the first half of the twentieth century was the presence of a large number of non-matriculated 'external' students. Such 'externals' entered all three foundation faculties (Medicine, Arts and Engineering) but were probably most visible in the Faculty of Arts. From the beginning Arts had the largest number of external students, particularly in the commercial courses in economics and law. From its very beginnings, then, and despite the ambivalence of its founders regarding the provision of educational opportunities for non-matriculated students, the University of Hong Kong has had a tradition of external studies. The provision of courses for these external students was extended in 1957 with the foundation of a Department of Extra-Mural Studies to provide even more opportunities for cultural, professional, and continuing education in Hong Kong. Developments in the 1950s may therefore be seen as representing a culmination of efforts to provide educational opportunities for non-matriculated students rather than a beginning.

The University of Hong Kong's founding purpose was '... the promotion of Arts, Science and Learning, the provision of higher education, the conferring of degrees, the development and formation of the character of students of all races, nationalities and creeds, and the maintenance of good understanding with the neighbouring country of China'.² Although it was originally thought that the University would serve a large market for higher education in the vast new Chinese nation, it very quickly became apparent that the principal supply of students was likely to come from the tiny colony of Hong Kong itself — 'a mere speck on the map'. Lord Lugard and the other founders of the University were very clear in their understanding of the type of education which was to be offered by HKU: 'The problem before us in opening a University in Hong Kong is how to train character, and how to create moral ideals which shall have a vital and compelling force in the formation of character and the conduct of daily life, without introducing compulsory religious teaching.'³ They proposed a fully residential university where 'carefully selected staff' could deeply influence 'the Spiritual and Emotional side of a young man's nature' on a daily basis.⁴ Lugard had no intention of admitting women to his university for they were a distraction which young men could well do without in their formative years. The idea of a collegiate educational experience such as that offered by the older universities in Britain at the time presumed an undergraduate body of full-time matriculated students, and there is no mention of external or

extra-mural studies in any of HKU's foundation documents. The notion of non-residential studies by non-matriculated students went against everything that Lugard had proposed for the new university. University studies were to be a privilege for a select few who passed a rigorous qualification procedure, just as it was in all universities at the time. External or part-time students were therefore not considered as being able to participate fully in the intensely formative residential life of the university, and so no mention of them was made at first.

This lack of interest in participation from the wider community is perhaps somewhat surprising for a university founded in 1911, the heyday of the 'civic university' on the other side of the world in Britain. Although Britain's higher adult education movement began in the Universities of Cambridge (1873) and Oxford (1878), it was the civic universities which had a strong commitment to 'extension' and 'extra-mural' work among workers and other adults who did not enjoy the luxury of aspiring to the sort of gentlemanly university education which Lugard and his peers knew from their days at Oxford and Cambridge. The movement for adult education had a long and generous history in the British Isles, stretching back to the late eighteenth century but gathering pace during the industrialised nineteenth century when mechanics' institutes, working men's clubs, and all manner of other educational institutions had arisen to cater for various forms of post-elementary adult education which instilled 'a new dignity' and a sense of independence among the working classes.⁵

The ancient universities of Cambridge and Oxford had taken the lead in developing 'extension work' in the 1870s, and in the last two decades of the nineteenth century these projects led to the founding of several new 'red brick' universities and the extension of London University's system of external degrees.⁶ The London external degree had originally been intended for full-time undergraduates studying outside London (and even throughout the British Empire from 1850) but it was not until 1876 with the formation of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching that university teaching reached a wider audience.⁷ These developments also contributed to the founding of the Workers' Educational Association in 1903, leading to a massive extension of educational opportunities for adults throughout Britain in the first half of the twentieth century. From 1908 the system of university tutorial classes provided adults with an opportunity for serious study over longer periods in small classes.⁸ These two-hour tutorial classes met weekly under university lecturers who often had to travel many miles to conduct their lessons, and normally involved a one-hour lecture which was preceded by a one-hour discussion of material introduced in the previous week's lecture. This method, introduced by R. H. Tawney in his 'Economic Class' in Rochdale, proved to be an extremely effective form of adult learning and gained immediate popularity. Between 1908 and 1920 the number of university tutorial classes offered in Britain grew from eight classes involving 237 students to 229

classes involving 5,528 students. Importantly, this development was led by the major universities.⁹

The crown colony of Hong Kong did not have the advanced industrial economy of its metropolitan patron, nor did it have a well-developed elementary education system like that established in Britain by the Education Act of 1870. In Hong Kong, numerous elementary schools existed by the end of the nineteenth century, many of them private Chinese schools but also a fair number of government schools. Efforts had been made to encourage the setting up of new schools through the grants schemes of 1873 and 1879, but the development of a secondary sector was very slow.¹⁰ Education had a relatively low priority in government policy until 1909 when the first Director of Education was appointed, but it was not until 1913 that the Director's position within the colonial civil service reached that of a first-class cadet officer. When HKU was established in 1911, therefore, very few post-secondary students were qualified for entry to the University, and it was expected from the very beginning that a large proportion of the undergraduates would come from China and Malaya. It is hardly surprising, then, that non-vocational adult education was a relatively low priority for both the Hong Kong government and the University in the 1910s. This is not to say that no demand for adult or further education existed at the time. The Hong Kong College of Medicine for Chinese opened in 1887; numerous 'study groups' of a political nature sprang up in the colony after the founding of the Fu Jen Literary Society in 1892; 'evening continuation classes' in science, engineering, commerce and teacher training were introduced at Queen's College in 1906; and in the next year the Technical Institute was established to run similar 'continuation classes' in various technical subjects and for teacher training.¹¹ It should also be noted that a large number of students in secondary education in Hong Kong at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century were of an age that would be considered 'adult' today, so a clear distinction between secondary education and adult education is not easy to establish at the time when plans for the University of Hong Kong were being discussed. Strangely enough, in Hong Kong during the second half of the nineteenth century it was generally accepted that demand for schooling opportunities for Chinese students was driven by vocational considerations, but professional training was normally pursued overseas.¹²

The principal objective of Lugard's university plan was to extend the benefits of modern British technology and higher education to China through the young Chinese graduates who would be produced by HKU. Chinese undergraduates would come from the increasing number of secondary schools in Hong Kong, as well as from the Mainland and the elite schools in the Straits Settlements and Malaya. Sir Frederick Lugard was not an educationalist, however, and neither he nor his chief advisors in Hong Kong had extensive connections with educational circles in Britain. They were not therefore fully aware of the latest educational developments taking

place at home with regard to extra-mural studies; even if they had been it is unlikely that they would have made much provision for adult education at HKU. In its first few years HKU struggled just to find enough suitably qualified applicants for undergraduate studies, so any 'market' which existed in 1912 for 'extension' activities must have been very small indeed. Once the University was established, however, it became clear that there was quite a significant demand for external studies of a particular type. The early records of the University are incomplete, but it appears that in its first few years of operation a number of boys from the local schools attempted to enrol at HKU but found it difficult to pass the Matriculation Examination. They therefore applied to continue their matriculation studies at the University as external students where they could enjoy the benefit of what was perceived as the superior teaching of university lecturers and the use of a well-stocked library. They therefore enrolled as non-residential students but took advantage of the other opportunities offered by undergraduate studies at HKU. In this sense the situation in the University's early years was analogous to the current associate degree programmes offered by the HKU SPACE Community College, providing a 'second chance' for students who failed at the first attempt to matriculate.

The first edition of the University *Calendar*, published at the start of the second academic year (1913–14), recognised this unexpected development, devoting a whole section to 'External Students':

There are a few External Students who take advantage of the facilities offered by the University for advanced instruction in various subjects. Those students pay \$25 per term for each subject. It is anticipated that in time the number of such students will be considerable, but at present the University Authorities are chiefly concerned with the residential side of the University's work, which must always be the more important of the two.

It is not clear exactly why it was anticipated 'that in time the number of such students will be considerable', but the emphasis of the University authorities on the residential undergraduate education of matriculated students as being always the more important of the two types of education offered at HKU is telling. The fees paid by external students for individual courses were certainly an important consideration for the University. These fees worked out to be exactly the same as those paid by matriculated students for whole programmes of study (\$75 per annum) and by 1919 fee income from external students was a major component in the finances of the Faculty of Arts. In fact, without the presence of external students in the first five years of its existence, it is difficult to see how the Arts Faculty could have continued to function effectively (see Table 1.1).

It is not known how many external students were registered in the first two years of the University's existence, but by 1915 the Arts Faculty was admitting more externals than matriculated students. In the Faculty's first ten years, student

Table 1.1 New Students in the Faculty of Arts, 1912–1922

Year	Matriculants	Externals	Total
1912	18	–	18
1913	9	1	10
1914	10	8	18
1915	5	13	18
1916	11	7	18
1917	11	11	22
1918	29	19	48
1919	36	2	38
1920	27	1	28
1921	28	–	28
	184	64	248

(Source: Early Student Records of the Faculty of Arts, HKU)

numbers were very small, as was the case in the other two foundation faculties and a common feature of most new universities at the time. As can be seen in Table 1.1 however, more than a quarter of the students admitted were external students, although it should also be noted that a substantial number of these later matriculated and became full-time students of the University. Similar figures are not available for the other two foundation faculties, so it is impossible to determine whether external students were present in significant numbers elsewhere in the University at that time. Many of the external students in the Arts Faculty did not persevere with their studies, with most dropping out within the first year. This became a persistent feature of external studies at HKU until World War II. This problem was not, however, limited solely to external students. Matriculated students routinely left the University within a year or two of starting their courses and there does not seem to have been any shame attached to ‘failing’ examinations. In fact, it is difficult to ascertain any major differentiating features between external and matriculated students at the University in its earliest years. Both groups of students seem to have merged with each other in most academic activities. The major differences were that matriculated students were full members of the University who were able to take degrees at the end of their studies and resided in halls of residence, while external students did not enjoy all the rights and privileges of membership of the University, could not take degrees, and resided outside the campus. But even here the differences broke down because the two non-University-administered halls, St John’s and Morrison, were allowed to take in external students as residents and such students enjoyed the full round of extra-curricular activities. In these cases, then, there was no discernible difference between matriculated and external students and many became firm friends and business partners after leaving the University.

External students re-sitting the matriculation examination seem to have fallen into two groups. There were those who pursued the full undergraduate course until the end of their first term when they re-sat the matriculation examination in order to become matriculated students and commence their proper university studies. Sometimes these students were given permission to count their first term of studies as external students towards their degree studies, and were probably treated from the beginning in the same way as 'normal' internal students. Other external students required more intensive preparation for the matriculation examination, however, and special classes had to be arranged to provide them with remedial teaching. At the beginning of 1919, for example, matriculation classes in mathematics, trigonometry, history, and geography were arranged for external students. The mathematics class met five times a week and students paid fees of \$25 per term, with the teacher receiving an honorarium of \$250 for each course.¹³ It is not possible to gauge the demand for such courses, but it must have been considerable because the Faculty of Arts was facing severe funding shortages at the time and external students were seen as a means of raising revenue for the other work of the Faculty. In 1915–16, ten of the thirteen first-year externals were matriculation candidates, and in 1917–18 nine out of eleven, so it seems likely that they represented both an important source of revenue for the Faculty, and a potential pool of matriculated students.

The presence of large numbers of external students in the Faculty of Arts did, however, lead to some difficulties. In late 1919 the Registrar proposed formalising the previously informal policy of allowing non-matriculated students to count their first term of studies towards their degrees upon successful completion of the matriculation examination. This appears to have been in response to the unusually large number of applicants for such special consideration at the beginning of the 1919–20 academic year. The inclusion of an appropriate clause in the regulations seemed a pragmatic response to the aspirations of a large number of external students who wished to make the most of their first term of studies at HKU. However, the Faculty Board rejected the proposal on the grounds that 'it is not desirable that any change should be made in the regulations concerning the periods of study and residence required by the University'.¹⁴ While the members of the Board did not spell out their objections to the Registrar's proposal, it seems likely that this decision was part of a more general tightening of standards within the Faculty of Arts. It seems that there were concerns that too lenient an approach to unqualified external students would be perceived as encouraging a diminution in the quality of Arts students. This concern was also expressed in other areas of the Faculty's academic programmes.

In its early years the Arts Faculty had, in fact, been a leader in the introduction of programmes which were of a more vocational nature than the traditional arts education common in universities. These programmes proved attractive to students

and seem to have been favoured by many external students who later transferred to full-time studies. The degree and certificate courses in commerce and the degree course in teacher training were significant departures from the original intentions of the Bachelor of Arts degree and by 1920 both were proving popular. One significant attraction was that these programmes provided entry into professions for which there was a growing demand in Hong Kong, and jobs were relatively easy to find. Not surprisingly, enrolments increased and by 1920 the majority of students in the Arts Faculty were studying one of these two subjects. When a new Arts syllabus was approved in October 1920, the Teacher Training (Group 4) and Commercial Training (Group 5) streams were formally added to the more traditional fields of Letters and Philosophy (Group 1), Experimental Science (Group 2) and Social Sciences (Group 3). There remained, however, a concern among some academics that these areas were not sufficiently 'academic' to qualify as proper university programmes. This would become a familiar concern later in the twentieth century both in Hong Kong and elsewhere, resulting in very strict quality assurance mechanisms being imposed on external and extra-mural programmes. At HKU in 1921, the Arts Faculty Board thwarted an attempt by the Registrar to change the entry regulations in order to allow Edward Hotung, the son of wealthy entrepreneur Sir Robert Hotung, to enter the normal Group 5 degree programme on the basis of his having completed the Commercial Certificate earlier that year. Hotung was later admitted to the programme, but the Arts Faculty insisted that it should give 'special consideration of particular cases, as and when they may arise' in order to assure the quality of its student intake.¹⁵ The position adopted by the Faculty Board appears to have been a matter of principle. Concerns about the quality of the student intake seem to have been largely based on the question of whether external students could be expected to transfer to the degree programme successfully without diluting the overall standard of the Arts curriculum. The early experiences of the Arts Faculty in dealing with this problem would lead to stricter policies regarding the admission of external students at HKU in the 1920s and subsequently.

External Studies at HKU in the 1920s and the 1930s

The position of external students at the University of Hong Kong changed drastically after the First World War. The demand for internal student places rose quickly and the Arts Faculty in particular no longer needed large numbers of external students to ensure its fee income. One gains the impression from the early records of the Arts Faculty that large numbers of external students were considered to be a 'necessary evil', tolerated only for as long as it took to attract adequate numbers of matriculated students to ensure the viability of the Faculty. The fortunes of the Arts Faculty began to improve from the beginning of 1922. Whereas there had

been only twenty-seven internal students in the first year in October 1921, by January 1922 a total of fifty-five internal students had enrolled and no external students were accepted. Out of a total enrolment of 117 students in the Arts Faculty at that time, there was only one external student on the books, a second-year student.¹⁶ By the beginning of 1923 there were 123 students in the Faculty, none of whom were external students.¹⁷ This represented a remarkable change from only a few years earlier. The Arts Faculty and the University would never again have such a large proportion of external students, with matriculated student numbers increasing rapidly as the University's degrees became better recognised both locally and throughout East and Southeast Asia.

One important indication of the changing attitude to external students is that all mention of external studies disappeared completely from the *University Calendar* in 1922. It may well have been that this was a policy adopted by the Arts Faculty in response to earlier problems but no evidence of this has been found. The *University Calendar* is silent with regard to the presence of external students in the University until 1930 when a regulation applying to apprentices registered as external students in the Engineering Faculty was added, and in the next year fees for external students were mentioned again for the first time in nearly a decade.¹⁸ Despite the lack of an obvious regulatory framework for external students between 1922 and 1930, non-matriculated students were again admitted to the Arts Faculty from 1923. In that year, the six new external students included four women, the first in the University's history. In the next seven years a total of forty-two externals were admitted, with equal numbers of men and women. The largest intake was in 1928 with six men and six women, five of whom (three men and two women) enrolled in the new subject group of Chinese Studies, introduced by the Faculty that year. In the period 1923–30, the most popular area for external students was the Letters and Philosophy group (14 students), followed by Commerce (6), Chinese and Science (5 each). During this period externals were predominantly local Chinese students, but others were drawn from different backgrounds, including British students such as James Smith (son of the Professor of Engineering), a number of Americans including the diarist Betty Draper, and even a Peruvian, Teresa Sanchez, in 1930. In 1928, two mature-aged Japanese were admitted to study as externals in the English Department and one was even allowed to reside in Lugard Hall for the year. Like most Chinese external students, however, these international visitors did not last long in their studies, usually leaving at the end of their first year.

Another attempt by the University to provide a different type of post-secondary education to Chinese students was the opening of the School of Chinese Studies, a scheme which was promoted by the Chancellor of the University, Sir Cecil Clementi. The new School aimed at drawing its students from the Government Vernacular Middle School, and its course was to lead to a diploma after four years of study, the same as for a regular degree.¹⁹ Starting in 1929, seven non-matriculation students

who had completed their course at the Vernacular Middle School began their 'advanced course' in Chinese and English at the University. Three more students joined in 1930, six in 1931 and one in 1932, but seven of these students had failed by the end of 1931, and the expense of having six teachers for only ten students made the continuation of this educational experiment untenable. The diploma course, having failed to fulfil the University's original expectations, was therefore abandoned in favour of a proper degree programme in Chinese from 1932.²⁰ Only two of the students in the School ultimately received their diplomas at the end of 1932, but both these and three others were able to matriculate in 1933 and all five eventually received their bachelor's degrees. One of these graduates was Fung Ping-wah, who enjoyed a long and successful career in business and followed his father's example in becoming a generous donor to the University.

Outside the Arts Faculty there were efforts made to attract apprentices to first-year courses in engineering because of declining numbers of matriculated students in the Engineering Faculty. In 1928 the Senate formally approved a scheme which allowed non-matriculated students to audit lectures in the Engineering Faculty.²¹ Once again, however, the University tried to ensure the quality of these students by insisting that they pass entrance examinations in English and mathematics before they were admitted to lectures. These students could only proceed to second-year courses if they passed the matriculation examination at the end of their first year.²² This regulation remained in the *Calendar* until the mid-1930s but it is not known how successful the policy was in attracting external students. Throughout the 1920s the Medical Faculty appears to have admitted no external students.

The 1930s saw a steep rise in student numbers at the University, so the few externals became an even smaller proportion of the student population. The Arts Faculty continued to be the place where externals were most likely to be found, and in some years there were surprisingly large numbers entering the Faculty. In 1931, twelve externals constituted 28 per cent of the new students, and in 1937–38 twenty externals represented a third of the total intake of sixty students. However, in 1939–40 there were only six new externals (13 per cent) and by 1941 the approach of war reduced the intake to a single external student. In the period 1931–41, ninety-six external students made up approximately 20 per cent of the student intake into the Faculty of Arts, a relatively high percentage. Not all of these students were retained, however, as Table 1.2 shows. Relatively few external students progressed beyond a single year of studies, and most seem to have dropped out after only one or two terms. The overall percentage of externals among the entire student population was never higher than 5.4 per cent, achieved in 1938.

The gender balance among external students fluctuated from one year to the next. Generally men outnumbered women throughout the 1930s, although 1935 and 1936 saw larger numbers of women externals. Between 1923 when women externals were first admitted and 1931, almost equal numbers of men and women

Table 1.2 External Students at HKU, 1930–1940

Year	Arts	Engineering	Medicine	Science	Total Externals at HKU	Total Students at HKU
1930	12	–	–	–	12	336
1931	10	2	1	–	13	346
1932	–	–	–	–	–	333
1933	4	1	–	–	5	366
1934	10	1	–	–	13	438
1935	15	–	–	–	15	404
1936	10	–	–	–	10	413
1937	13	2	2	–	17	441
1938	15	4	9	–	28	516
1939	–	–	–	–	8	503
1940	4	1	–	1	7	572

(Source: *University Reports*, 1930–1940)

were admitted to external studies courses in the Arts Faculty (29 men and 25 women). In the period 1932–41, however, a much higher percentage of men was admitted (48 men and 36 women). In the period before the Second World War, the Arts Faculty admitted 949 matriculated students (693 male and 256 female) and 202 external students (141 male and 61 female), with women forming a slightly higher percentage of external students (30 per cent) than matriculated students (27 per cent). External students constituted 18 per cent of the student population during this period. The age profile of external students is also of interest. In the period 1931–41, for which accurate age data is available, 60 per cent of external students were between sixteen and twenty-one years of age at the time of admission, while 39 per cent were over the age of twenty-one. The external student population was therefore relatively older on average than the main body of matriculated students. While they were perhaps less likely to remain at their studies than internals, external students were a very familiar component of the early student population within the Faculty of Arts right up to the outbreak of the War.²³

There were some changes in the external student profile during the 1930s. In the 1920s commercial studies had not been particularly popular among externals but in the early 1930s it was the most popular subject, together with English language, both accounting for approximately 40 per cent of the intake. This change seems to have taken place quite rapidly and perhaps is explained with reference to the onset of the Great Depression. In 1928, eight externals were following courses in Letters and Philosophy and three were enrolled in Science, with none in Commerce, while in 1929 three were enrolled in Letters and Philosophy and two in Commerce. In

1930, however, seven out of the twelve externals were taking courses in commercial subjects, and in 1934 five of the seven new externals were studying Commerce. Economics continued to be a popular subject until the War, but it seems that the late 1930s saw a decline in the popularity of the commercial courses, a phenomenon which the 1937 Report attributed to a disjunction between the nature of Chinese business and the types of accounting methods being taught at HKU. It seems that the small-scale Chinese business enterprises had little need of Western accounting methods or economic theory. The Vice-Chancellor agreed with the findings of the committee and doubted whether the Department of Commerce could justify its continued existence. The University Development Committee also recommended that commercial courses be suspended in 1939, by which time there can have been few external students still taking these courses.²⁴

While external students were a regular feature of the learning environment in the Arts Faculty, they were less common in the other faculties during the 1930s. It has already been noted that the Engineering Faculty attempted to attract external students to its first-year courses in the late-1920s, but the official enrolment figures do not suggest that this strategy attracted very many external students. There was, however, a small trickle of engineering externals throughout the 1930s. The Faculty of Medicine was the most impervious to externals, with very few admissions at any time in its early history. Medicine was the most sought-after programme of study at HKU but the nature of the medical profession did not allow for external studies. Doctors could only practise medicine after completing the full-time medical programme with all its clinical work. However, in 1938 nine unmatriculated students were allowed to enter the Faculty of Medicine to study pharmacy in the 'chemist and druggist course'.²⁵ This was an experiment which met with only limited success and was not repeated.

It is difficult to get much of a sense of what life was like for external students during these two decades, and the ways in which their experiences differed, if at all, from the lives of matriculated undergraduates. Although the only extant student diary from the period was written by an external student, she was hardly typical of her cohort. Betty Draper, an American high school graduate whose family had been living in Western China for some time, joined the Arts Faculty in the middle of 1928 and left immediately after her examinations in late 1929. Her academic credentials from Belmont High School in Los Angeles did not qualify her for matriculation so she enrolled as an external student, at first in English and French, but later adding Chemistry and Biology in 1929.²⁶ She joined the same classes as her undergraduate friends, with Sir William Hornell as her French teacher, Mr B. G. Birch as her English tutor, Professor Herklots lecturing in Biology, and Professor Byrne in Chemistry. Her diary is full of disparaging comments about her teachers, especially Mr Birch and Mr Hill, a junior Chemistry lecturer, but she praises the inspiring Professor Simpson, who directed her and her friends in two plays. She was

good friends with the few female students of the University at the time, including Grace Hotung, Florence Wong, Parrin Ruttonjee, Hui Wai-haan, and Rose Perry, and she was elected president of the International Club.²⁷ Betty Draper frequented the University Union, played tennis on the University courts behind the Main Building, and studied in the Library. For all intents and purposes, she appears to have led the same sort of life as an undergraduate. While this may be true of the time she spent studying at the University, however, her life outside the campus was very different. She lived in a big house on the Peak, had a boyfriend in town whom she met at Lane and Crawford and the Hong Kong Hotel, and socialised with the likes of Stella Benson. She is therefore not typical of HKU's external students in the 1920s and 1930s, most of whom were Chinese, and we have no way of assessing what a 'typical' experience of being an external at HKU was like in these two decades.

It is equally difficult to trace the career trajectories of early external students or to evaluate whether their experience of higher education at HKU had any lasting impact on their lives. Betty Draper returned to the United States in late 1929 and became a student of Fine Arts at UCLA, but never did complete her undergraduate studies. Chan Sau Ung-loo (1935–38) was more successful, earning her BA from the University of Hawaii and an LLB from Yale. The scions of wealthy Hong Kong Chinese merchants such as Edward Hotung (1918–19), Fung Ping-wah (1929–32, B.A. 1933), Fung Ping-fan (1929–32), and William Eu (1938–39) all went into their family businesses and became prominent leaders in Hong Kong society. It is more difficult to trace the other externals after they left HKU, although we do know that James Middleton Smith (1924) became a businessman in Shanghai, so it is likely that other externals in the Commerce group also went into business.

By the end of the 1930s, external studies at the University of Hong Kong was typically an activity which took place in the Arts Faculty and involved students who usually stayed for no more than a year of study, sometimes as a preparation for matriculation, but in other cases simply out of interest or to fill in a year of otherwise free time. There was no real attempt to extend the University's teaching activities beyond the undergraduate population as had been the case in Britain during this period, and adult education remained almost completely undeveloped. The notion that the University might provide some opportunity for a liberal adult education or other forms of extension studies typical of what was happening in the British universities at the time never seems to have been seriously considered at HKU. Indeed, for most of the 1920s, even the opportunity to undertake external studies ceased to be mentioned in the *University Calendar*. That this was so should not be a cause for surprise. The University of Hong Kong was still establishing itself as an institution of higher education in the first half of the twentieth century and did not have the same level of confidence that typified its British sister institutions in this period. Several serious financial crises in the 1920s and 1930s meant that the

University lived very much 'from hand to mouth' and there was little enough revenue for the primary aim of teaching, let alone extension work among adults. It is also possible that there was very little demand for adult education in Hong Kong at that time, but even if there was, the elitist educational institution which HKU was rapidly becoming was probably not the place where such a demand would have been met with educational provision.

The University (1937) Report and the War

Despite the presence of quite large numbers of external students within HKU during its first thirty years of existence, the University paid very little attention to them and did very little to legislate for their studies. There seems to have been an implicit understanding that such students were free to take advantage of undergraduate courses if they paid the appropriate fees, but that the University's primary task of educating matriculated students must not be disrupted by their presence. For this reason, neither external studies nor any form of adult or continuing and professional education received very much attention at the policy level in any of the principal governing organs of HKU before 1938. The only mention of external students in Council meetings was with regard to setting fees, first in 1912 and later in 1930 when fees were increased from \$75 to \$100 per course per year in order to keep them in line with increases in fees for matriculated students.²⁸ In the Senate, external studies were discussed in 1928 when it was agreed that apprentices could be admitted to the Engineering Faculty and unmatriculated students into the new School of Chinese.²⁹ Moreover, the provision of higher educational opportunities to external students did not feature in any of the several reports submitted to the University or the government during this period. It was not until the University Development Committee report of 1939 that some form of continuing and professional education was envisaged. Unfortunately this development was arrested by the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong in late 1941. Despite some discussion during and immediately after the War, the issue did not resurface in any substantive form until the 1950s. This was in contrast to the situation in Britain where the 1919 Report of the Adult Education Committee had led to a massive increase in the provision of non-vocational adult education in the 1920s and 1930s. This development was accompanied and promoted by the establishment in the universities of extra-mural studies departments to co-ordinate the work of providing educational opportunities to non-matriculated students in the community.³⁰ Such developments in Britain appear to have had no impact on Hong Kong at all in the 1920s and 1930s.

By the end of the 1930s, however, HKU had reached a moment in its history when serious strategic planning was necessary in order to secure its future. Sir Andrew Caldecott, Governor of Hong Kong and Chancellor of the University, set up a

small committee to enquire into the financial viability of the University and whether other changes might be desirable in the interests of the University's future utility and prestige.³¹ The committee found that HKU's existing position was 'not satisfactory', that it had 'existed far too much from hand to mouth', and that expenses would have to be cut if the future of the institution were to be secured. The cost-cutting measures recommended by the committee included a more determined focusing of academic activities on teaching rather than overly-expensive research, a rigorous pruning of professors in the Arts and Engineering faculties, and maintaining the 10 per cent reduction in salaries imposed in the previous year.³² Not surprisingly, the report made no recommendations about external or extramural studies as its focus was mainly financial and organisational rather than educational. It appears that external studies were not even considered as a potential source of additional revenue at this juncture, in contrast with earlier policies. The hornet's nest which the 1937 Report stirred up within the University led, however, to a wide-ranging discussion of the past performance and future mission of HKU. In February 1939, the new Governor, Sir Geoffrey Northcote, set up a committee 'to consider and report upon what steps are necessary for the development of the University up to the standard at which it would be able to fulfil the high function for which it was founded'.³³ The University Development Committee met thirteen times between 14 March and 28 April and submitted its lengthy report on 10 May 1939. It was a landmark document for the University, guiding development for many years to come. It was also the first HKU report in which mention was made of adult and continuing professional education.

The man responsible for raising the issue of adult education was the new Vice-Chancellor, Mr Duncan Sloss. Soon after his arrival in Hong Kong he realised that in its first twenty-five years HKU had stressed 'what is sometimes regarded as the practical aspect of higher education' in all three of its original faculties. He agreed that providing an education for a livelihood was part of the function of a university but he also felt that 'No university can maintain its status or develop the right atmosphere if it does not make adequate provision for the disinterested pursuit of knowledge'. He was therefore an advocate of 'education for its own sake' and wanted to see the University focus more on 'pure culture'.³⁴ He was supported in this by many of the professors, and by none more so than Lancelot Forster, the professor of Education. Professor Forster believed that a 'technical and professional virus' had infected the Arts Faculty from its beginnings and had been a detriment to the development of truly liberal studies at HKU. He wanted a more 'philosophical' Arts programme without which he predicted that the University would continue to provide only 'an emasculated form of British higher education' which would render it powerless to exert any real influence on modern China.³⁵ These views seem to indicate a more purist approach to the education of undergraduates and the pursuit of postgraduate research, but both men also believed in the importance of extension work by the University.

Professor Forster had already been instrumental in setting up a night school to provide elementary education for the poor children of Sai Ying Pun in the early 1930s, and was very active in the more practical issues of teacher education in the colony through his contacts with the government's Department of Education.³⁶ This extension work did not, however, have any tangible impact on the policies of the University in the 1930s, nor did it open up any opportunities for adult education at HKU. He now joined the Vice-Chancellor in recommending that a range of extra-mural 'refresher' courses be offered to graduates of the University and other participants, especially professionals working in Hong Kong. These courses could be offered annually in medical and surgical subjects and admission to such courses 'should be given as widely as possible to medical practitioners in Hong Kong and the surrounding country'. An experiment in offering summer courses 'for men engaged in commerce' was suggested and Forster not surprisingly wanted to see established frequent refresher courses for teachers in Hong Kong and South China.³⁷ These suggestions for university extension work were contained in four separate paragraphs of the report and represented a strong statement regarding the sort of role in extra-mural education which it was felt the University should be pursuing within the Hong Kong community and the wider region.

These plans for the provision of wide-ranging adult education opportunities came to nothing. Such a failure to turn words into action can be attributed to the fact that HKU had more pressing needs to address immediately after the report's release in the summer of 1939. These related primarily to the establishment of the new Faculty of Science and a range of expensive building projects approved in the wake of the 1939 Report. However, there can be no doubt that the outbreak of war in Europe and the increasingly aggressive activities of the Japanese in China also diverted the attention of those in charge of University development. When the Japanese occupation in December 1941 brought the closure of the University and the internment of most of its expatriate teaching staff, all University development ceased and the campus was taken over by the enemy military authorities. During the first few months of internment, University staff members were too concerned with matters of survival to think too much about the future of the University, but by the middle of 1942, the Vice-Chancellor initiated preliminary discussions about the University's future within Stanley Civilian Internment Camp. Professor Forster was again very vocal in criticising the 'old pedestrian soulless existence' of HKU and proposed that the Arts Faculty should be at the centre of any development plans so as to produce 'the future statesmen and constructive political thinkers who will shape the destinies of China'.³⁸ As well as the generous provision of liberal arts subjects, he also wanted to see the establishment of an institute of education, one of the functions of which would be 'to organise extramural studies for adult education in the Colony' and provide educational conferences and vacation courses for teaching professionals. He felt strongly that 'the neglect of this work in the past has

led to indifference and lack of sympathy on the part of the public with the University and its work'.³⁹ The extent to which this view was shared by other members of the University is difficult to judge, but it is certainly tempting to speculate that the lack of local support for HKU in the 1930s may have had something to do with the University's failure to establish any kind of extension activities. Doubtless the Vice-Chancellor was one of those who agreed with Forster, but there is no evidence that the more formal discussions about the University's future which took place in Stanley Camp in 1943 and 1944 developed the idea of extra-mural studies any further.

There was, nevertheless, some practical adult education work which the University undertook during the internment period. At both the Stanley civilian camp and at the Shamshuipo military camp, HKU staff and graduates gave informal lectures and short courses on a variety of cultural and vocational subjects.⁴⁰ While the bulk of the academic staff were at Stanley, Dr Norman Mackenzie found himself at Shamshuipo and was able to deliver lectures on the Romantic poets to appreciative fellow POWs, and Dr Solomon Bard even managed to form an orchestra in the camp.⁴¹ These sessions no doubt helped the inmates cope with the monotonous life of internment by taking their minds off the problems of food and disease, if only for a short time. More importantly, however, the Senate at its meeting on 2 July 1943 heard a progress report about 'a proposed extension course' which had been suggested as an alternative to proper university courses during the remainder of the period of internment. A large informal committee had already met to discuss the syllabus of the programme on 25 May 1943. The academics present realised that the recent matriculation exam in the camp had produced very few students qualified for university study, and they must also have been acutely aware of the impossibility of mounting full degree programmes within the Stanley camp. While formal matriculation examinations were held in 1943, 1944 and 1945, the purpose of these was to provide candidates with credentials to pursue university studies once they were freed, rather than to qualify them for courses within the camp. The meeting of 25 May agreed, however, that something should be done about the further education of those who had already passed through the Stanley Internment Camp School and had attempted the matriculation exam, so an 'extension course' was arranged to begin in the middle of June.

Thus began HKU's first real attempt at extra-mural studies with teaching taking place in the garages outside the Stanley Prison walls. Courses were offered in English, Pure and Applied Mathematics, French, History, Geography, Theoretical Physics, and Economics, with up to twenty-one hours of lectures offered in the various subjects each week. Students were required to take at least two but not more than four courses, with class enrolments limited to ten, and the students were chosen on the basis of those who would profit most from the instruction given.⁴² The programme was apparently a great success, with the Senate discussing in early 1944 the possibility of a Higher Certificate Examination for those who had followed the courses. At its

meeting on 14 November 1944, the Senate decided not to hold an examination for the Higher Certificate students but noted 'it might be necessary merely to issue to the candidate a statement regarding the courses of study they had pursued, without specifying the standard reached'.⁴³ We do not know how many students passed through the HKU Higher Certificate internment programme, nor whether their lessons helped them in securing employment or further studies after the War. It seems likely, however, that this extension work was highly valued by teachers and students alike as it allowed a partial return to normal pre-War conditions, even though the context and mode of delivery were very different.

HKU's wartime experiment with educational extension work was quickly forgotten at the end of the War as the University began to look to the future. Several of the lecturers involved in teaching the Higher Certificate courses died in camp in the middle of 1944, and Professor Forster retired to England after release. Those who took on the task of reconstruction had little time for adult education when the first priority was to reopen the University for undergraduates. The Senate's Reconstruction Sub-Committee which met in mid-1943 had already proposed 'the reconstitution of the University only on the assumption that it may become by its scope, staffing and equipment an example of a British institution of higher education and research worthy of the respect of Chinese scholars and statesmen'; and in November 1944 Senate began to draw up a 'scheme of development' to take advantage of 'a unique opportunity to make a new start'.⁴⁴ That new start was delayed until 1948 by the decision-making committees of the Colonial Office in London, but in the meantime HKU was partially reopened in October 1946 with the organisation of first-year classes. A new schedule of student fees was approved which included external course fees of \$125 per course per year, a 25 per cent increase on the previous fee structure set in 1930.⁴⁵ There was therefore an expectation that external students would return to the post-War university and contribute to HKU's finances in the same way they had until 1941.

After the War

It was recognised by the University Re-opening Committee that a large number of pre-War senior students would wish to continue their studies and evidently some complaints were received about the very partial reopening of the University. A notice was issued in January 1947 advising former students that 'it is virtually impossible to arrange for third or fourth year courses in September 1947. But to assist them the Interim Committee is prepared to admit them as second year students taking refresher courses next September, without charging tuition fees, and without requiring hostel residence in the case of students whose homes are in Hong Kong'.⁴⁶ Not all pre-War undergraduates wishing to renew their studies were able to take advantage of this arrangement, however, for many of them had to work for a living

in the desperate economic conditions in the post-War colony. Some former students were particularly disgruntled, and when a summer course for social workers was organised in July 1947, one alumnus wrote anonymously to the Chancellor to complain. Students in his position had found it necessary to take on day-time work merely to survive and were not in a position to go back to full-time studies. Students like him were nevertheless prepared to attend evening classes 'should they be given the opportunity'. If it were possible for the University to hold evening classes in the summer for social workers, why was it not possible to extend this privilege to former students in the Arts and Science faculties to allow them to complete their degrees? The correspondent also made the point that 'There are evening classes and vacation classes held by the University of London in London, why cannot the University of Hong Kong hold evening classes in Hong Kong?'⁴⁷

The Interim Committee took this complaint seriously, and at its joint meeting with the Provisional Powers Committee on 10 September 1947 approval in principle was given to a suggestion 'that the University should hold evening and vacation classes'. Unfortunately, further discussion of this proposal was left until the University was 'more adequately equipped and staffed', a situation that would not arise until later in the 1950s when other more formal influences came to bear on the matter of extra-mural studies.⁴⁸ The course for social workers which took place in the summer of 1947, the University's first such course in further education, was very successful but was not repeated. The promise of extra-mural studies at HKU which had been slowly taking shape since before the War was not therefore honoured in any real sense in the years of restoration in the late-1940s and early-1950s.

Elsewhere in the British Empire the situation was very different. While the University's Senate had been discussing the future of HKU in Stanley camp during 1943, the home government in London had established a Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies to plan for higher education in the Empire after the War. The provision of greater opportunities in higher education was seen by the members of this commission foremost as a means of improving the social and economic development of the colonies. This was not merely in fulfilment of Britain's 'moral obligations as trustees of the welfare of Colonial peoples, but is also designed to lead to the exercise of self-government by them. In the stage preparatory to self-government, universities have an important part to play; indeed they may be said to be indispensable'.⁴⁹ One focus of the commission's 1945 report (the Asquith Report) was the provision of extra-mural studies by colonial universities, and most of the recommendations contained in the report were eventually adopted by colonial governments throughout the Empire.⁵⁰ In the Far East, a special Commission on University Education in Malaya under the chairmanship of Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders made further recommendations to the home government regarding extra-mural studies which later influenced developments in Hong Kong, but the report on higher education in Hong Kong produced for the Colonial office in 1950 made

no mention of extra-mural studies, perhaps reflecting the almost total lack of interest in such developments within the colony of Hong Kong. For this reason, therefore, together with the more pressing needs of reconstruction at HKU, no advances were made in the provision of extension or adult education until the mid-1950s (see next chapter).

The University of Hong Kong continued to provide opportunities for external students to take its undergraduate courses after the War and well into the 1960s, but there was never any serious attempt until the 1980s to extend the provision of external studies in the same way that institutions abroad such as the University of Queensland and the University of New England did in Australia during the early 1950s. In Britain, too, developments after the War were rapid, and by 1954 all major British universities had departments of extra-mural studies. These provided on average more than 150 extra-mural courses per year at each institution, with Birmingham and London universities providing more than 500 courses each, and Bristol more than 300.⁵¹ In the same year a total of 7,448 adult education classes were held in Britain involving 147,782 students and 254 tutors at a cost to the British Government of £371,000.⁵² Adult non-vocational education in Hong Kong did not develop at this rate until much later in the twentieth century. External studies at HKU remained a marginal activity and the visibility of external students rapidly declined as the number of matriculated undergraduates soared in the 1950s and 1960s. By 1962 the University was admitting only 27 external students among its 635 new students (a little more than 4 per cent of the intake) but, as in the pre-War years, these externals tended to be transient and most stayed for no more than one year of studies. As Table 1.3 demonstrates, even though the number of external students was healthier in 1962 than it had been in 1948, the percentage of externals in the overall student population was still only 2 per cent of the total.

Table 1.3 External Students at HKU, 1948–1963

Year	Arts	Engineering	Medicine	Science	Total Externals at HKU	Total Students at HKU
1948–49	7	2	–	2	11	518
1949–50	8	–	–	1	9	638
1950–51	17	–	–	2	19	871
1952–5	6	5	1	2	14	978
1959–60	16	1	1	–	18	1,268
1960–61	18	–	–	–	18	1,407
1961–62	22	1	–	1	24	1,600
1962–63	31	2	–	3	36	1,754

(Source: *HKU Vice-Chancellor's Reports, 1948–1963*)

Another element of continuity with the past was the dominance of the Faculty of Arts in the teaching of external students. But whereas the pre-War externals in Arts were generally attempting the same courses as the matriculated undergraduate students, after the 1940s increasingly large numbers of external students were enrolled in special language and education courses which were conducted by University staff, but were in other ways quite different from courses in the undergraduate curriculum. In 1963–64 there were 97 part-time external students admitted including 28 in the Language School and most others were studying for diplomas in education, but in the next year the number of new part-time students more than halved to 44.⁵³ There was, therefore, a gradual change in the nature of external studies offered by the University, but demand for these courses was sustained until the new Department of Extra-Mural Studies began to offer external degree courses in collaboration with overseas universities during the 1980s.

There also seems to have been some tightening of the regulations governing external students as the number of matriculated students increased. In the 1951–52 *Calendar* external students were still regulated by a fairly brief entry stating that any pupil with educational attainments which were ‘sufficient’ but who was not a matriculated student could be admitted as an external student, but such students would not be allowed to take the examinations of the University. The cost of external courses had by this time risen steeply to \$250 per year with a maximum of \$1,000 for a whole year (compared with a maximum of \$1,050 for matriculated students).⁵⁴ In 1952–53 the fees remained the same, but Regulation G7 was much stricter than previously: ‘An applicant whose educational standards in the English Language and in the subjects of his choice are considered adequate by the Head of Department concerned’ could be enrolled, but such a student was still not permitted to take any examinations.⁵⁵ This was the first time that English language abilities had been mentioned with regard to external students, but inadequate English language ability had certainly been a concern in the pre-War years among undergraduates. Additionally, an external student was now forbidden to change his status to that of an undergraduate reading for a degree unless he had been registered as a matriculated student before his admission as an external.⁵⁶ Evidently some enterprising external students had managed to change their academic status by exploiting loopholes in the regulations, but the Senate was quick to reinforce the primacy of the matriculated student in the University’s educational goals, something that was completely in keeping with a forty-year-old tradition at HKU. Such elitism would continue to infect the University until the 1970s.

Conclusion

In the pre-War and immediate post-War period the University of Hong Kong played a small role in the provision of adult and continuing education through external

studies at the university level. It should be remembered that it was the only university in Hong Kong until the 1960s and therefore was the only institution which could have provided this form of adult education. There were clearly practical financial reasons for admitting external students at every stage of the University's development between 1912 and the 1960s, but we should not imagine that there was no underlying educational philosophy at work. As with Professor Lancelot Forster and Vice-Chancellor Duncan Sloss before the War, there continued to be committed advocates of extension and adult education within the professoriate at HKU after 1945, including the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Lindsay Ride, and the professor of Chinese, F. S. Drake. In retrospect, however, the performance of the University in adult and continuing education during this early period was rather dismal, despite a few instances of pioneering work in Stanley internment camp and immediately after the War. HKU's failure to provide adequate opportunities for adult education can be seen in many areas: a lack of professional training opportunities in business and legal studies; no refresher courses for teachers or medical graduates; and an almost total lack of interest in the provision of 'cultural' and liberal adult education studies for non-matriculated citizens of the colony. This failure was, perhaps, in the opinion of Lancelot Forster, one of the reasons why the Chinese population of Hong Kong had shown such indifference and so little sympathy for the University and its mission in the years before the War, even though it had achieved much in the realm of undergraduate education. This situation would gradually change after the re-establishment of the University in 1948, but it was not until 1957 that a Department of Extra-Mural Studies would finally complement the departments which worked to achieve the University's primary missions in teaching and research. Even then it would be many more years before extra-mural studies would become an accepted and important part of the University's mission.

What were the reasons for this neglect? No doubt the lack of interest from the Hong Kong government was a major factor. In Britain the Board of Education had played a central role in extending the provision of adult education from the 1920s and its Adult Education Regulations of 1924, 1931, and 1938 had done much to systematise and regulate the sector.⁵⁷ The British government had also provided a great deal of public funding for the expansion in provision of adult education in stark contrast to the notoriously tight-fisted attitude of the Hong Kong government in matters of higher education.⁵⁸ In Britain there had also been a number of vocal advocacy groups such as the Workers' Educational Association which took a lead in co-ordinating efforts. Probably more important, however, was the simple fact that Hong Kong in the first half of the twentieth century was struggling to establish an effective elementary and secondary education system and until that was in place there was little likelihood of any real demand for adult non-vocational education. All this would change in the 1950s as Hong Kong began to recover from the War.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. The University's 'Vision and Mission Statement' may be found in the *University of Hong Kong Calendar 2005–2006*, back of title page.
2. Problems of definition are discussed at greater length by John Cribbin, 'Growth and Development of Lifelong Learning in Hong Kong', in John Cribbin and Peter Kennedy (eds.), *Lifelong Learning in Action: Hong Kong Practitioners' Perspectives* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2002), pp. 15–19. See also Christopher K. Knapper and Arthur J. Cropley, *Lifelong Learning in Higher Education*, 3rd ed. (London: Kogan Page, 2000), pp. 1–21 for a discussion of the basic concepts of lifelong learning.
3. The levels of academic courses offered by HKU SPACE are listed on the School's website and include: short courses for personal development, continuing professional development (CPD) courses, professional programmes, diploma and certificate programmes, associate degree and higher diploma programmes, bachelor's degrees, master's degrees and postgraduate diplomas and certificates, and doctorates; see 'Academic Level of Courses', <http://hkuspace.hku.hk/about/about.php> (2003), accessed on 23 March 2007.
4. Education Commission Report No. 1, October 1984, p. 71.
5. For an arresting discussion of the political use of the term 'lifelong learning' in the Hong Kong higher education context see Peter Kennedy, 'The politics of "lifelong learning" in post-1997 Hong Kong', *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, vol. 25 (2004), pp. 589–624.
6. See especially Robert Peers, *Adult Education: A Comparative Study* (London: Routledge, 1958), and the views expressed by Ieuan Hughes in his university lecture delivered at HKU on 1 December 1960: 'The University and Adult Education', in the *Supplement to the University of Hong Kong Gazette*, vol. 9, no. 5 (1962), pp. 1–6.
7. Colonial Office, *Report of the Commission on University Education in Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1948), pp. 65–66.

CHAPTER ONE

1. The requirement to pass the Matriculation Examination as a condition of entry to HKU is to be found in the rules governing admission in the early *University Calendars*; see, for example, *Calendar* for 1913–14, p. 26.
2. University of Hong Kong Ordinance (The University Ordinance, 1911; No. 10 of 1912, amended) in University of Hong Kong, *Calendar 1913–1914* (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., 1913), p. 67.
3. Frederick Lugard, ‘The problem of Universities in the East in regard to their influence on character and moral ideals’, read at the Congress of the Universities of the British Empire, London, 3 July 1912, reproduced in Bernard Mellor, *Lugard in Hong Kong: Empires, Education and a Governor at Work, 1907–1912* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1992), pp. 171–177.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
5. Robert Peers, *Adult Education: A Comparative Study* (London: Routledge, 1958; reprinted 1998), Part 1, ‘The Background of English Adult Education’, pp. 3–100.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 49–60.
7. Negley Harte, *The University of London, 1836–1986: An Illustrated History* (London: Athlone Press, 1986), p. 149. See also O. R. McGregor, ‘The Social Sciences’, pp. 218–221, and W. L. Twining, ‘Laws’, pp. 102–105, in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The University of London and the World of Learning, 1836–1986* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990).
8. Peers, *Adult Education*, p. 69.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
10. Anthony Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong, Pre-1841 to 1941: Fact and Opinion: Materials for a History of Education in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1990), pp. 195–203.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 213–219.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 196–198.
13. HKUFA, Minutes of the Board of the Faculty of Arts, 13 January 1919.
14. *Ibid.*, 24 November 1919.
15. *Ibid.*, 20 September 1921, 14, and 24 September 1921, 2.
16. *Ibid.*, 25 October 1921, 7, and 7 February 1922, 11.
17. *Ibid.*, 2 February 1923, 8.
18. *University Calendar*, 1930, p. 36. This regulation refers to the Senate resolution of 31 January 1928 allowing ‘Apprentices in Engineering indentured to approved firms’ to be admitted ‘to the 1st year lectures in engineering at the University as external students, provided that they pass an entrance examination in English and Mathematics of matriculation standard’. External fees for 1931 are given in *University Calendar*, 1931, p. 38.
19. HKUA, University Memoranda, vol. 1, no. 2, 8 February 1928; ‘Note on Chinese Studies in the University’.
20. University of Hong Kong, *Report of the Special Committee appointed to advise on the Teaching of Chinese* (Hong Kong: Newspaper Enterprise Ltd., 1932), pp. 7–8.
21. Senate Minutes [hereafter HKUSM] 31 January 1928, 26.
22. *University Calendar*, 1930, p. 36.

23. These figures have been reconstructed from the early student records of the Faculty of Arts.
24. *Report of the University (1937) Committee* (Report No. 8/1937) (Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1937), p. 11; *Report of a Committee on the Development of the University (University Development Report)* (Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1939), p. 29.
25. HKU, annual *Report*, 1934–1938, p. 75.
26. HKUFA, Early Student Records, 1929.
27. Betty Draper's diary for 1929 is still in the hands of her son, Mr Dan Quail, but a copy has been placed in the Hong Kong University Archives. We are grateful to Mr Quail for allowing us to use his mother's diary.
28. Council Minutes [hereafter HKUCM] 12 August 1912, 14; 22 August 1930, 17 and 18.
29. HKUSM 31 January 1928, 26.
30. Peers, *Adult Education*, pp. 83–91.
31. The general findings of this committee and the controversy they generated are summarised in Anthony Sweeting, 'The University by Report', in Chan Lau Kit-ching and Peter Cunich (eds.), *An Impossible Dream: Hong Kong University from Foundation to Re-establishment, 1910–1950* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 224–30.
32. *Report of the University (1937) Committee*, pp. 4–5, 6, 9, 11, 13.
33. *University Development Report*, p. 2.
34. HKUA, University Memoranda, vol. 2, 1935–1939, no. 131 (10 May 1938).
35. HKUA, Registry Old Files, folder no. 39; Minutes of Meetings of University Bodies and other relevant papers during Internment, Jan. 1942–Aug. 1945; Lancelot Forster's note of 10 July 1942.
36. Anthony Sweeting, 'Training Teachers: Processes, Products, and Purposes', in Chan and Cunich (eds.), *An Impossible Dream*, pp. 80–81, 83–84.
37. *University Development Report*, pp. 18, 32, 33, 34. See also University Memoranda, vol. 2, no. 142 (27 January 1939).
38. HKUA, Registry Old Files, folder no. 39; Lancelot Forster's note of 10 July 1942.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Anthony Sweeting, 'Controversy over the Re-opening of the University of Hong Kong, 1942–48', in Clifford Matthews and Oswald Cheung (eds.), *Dispersal and Renewal: Hong Kong University During the War Years* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1998), p. 399.
41. For the poetry lectures see Norman H. Mackenzie, 'An Academic Odyssey: A Professor in Five Continents (Part 2)', in Matthews and Cheung (eds.), *Dispersal and Renewal*, pp. 180–181. For the Shamshuipo orchestra, see Solomon Bard, 'Mount Davis and Sham Shui Po: A Medical Officer with the Volunteers', in *Dispersal and Renewal*, pp. 200–201. For Clifford Matthews's experience of 'continuing professional education' in Shamshuipo camp, see Clifford Matthews, 'Life Experiences from Star Ferry to Stardust', also in *Dispersal and Renewal*, p. 234.
42. HKUA, Registry Old Files, folder no. 39; Minutes of informal meeting of 25 May 1943.
43. *Ibid.*; HKUSM 8 February 1944, 1 and 14 November 1944, 3.
44. *Ibid.*, 30 November 1944; the whole of this Senate meeting was devoted to discussion of post-War development.
45. HKUA, Interim Period Minutes, Registrar's collection, vol. 7; Minutes of the Provisional Powers Committee, 4 March 1947, 2, and Appendix 1.8(a).

46. *Ibid.*, Minutes of Interim Committee, 7 January 1947, 3.
47. HKUA, Registry Dead Files; Interim Committee Miscellaneous, file 25/3, letter dated 14 July 1947.
48. HKUA, Interim Period Minutes; Minutes of the Interim Committee, 10 September 1947, 32.
49. Asquith Committee Report quoted in Sweeting, 'Controversy over the Re-opening of the University', p. 414.
50. Colonial Office, *Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies* (London: HMSO, 1945), pp. 18–19.
51. Peers, *Adult Education*, p. 117.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
53. HKU *Vice-Chancellor's Report*, 1963–64, p. 79; and 1964–65, p. 89.
54. HKU *Calendar*, 1951–52, pp. 67 and 68, General Regulations G7 and G8.
55. HKU *Calendar*, 1952–53, pp. 63–64.
56. HKU *Calendar*, 1952–53, pp. 63–64.
57. Peers, *Adult Education*, pp. 83–86, 95–99.
58. See Peter Cunich, 'University Finances', in Chan and Cunich (eds.), *An Impossible Dream*, pp. 193–212.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Chan Lau Kit-ching, 'The Post-War Re-establishment of the University of Hong Kong, 1945–1950', in Chan Lau Kit-ching and Peter Cunich (eds.), *An Impossible Dream: Hong Kong University from Foundation to Re-establishment, 1910–1950* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 241–264; Anthony Sweeting, 'Controversy over the Re-opening of the University of Hong Kong, 1942–48', in Clifford Matthews and Oswald Cheung (eds.), *Dispersal and Renewal: Hong Kong University during the War Years* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1998), pp. 397–424.
2. Anthony Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong, 1941–2001: Visions and Revisions* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), p. 142.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 141–144.
4. N. G. Fisher, *A Report on Government Expenditure on Education in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Government Printers and Publishers, 1950), p. 26.
5. John Keswick *et al.*, *Report of the Hong Kong Government Committee on Higher Education* (Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1952) [hereafter Keswick Report], pp. 9–11.
6. Director of Education, *Annual Departmental Report by the Director of Education for the Financial Year 1951–2* (Hong Kong, 1952), p. 19.
7. Keswick Report, para. 72, p. 17.
8. The Evening Institute was first created in 1907 but its activities were suspended during the Second World War. It was restored soon after the War; see Director of Education, *Annual Departmental Report for 1950–1* (Hong Kong, 1951), p. 29.
9. The Hong Kong Technical College was formed in 1947 from the Government Trade School, which had itself been established in 1938 but closed during the War; see Director of Education, *Annual Departmental Report for 1947/8* (Hong Kong, 1948), pp. 17–19.
10. Director of Education, *Annual Departmental Report for 1951–2*, pp. 106–109.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

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