LEE TING HUI

Chinese Schools in British Malaya: Policies and Politics

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That a Master's thesis, submitted to the University of Malaya (then in Singapore) way back in 1957, could find publication without much revision other than editorial, certainly needs an explanation. As a contemporary of Lee Ting Hui (popularly known as Ah Chai) in those early days, I was much impressed by his total immersion in the topic of his choice, which entailed long and tedious hours of scanning through relevant research materials. Ting Hui is bilingual in English and Chinese, and this gave him a distinct advantage over monolingual scholars who had to depend on either English or Chinese sources which could be tainted with prejudices and biases. Thus, Ting Hui's thesis, inspite of being a graduate student's humble effort, was much sought after by subsequent researchers on Chinese education in Singapore and Malaya. This can be seen from the bibliographies of papers and books on the subject, both local and abroad.

Unfortunately not too many people could have access to a unpublished thesis locked up in the university library. Surprisingly Ting Hui himself was not too enthusiastic about publishing it, not so much because of funding problem, but more because of editorial demands. But to find an editor for this thesis was not an easy task: it was not simply a matter of language, but a matter of content as well. Fortunately Ting Hui persuaded his friend Tan Puay Lim to be his editor, and like yin and yang, they collaborated to get the book out at last. Thanks to their cooperation and effort, the book is now both

scholarly and readable.

The strength of this book lies in documenting the flow of political events that shaped (or affected) the development of Chinese education in British Malaya from its beginnings at the turn of the nineteenth century to the eve of the Japanese occupation in 1941. It is most unfortunate that this education should be embroiled in the politics of the times that neither the authorities nor the schools could have averted. There were misunderstandings, contradictions, unforeseen circumstances, as well as ironies. These are carefully analysed in the book, and leave no doubt about the role that politics played in the process.

Readers, however, must be reminded that, on the whole, Chinese education was not all politics. Quite the contrary, it was precisely during this period that Chinese education in Malaya achieved much in terms of quality and quantity, forming as it were a viable sub-system of Malayan education that rivalled the main streams (English and Malay) of government-supported schools. Chinese Schools were patterned

after the mainland model, which in turn followed the American system of six years primary, three years Junior Middle and three years Senior Middle. From the very beginning, local Chinese schools emphasised the study of Mandarin, English and Mathematics. These three key subjects were made compulsory for all students, and a minimum pass grade had to be secured for promotion to the next higher grade. Politics not withstanding, the students laboured on to acquire and master the basics, to become in later years the major contributors to the economic development of modern Malaysia and Singapore.

Ting Hui's book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of one key aspect of the development of Chinese education. It certainly

provides much food for thought.

Gwee Yee Hean



Contents

Fore	eword	
I	Education before 1894 Influences from China (1) British attitude towards Chinese education (2) Missionary Chinese schools (3) Public free schools (6)	(1)
П	The Beginning of Modern Chinese Education, 1894-1911 The first modern Chinese schools in Malaya (8) Rivals for control of Nanyang Chinese schools (12) The colonial governments' benign attitude (20) Introduction of Guo Yu as medium of instruction (21)	(8)
Ш	Education under the New Republic, 1911-1919 New politics in China and the further development of Chinese education in Malaya (24) Activism in local Chinese schools (32) The first policies for Chinese schools in the Nanyang (34) Some other issues (37) Women's education (38) Textbooks (38) Non-mainstream schools (39) Colonial government's anxiety (39)	(23)
IV	Trouble in Malayan Schools, 1919-1928, Phase I Anti-Japanese furor (41) The beginning of British control (46) Nexus with the fatherland (63)	(41)
V	Trouble in Malayan Schools, 1919-1928, Phase II Further Trouble in the Chinese schools (68) Tighter British control over Chinese schools (72) Other Chinese schools (83)	(68)
VI	Education under the Guomindang Government, 1927-1937, Phase I Party-ising education (86) The first measures for overseas Chinese education (87) The Ji Nan Da Xue (88)	(85)

	A general orientation and specific policies for Chinese education (91) Action of the Jiao Yu Bu (93) A conference convened by the Ji Nan Da Xue (93) Jiao Yu Bu's further action (95) A conference convened by the Zhong Yang Xun Lian Bu The second Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi and further policy statements (100) Further basic principles (101)	
VII	Education under the Guomindang Government,	(400)
	Rivalry among political forces (103) An anti-Japanese campaign (115) British reaction against activism (118) Implementation of educational plans (125) The British stepped up control (133) Guo Yu, Bai Hua and Confucianism (134) Marginal schools (136)	(103)
VIII	Education during the Anti-Japanese War To the aid of the fatherland (139) British reaction (144) Chinese government's intense efforts to develop overse. Chinese education (152) British measures (153)	(137) as
IX	Summary and Conclusion	(156)
	Endnotes	(161)
	Appendix I	(186)
	Appendix II	(198)
	Appendix III	(209)
	Appendix IV	(210)
	Appendix V	(223)
	Appendix VI	(225)
	Appendix VII	(228)
	Appendix VIII	(234)
	Glossary	(236)
	Bibliography	(255)
	Index	(258)

I

Education before 1894

Our story begins with the coming of the British to Malaya when they acquired Penang in 1786, and Singapore and Melaka (the British called it Malacca) early in the 19th century. These colonies attracted large Chinese immigrant populations from the very beginning. The influx of the Chinese into these settlements was followed by their migration into the Malay states. This migration increased greatly when the states of Perak, Selangor, Sungai Ujung (or Sungai Ujong which was later incorporated into Negeri Sembilan) and Pahang became British dependencies—the Federated Malay States—in the later part of the 19th century.

Many of the Chinese settlers were permanent or long-staying, yet few Chinese women followed them in those early days so that many of the immigrants took local women for wives. As early as 1794, Captain Francis

Light, the founder of Penang, wrote,

The Chinese...[comprised] men, women and children, about 3,000.... They have everywhere people to teach their children, and sometimes they send males to China to complete their education.¹

In Melaka in 1815, there were three Chinese schools². In Singapore, the earliest seemed to have existed before 1829, there being three of them then³. By 1884, schools run by the Chinese themselves numbered 52 in Penang, 51 in Singapore, and 12 in Melaka⁴. However, we have little knowledge as to the situation in the Malay states of the period.

These schools run by the Chinese were usually private enterprises of individual teachers. A few were endowed by rich Chinese tycoons and became, thereby, a sort of public institution like the Cui Ying Shu Yuan (Chiu Eng Si E) established by Chen Jin Zhong (Tan Kim Ching) in Singapore in 1854⁵. Others were maintained by efforts of the clan and housed in clan associations or temples instead⁶.

Influences from China

In China, the Manchu government at that time had prohibited by law the emigration of its people. Although illegal movement was connived at as early as the 1860s, the law was not revoked until 1894. Not surprisingly, there was no policy on the part of the Manchu government towards education for overseas Chinese or to garner their loyalty until after 1894.

Thereafter, for the purpose of modernising China to meet foreign invasions, this government began its efforts to influence the overseas Chinese through their schools and by other means.

Meanwhile, the question of political orientation had not arisen in those early days among Malayan Chinese settlers themselves. There was no conscious effort on their part to arouse among their children patriotism and love for China though, to them, China was still the fatherland. Nationalism of the modern kind had not yet dawned upon them. By modern nationalism we mean not only feelings and reactions towards foreign aggression but also the desire for reform, moderate or thorough-going, in government and society. It will be seen that this brand of nationalism blossomed among the Malayan Chinese later on in time.

Yet the Malayan Chinese schools were loyal to the Chinese emperor due to the Confucian beliefs that the schools taught. The teachers, most of whom came from China, were educated in Confucian principles and they passed these on to their students. It is well known that Confucius taught his followers to be loyal to the emperor which would have led the Malayan Chinese students, as a consequence, to also look upon China as their homeland.

As in China, the students were first taught the San Zi Jing (Trimetrical Classic), the Bai Jia Xing (Century of Surnames), the Qian Zi Wen (Millenary Classic), and the You Xue Qiong Lin (Odes for Children) all of which were deeply coloured by Confucian ideals. After these, the students learnt the Xiao Jing (Canon of Filial Piety), and then the Si Shu (Four Books), which consisted of the Da Xue (Great Learning), the Zhong Yong (Golden Means), the Lun Yu (Analects), and the Meng Zi (Book of Mencius)⁸. The more advanced among them might be taught the Wu Jing (Five Classics) which were the Shi Jing (Book of Odes), the Shu Jing (Book of History), the Yi Jing (Book of Changes), the Li Ji (Book of Rites), and the Chun Qiu (Spring and Autumn Annals). The children from wealthy families might return to China to complete their education, as was pointed out by Francis Light.

British attitude towards Chinese education

The Straits Settlements government, too, had no policy towards Chinese education in Malaya at that point in history. All it did was to provide financial grants to Chinese schools run by missionaries and support the "free schools" that maintained Chinese language classes. The schools run by the Chinese settlers did not receive such grants and support. In fact, they themselves refused any help or supervision from the colonial government in order to remain independent. Governor Blundell, in a report on

education in the colonies in the 1850s said, because of this attitude, there was nothing the government could do¹⁰. The government, therefore, left them alone and was later in the habit of recording in its annual reports (except once) on education that it had no "official knowledge" of these Chinese institutions. The British government might have adopted a different attitude as it did in the 1920s had the schools breached the peace and disrupted the economy of the colonies. However, these early Chinese schools gave little trouble and the government was content with its *laissez faire* policy. The British concentrated on developing education for the Malays instead.

The governments of the Malay states seemed to have taken a slightly different stance from that of the Straits Settlements government. We are told that the Selangor government opened a Chinese school in Kuala Lumpur in 1884 and paid for all the expenses incurred in running the school¹¹. In Perak, too, a Chinese school was established in Kamunting in 1888 which seemed to have been aided by the state administration ¹².

Missionary Chinese schools

As mentioned above, a second type of Chinese schools was established by Christian missionaries in Malaya. However, they were much fewer in number and did not last long enough to claim any place of importance in the history of Malayan Chinese education. The first of the missionary schools in this field was the one opened by the London Missionary Society.

Interestingly, the overarching aim of the London Missionary Society was to convert China to the Christian faith. For that purpose, Dr. R. Morrison was sent to China in 1807 to make a start. This is not remarkable except for the fact that Christian evangelical work was not permitted in China at that time. Even residence in the only port open to foreign trade, Guangzhou (the city of Canton), was restricted for foreigners. Intending residents had to prove their association with trading companies in Guangzhou before they would be granted domicile. Morrison managed to secure his residency only by becoming the Chinese translator for the East India Company¹³. When Morrison's colleague, Dr. W. Milne, came to join him in 1813, the Manchu government denied him residence in either Guangzhou or Aomen (Macau). Because of such difficulties, Morrison thought it better to establish a station outside but contiguous to China and frequented by the Chinese, for their mission. From such a base, the Christian mission could engage in preparatory work until China was opened to foreigners. This plan came to be called the Ultra-Ganges Mission¹⁴. Malaya was a natural choice for such a station, and Milne opened one in Melaka in 1815¹⁵. Alongside other facilities, a Chinese school was to be established in the station:

In the hope that it may prepare the way for a seminary in which pious natives shall finally be instructed with a view to the Christian ministry in China, and in the adjacent countries 16.

In actual fact, three such schools were subsequently founded for boys¹⁷. It seemed that after 1835, three others were established for girls as well¹⁸. Branches of the mission were then opened in Penang and Singapore in 1819, which again included schools for both boys and girls¹⁹.

From the beginning, the teaching of Christianity had been important in the curriculum. Milne, while allowing students to study their elementary subjects like casting accounts, was not slow in making the teachers (often men of poor pecuniary circumstances) teach their charges Christian catechism. Later, he even persuaded both teachers and students to attend church services. He forbade them from hanging images of Confucius and Wen Chang (God of Letters) in the school—a custom among the Chinese²⁰.

A certain writer said of the Penang schools that "the Scriptures formed the basis of teaching" and mentioned also that someone reported that in the schools in Singapore "A considerable amount of religious teaching is daily poured into their (the students') minds." The Singapore Free Press described the character and purpose of these schools in the most explicit terms. On 16 December 1838, it wrote,

[The institutions']...immediate object is to impart a thorough education, making religious knowledge an essential part of it, to a select number of Chinese lads, and the plan is to instruct them well in English, in addition to their own language, as the medium of studying the higher branches of education and acquiring an acquaintance with English literature and the arts and sciences of Europe. The more remote object is to secure, by the blessing of God and the diligent use of proper means, a body of native agency to co-operate hereafter in the more extensive plans of diffusing religious as well as useful and scientific knowledge among their countrymen²².

English was taught in only "one or two" of these schools initially, but later some of them became regular Anglo-Vernacular schools²³.

The establishment of these elementary schools was only instrumental to the greater ambitions of the mission—ambitions for evangelical and cultural dissemination on a higher level. For various reasons, the mission thought that a constant supply of European and American missionaries could not be sustained for their work in the East. It, therefore, decided that a college should be established locally to train up Asian evangelists to work among their own people and Chinese students were to be admitted into

the college on easy terms. In accordance with this plan, the subsequently famous Anglo-Chinese College was founded in Melaka in 1818²⁴.

This preparatory mission in the Straits Settlements came to a close when China was thrown open to foreigners after the Opium War of 1839–42. The Anglo-Chinese College and all their elementary schools closed down with the exception of the girls' school in Singapore. This was assumed by a Miss Grant who continued to teach English and Christianity in the school²⁵. It is timely to remind the reader that through all these developments, the schools of the society were aided by the government of the Straits Settlements²⁶.

For the same reasons as the London Missionary Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions also made the Straits Settlements a base for its work in the China field. It established stations in Singapore and Penang in 1834 and 1835 respectively, and then went on to open both Chinese and Malay schools there. However, the Americans did not stay long. They moved on to China in 1839, and their schools in Malaya were closed²⁷.

The objectives which motivated the Protestant missions in Malaya appeared not to be shared by the Roman Catholics. The latter did not forsake the Malayan field after China opened its doors to foreigners. What specifically their policy was is difficult to gauge but their establishments in Malaya have proved permanent.

The Straits Settlements Annual Education Report for the year 1874 says that there were in that year only three such schools for boys and one for girls. The best attended of them had only 18 students. They were aided by the Straits government but were the least efficient of schools in the colonies. Structured as six-year institutions, they taught Chinese, English, arithmetic, and geography. Of course, religion was also taught although it was not mentioned in the education reports because it was not one of the subjects examined by the inspector.

In 1884, it appears that the Roman Catholics had a Chinese school in Kuala Lumpur also. Other information is scant, but we know that by 1886 only one Chinese Roman Catholic school was left, and that was the one in Penang. The rest had closed down. It is to be noted, in conclusion, that the main effort of the Roman Catholics was in English, not Chinese schools²⁸.

In 1893 the Straits Settlements Annual Education Report mentions that a Chinese school in Bukit Timah, Singapore, was first examined by the inspector of schools. This was a missionary school although the report failed to say which mission it belonged to²⁹.

Public free schools

There was yet a third type of school offering Chinese education in Malaya in those days. These schools were to be found in the Straits Settlements, supported by their government as stated earlier. Known as free schools, they were maintained by public contributions and so supported by the government that they came to be thought of as government schools even before they were actually taken over by the Straits authorities.

The schools ran classes in Chinese as well as other vernacular languages, typically Malay. These vernacular sections were at first intended to be separate schools from—and as satellites to—the English section. They provided only elementary education and good pupils from them were promoted to receive their secondary education from the central English school. This scheme was not fully realised and the vernacular departments eventually turned out to be mere classes in the central school instead.

The rationale for such a school system was the government's realisation that the people under its rule should get a grounding in vernacular education before studying English. Those who knew only English were thought to be less useful citizens. This came to be the policy of the directors of the East India Company which issued a statement on it in the 1850s³¹. This was to be echoed later by Governor Sir Cecil Clementi Smith in very clear terms³². In an address to the Gan Eng Seng School [Yan Yong Cheng Xue Xiao] of Singapore in 1893, the governor said,

...The school might be devoted to the study of English, but I am glad that a knowledge of Chinese will also be gained there, which to me appears to be an essential part of the education of a Chinese boy.... The boys who grow up with a knowledge of that language and who also attach to it a knowledge of English will prove better citizens than those boys who throw off the language of the country to which they naturally belong and adopt the English language simply from a utilitarian sense of the time they are going to spend in this Settlement.

This policy lasted up to even 1923 when grants-in-aid were first introduced for Chinese schools run by Chinese immigrants themselves³³. The principles on which the grants were given showed explicitly that these Chinese schools were meant by the Straits government as feeder schools—that is, subservient schools—to the English ones. The whole system was specifically intended for supplying the government's need for interpreters to work in the law courts and clerks in its various departments. This point was stressed by another governor as early as 1851 in an address to the Chinese class in the Penang Free School³⁴.

This notwithstanding, the Chinese classes in the free schools had a chequered existence, starting and stopping every now and then. But in 1894, the last of them, the one in Raffles Institution, Singapore, closed down. Thereafter, Chinese was taught only as one of the many subjects for the Cambridge Local Examination which was introduced in the Straits Settlements in 1891³⁵.

A few English schools established by philanthropists, like the Gan Eng Seng School, also taught the language but they were few and, thus, not very significant in their impact on the history of Chinese education in Malaya.

Having outlined a brief history of Chinese education in Malaya prior to 1894, we next examine the evolution of the system in response to the changing times.



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The Beginning of Modern Chinese Education, 1894–1911

The recent history of China begins with the modernisation of the country in answer to the challenge of foreign invasions. Her isolation was breached by imperialist powers in the mid-19th century beginning with the First Opium War in 1839–42. Immediately after that reforms were introduced. One of the innovations was the new educational institutions like language institutes, and military or naval schools. However, these reforms were not thorough, being confined mainly to diplomatic or military aspects. Even when ordinary schools were established and students sent abroad to study, it was for diplomatic or military purposes. In any case, the scene in Malaya was not affected by these half-hearted reforms.

A more profound awakening of the mainland Chinese came only after 1894 when they were defeated in the Sino-Japanese War by an enemy they had hitherto underestimated. The threat to China's independence after that defeat was overwhelming. A scramble for concessions of all kinds by

foreigners, harmful or otherwise to the country, began.

The reaction in China to this threat was equally fast. Sun Yi Xian (Sun Yat Sen) attempted to move a revolt to topple the Manchu regime. Kang You Wei (Kang Yu Wei) in 1898 persuaded the Manchu emperor, Guang Xu, to embark on yet another series of reforms in various fields, including education. But these movements either to revolt or to reform failed. But they sharply raised nationalistic emotions both in China and among the Chinese overseas.

Soon after that in 1900, the Empress Dowager Ci Xi [Ci Xi Tai Hou] put in place some reforms more or less like those proposed by Kang You Wei. This is ironic for she had put Emperor Guang Xu in confinement for following Kang's advice. Having set him aside, she introduced the changes hoping to defuse the threat of the anti-Manchu revolutionaries and reformists.

The first modern Chinese schools in Malaya

Thus, began the modern system of education in China in 1903, the first such schools having already been established earlier than that³⁷. The system,

structured closely after the Japanese model, rapidly spread to Malaya.

Meanwhile, Chinese nationalism awakened in Malaya at much the same time as it did in China. Riots and agitation against the British administration were first seen in Singapore in 1854. There was trouble again in 1857 over legislation, namely over the Municipal and Police Acts. The working-class Chinese were strongly aroused by the Locha Arrow Incident between the British and Chinese in China that year. In the Post Office Riots of 1877 and the Verandah Riots of 1888, Europeans were attacked³⁸. And in 1886, the education report of Perak states that the Chinese in the state had contributed liberally to the construction of coastal defences in Guangdong Province.

In Singapore the movement to introduce modern schools seemed to have begun under the leadership of Dr. Lin Wen Qing (Lim Boon Keng), Qiu Shu Yuan (Khoo Seok Wan)³⁹, prominent personalities in the Chinese community then, and a few others. The development of such schools seemed to have accelerated after Kang You Wei visited the British colony in 1900. Song Wang Xiang (Song Ong Siang) in his book, *One Hundred Years of the Chinese in Singapore*⁴⁰, tells us that Dr. Lin initiated a "Confucian Revival" throughout Malaya. From 1894 till 1911, he toured the land and lectured to the local Chinese on Confucianism and education. Together with Song, he published the *Straits Chinese Magazine* to reinforce his lectures. To support the movement, Qiu Shu Yuan, for his part, started a newspaper, the *Tian Nan Xin Bao*⁴¹.

In addition, the Confucian Revival inspired its adherents to erect Confucian temples and new schools⁴². This idea of a modern school system based on Confucianism was the brainchild of Zhang Zhi Dong (Chang Chi Tung), a leading bureaucrat in the Manchu administration at the time. His book *Quan Xue Pian* (An Exhortation to Learning), published in 1898, advocated the principle of

Chinese learning for foundation, and Western learning for application.

This was a compromise strategy for the new situation in which China found herself. Zhang argued that China must learn from the West, particularly their science, if China were to survive. On the other hand, he was unwilling to give up Confucianism. To him, China must remain essentially Confucian, although she needed to build modern industries, upgrade her armed forces, and adopt new methods of government such as those that had transformed Japan into a formidable enemy and world power.

Although the Confucian Revival was seeded in Singapore, the first modern Chinese school in Malaya was not established there but in Kuala Lumpur. Thus, Qiu Feng Jia, one of those who led the movement in Singapore, complained in an article in the *Le Bao* (*Lat Pau*) of 24 March 1900 that the people in Singapore were inert despite the talk of building Confucian temples and schools that had been going on for years. Kuala Lumpur, Batavia (now Jakarta), Marcassar and Sydney, by contrast, had gone ahead with the construction. But Qiu did not say how many schools had been established in Kuala Lumpur or what their names were. The first such school finally opened in Singapore in 1904. It was the Ying Xin [Xue Xiao] [Ying Xin School]⁴³. After that year, more followed, so that by 1909 there were six boys' schools in the colony⁴⁴.

The Manchu government seemed to have played a great part in starting schools in Singapore, too. The secretary for Chinese affairs of the colony reported in 1906 that

In the beginning of the year His Excellency Thion Tian Stat [Chinese character name unknown], a wealthy Kheh [Kejia] who has lived many years in the Netherlands Indies and the Colony, arrived here with credentials from the Board of Agriculture Labour Commerce and Mines at Pekin [Beijing] and from the Bureau which is now the Board of Education. As a result of his visit and liberal donations...energetic steps were taken to improve Chinese vernacular education. The Tiechius [Chaozhou], Cantonese [denizens of Canton City or Guangzhou] and Khehs have subscribed largely and will all have new-model schools in operation this year. The number of boys attending them will amount to several hundreds... 45

In accordance with the enlightenment of the age, a beginning was also made with female education. In a radical break with tradition, the modern schools that we have just examined were co-educational. Before this, few Chinese girls were permitted to go to school at all. The missionary and government schools had a number of female students but the traditional Chinese schools run by immigrant settlers were exclusively for males.

Thus, the first all-girls' school in Singapore was opened in 1899 by Dr. Lin Wen Qing and his fellow campaigners. This school taught Chinese, English, Malay, and other subjects. It was founded strictly on Confucian principles, but its methods of teaching were entirely modern⁴⁷. This school, however, developed into an English school eventually⁴⁸. It was only in 1911 that Dr. Lin persuaded Pan Yu Xing (Phua Choo Hing), a wealthy Singaporean, to lead in the formation of the first truly Chinese girls' school, the Zhong Hua Nu Xue (Chung Hua Girls' School).

In another progressive development, efforts by men for the education of Chinese girls were paralleled by the struggle of Chinese women themselves for the same cause. On 26 January and 16 September of 1911, the *Le Bao* reported that certain lady teachers made speeches in the Xing Zhou Shu Bao She (Sing Chew Reading Room) pleading for formal education for women. In Penang, the first modern school to be established was the Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] (Chung Hua School). It was opened in 1904 by Zhang Bi Shi⁴⁹. It was originally intended to be a middle school⁵⁰, but in 1905 when it began operating, it taught only a two-grade primary curriculum like other Chinese schools in Malaya⁵¹. Subsequent to that, other schools were opened, for example the Qiu (Khoo) family school in 1906⁵². A number of Meng Xue, too, seemed to have existed as the draft constitution of the Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] states that it would recruit students from them. In this connection, it must be noted that the higher primary level of those days was equivalent to the lower middle of the republican years, and the early lower primary qualification was the equivalent of the republican higher primary's. Each of these grades covered three years of schooling. In this scheme, the Meng Xue was equivalent to the lower primary school of the later days, and covered four years' education⁵³.

In Perak, 1906 was the year when the first modern school, the Yu Cai [Xue Xiao] (Yok Choy School) in Ipoh, was opened A girls' school was also started in the town S. In other places, for instance Lahat and Kuala Kangsar, schools also began to spring up S. In Negeri Sembilan, the first school did not seem to have been established until 1910 in a town near Seremban S.

Besides the day schools, the Chinese began to realise the importance of establishing night schools. On 1 April 1908, an article appeared in the *Le Bao* which discussed the advantages of these as a vehicle for social education, and appealed for their introduction. There were night schools both in Penang and in Singapore, in the former, for instance, in the Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao], and in the latter in the Dao Nan [Xue Xiao] (Tao Nan School). One or two normal institutions were also attempted during this period, and we have more to gather about them in later pages⁵⁸.

We shall not know the exact number of new Chinese schools opened in Malaya during this period for the reason that our evidential records are incomplete. But a good beginning in modern education had been made by the end of the first decade of the 20th century. We quote here a report from a Xiamen (Amoy) newspaper, cited in the *Le Bao* of 13 September 1911, to show the enthusiasm of the Malayan Chinese towards this cause:

Chinese traders scattered all over the Nanyang do not number less than three or four million. In recent days they have become very enlightened and their thoughts advance daily. They are all enthusiastic towards the fatherland. They establish schools in all the towns, and engage teachers to teach the books of Confucius so that their children will know loyalty to the Emperor, love for the country, respect for Confucius and attachment to the family. Because of these, countless traders have become loyal to the country in recent years....

Rivals for control of Nanyang Chinese schools

Although modern overseas Chinese schools were all, without exception, orientated towards China as the fatherland, they were in actual fact under divergent political influences. They were susceptible firstly to influences from the Manchu government; secondly, to the influences from Kang You Wei; and thirdly, to influences from Sun Yi Xian. Let us examine these influences in turn.

The Manchu government opened a consulate-general in Singapore in 1881⁵⁹, and officially abolished the law prohibiting emigration in 1894⁶⁰. It now had a very definite agenda for its overseas citizens. Defensively, the government wished to prevent overseas Chinese from supporting either the Chinese reformists or the revolutionaries who were actively propagating their political causes in the Nanyang at the time⁶¹. On the positive side, it campaigned for overseas Chinese to contribute to China's coffers, for example for the coastal defences of Guangdong already mentioned, and for their participation in the industrialisation of the country⁶². By that time, clearly the overseas Chinese had both capital and industrial experience. The Manchu government, thus, sought to win the loyalty and support

The Manchu government, thus, sought to win the loyalty and support of its people abroad by influencing them through the overseas schools. This plan was explicitly stated in documents of the Manchu Xue Bu [Manchu Ministry of Education] In an instruction by the ministry to certain officials to investigate the state of Chinese education in the Nanyang, the following points were made⁶³:

The Xue Bu wished to protect and maintain overseas education. The overseas Chinese were naturally patriotic towards the fatherland. They were to be trained in the principles of the Confucian classics and history, and educated in the knowledge of the world. The Chinese civilisation would be made greater by this, and the economy and the livelihood of the people would be raised.

Another document of 1907 observed64:

[that] the overseas Chinese were opening schools everywhere. If the Chinese Government utilised this opportunity to encourage them, their patriotism would be greatly aroused. Chinese learning would spread far and wide, and the feeling of the scattered Chinese people [for the fatherland] would be strengthened.

From their inception at the dawn of the 20th century, modern overseas Chinese schools had comprised three parties. The first was the management committee; the second was the teachers; and thirdly, there were the students. The Chinese government could influence the school through any of these channels. In the writer's view, the management committee was important since it owned the school and decided the character that the school should assume. The teachers, too, were important for their influence

over students in their teaching. And the students were important for the fact that they were potentially useful citizens in later years.

The Manchu government tried to encourage overseas education and secure the loyalty of school management committee members by heaping on them titles or other rewards. For instance, in 1906, the governor of Guangdong represented to the Empress Dowager Ci Xi and Emperor Guang Xu that Hu Guo Lian, Yao Zong Shun, Ou Tian Xiang, and some other individuals should be conferred official and academic titles or granted the right to erect memorials to their own credit⁶⁵.

The governor said, "Hu Guo Lian is enthusiastic about public causes, contributing large sums of money thereby. He rallies the people to work for the fatherland. He has done the most for education. Such a person is rarely to be found in the Nanyang. Yao Zong Shun and Ou Tian Xiang are learned and capable. They aid Hu and bring forth success. I request that they be rewarded by decree."

A similar representation was made by a later governor in 1908 for some other individuals⁶⁶. In this context, the significance of overseas education becomes more apparent when it is viewed in relation with the quest for industrialisation in China. It needs be pointed out that many of these educationists were also leaders required for promoting industries in China. Perhaps the most notable example was Zhang Bi Shi who, besides being charged with the administration of education in Penang, was also an official investigator for overseas commerce and promoter of agricultural, manufacturing, railway, road and mining enterprises in Guangdong and Fujian Provinces. Zhang was ultimately bestowed lofty official titles by the Manchu government⁶⁷.

Next, the government in China attempted to win over the overseas Chinese teachers by the same method of conferring public awards. The representation in 1906 by the governor of Guangdong included recommendations for rewards in the form of academic titles for teachers. In 1908, [the Manchu Minister of Education] Rong Qing made the very important suggestion that four normal graduates of Beijing (erstwhile Peking) University be posted to the Nanyang as teachers⁶⁹. Whether this plan was carried out is not known, but this method of having teachers in overseas Chinese schools on the side of the home government was to become very important in the years after the Northern Expedition (1926–28).

Holding the belief that students were influenced by what they were taught, the Manchu Xue Bu adopted for the Malayan schools much the same curriculum as that employed in China⁶⁹. Subjects taught were Chinese language, ethics, the classics, history, geography, arithmetic, art, science, singing, and military drill⁷⁰. The study of the classics was supposed

to inculcate reverence for Confucius which, would lead to allegiance to the emperor. Reverence for Confucius and loyalty to the ruler were the first two focal points of the education policy of China at the time²¹. Other points of focus were inculcating the public spirit, the military spirit, and the practical spirit in students. Public spirit and love for China and her people were to be cultivated by the study of ethics, history, and geography; military spirit through the practice of military drill and singing, and the study of Chinese language, history, geography, and art; and the practical spirit through the study of ethics, Chinese language, arithmetic, science, and art⁷².

Some schools seemed to have successfully instilled among their students loyalty to the Manchu emperor. The schools in Singapore paid their respect to the Emperor Guang Xu and the Empress Dowager Ci Xi when they died in 1908, and to the new Emperor Xuan Tong who ascended the throne two weeks later⁷³. But this allegiance to Manchu rule might have been superficial. Schools in later days did not abstain from celebrating Chinese Guomindang holidays although many of their students were clearly under communist influence. As we have already pointed out, schools in these early days were susceptible to political persuasions other than those from the Manchu court.

As if to illustrate the conflicting position, the Chinese revolutionaries in Singapore applied great efforts to stop the Nanyang Chinese from paying homage to the dead monarchs in 1908. This nearly sparked off a riot⁷⁴. And when the Manchu regime was finally overthrown in 1911, the Chinese schools collected large sums of money to support the revolutionary army⁷⁵. We cannot rule out the possibility that the schools changed allegiance only when the revolutionaries succeeded in their venture, but we have also to take note of the fact that the outward actions and the real feelings of the Chinese in the Nanyang need not always coincide.

As to the teaching of reverence for Confucius, the result was nothing less than outstanding. In September 1909, it was the schools in Singapore which called upon all the Chinese in Malaya to celebrate the anniversary of the sage's birthday that year. This was to begin a tradition of commemorating the event every year.

We infer from what follows on military spirit that the students had been similarly imbued with the public spirit as well to a degree. The military characteristic was the most prominent feature of the Chinese schools in Malaya during this period. Students could always be seen practising military drill in smart uniforms and singing Chinese patriotic songs. There seemed to have been too much concentration on these two activities to the neglect of more important studies. The editor of the *Le Bao*

was so dismayed by the practice that on 8 and 9 January 1909, he wrote a scathing editorial denouncing it. He complained that the schools were obsessed with extreme pretensions and outward appearance.

"The subjects of the curriculum given most attention," he said, "are drill and singing, so that students could march with precision and sing with accuracy. The letters are treated as of secondary importance." He went on to complain that students were taught to make speeches and to organise student bodies and parent-student meetings at the expense of their studies.

The writer was sincere in his motive but he was guilty of being ignorant of the Manchu government's education policy and its effects on students. Clearly, the emphasis on military training was in preparation for a mobilisation should the need arise to defend China against foreign invasions in future.

The success of teaching the practical spirit is more difficult to gauge. It is generally accepted that these early schools did not pay much attention to the practical aspects of education until after the visit of the educationist Huang Yan Pei in 1916. Huang was a champion of professional education who saw the dire need for trained personnel to fuel the accelerating industrialisation in China⁷⁷.

Closely related to the curriculum was the issue of textbooks. This was an important factor as textbooks are a most powerful vehicle for conveying political indoctrination among students. Except for three politically neutral language readers, however, we are unable to discover any of the textbooks used in the Nanyang Chinese schools in those early days. In the catalogue of books approved by the Manchu Xue Bu for use in primary schools, cited and listed in the ministry's reports, and studied by us, no light is shed on their particular contents, with a few exceptions which will be mentioned again later.

Of one thing we can be sure, however: the ministry specifically stated that all these textbooks were approved according to the policy and regulations laid down by the Manchu government⁷⁸. It is evident, therefore, that the books served their particular needs.

Besides taking the above courses of action in wooing the school management committees, teachers, and students, the Manchu government also took measures of a general nature to encourage overseas Chinese education. The Guangdong and central governments despatched missions to the Nanyang to investigate and encourage Chinese education in 1905 and 1906 respectively⁷⁹. The Duan Meng [Xue Xiao] [Duan Meng School] in Singapore was founded after consultation with the 1905 mission⁸⁰. Fujian Province also sent a mission to visit Fujian dialect schools in Singapore in

1909⁸¹. The Chinese consuls administered Chinese education in Malaya, and they encouraged education among the settlers with contributions to school funds and moral support⁸². Imperial Commissioners like Yang Shi Qi also visited Malaya in 1907 and donated to Chinese school funds⁸³. The Manchu government made gifts of books and boards with exhortations from the emperor to the Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] of Penang⁸⁴. A report of the Xue Bu in China claimed to have rendered financial aid to overseas schools⁸⁵. Overseas students were promised equal treatment from the Manchu government with students in the Mainland⁸⁶.

To top it off, a school specifically for overseas Chinese students, the Ji Nan Xue Tang [Ji Nan School], was opened in Nanjing in1907. It was elevated to a middle school the following year⁸⁷, and received a good number of students from Malaya⁸⁸. In 1906, the Xue Bu acceded to the request from the governor of Guangdong to establish the necessary institutions in Penang, Singapore and Java to encourage Chinese education⁸⁹. Many of the overseas schools were registered with the ministry in China⁹⁰. However, the Manchu government made no specific legislation on overseas education as was done after the 1911 revolution by the new republican government. The Manchus had only a non-specific policy, and took actions on an ad hoc basis.

Before ending this discussion on the policy and actions of the Manchu government, it will be interesting and important to note its attitude towards education for women. In 1908, a language textbook for girl schools compiled by a certain educationist was presented to the Xue Bu in China for approval. The ministry was startled by its contents, and plainly condemned it for advocating equal rights and freedom for women and for glorifying as heroines in history certain women that general opinion had hitherto branded as morally mischievous. It ordered the book to be banned⁹¹. Furthermore, the next year on 9th January, the *Le Bao* reported the following orders from the Manchu Xue Bu:

- 1. Male and female students should not fraternise.
- Female students should not keep their hair in the "Liu Hai" style⁹².
- 3. Freedom of marriage is prohibited.
- Female students should not participate in meetings of male students, and vice versa.
- Girls' schools should adopt the doctrine of the Three Obediences and the Four Virtues⁹³ as the basis of instruction.
- Girls' schools should pay attention to domestic subjects⁹⁴.
- Female students should not meddle with the affairs of state.
 They are prohibited from making speeches in public.

How far exactly these injunctions were applied in the Nanyang is difficult to measure. There are, however, two points which we can take as indicators. Firstly, most of the Chinese schools in Malaya were co-educational and, therefore, at least the first four instructions were ignored. Secondly, on the other hand, women teachers who went about preaching education for females at the time did not press the issue of women's rights⁹⁵. It would seem that traditions died hard.

After the failure of his reform movement in 1898, Kang You Wei and his followers fled overseas. In February 1900, he took refuge in Singapore and was maintained by the hospitality of Qiu Shu Yuan who, the reader will remember, was one of the leaders of the Confucian Revival in Malaya. In the middle of the year, he left Singapore with a group of supporters for Penang. There, he often received Dr. Lin Wen Qing and Qiu Shu Yuan. At the end of that year he left Penang for India. But in 1904, he was back again on the island, and stayed there at least from 1908 till 1911 when he left for Japan.

Kang had not come to the Nanyang to only seek political asylum but also to enlist support from the overseas Chinese for his political aspirations. Educational innovations had been one of the most important items in Kang's reform agenda in 1898. For the sake of both arousing the patriotism of the local Chinese and for the more immediate necessity of gathering support for himself, Kang did his utmost to garner the allegiance of the schools. One of his most vital followers, Wu Xian Zi, says,

When Kang Yu Wei came to Nanyang, he began a drive for Chinese education. Dr. Lim Boon Keng and Khoo Seok Wan had already formed a number of cultural societies. And Kang was invited to lecture to their members every few days. He stimulated them to think. He encouraged them to form industrial and commercial clubs, temples and societies dedicated to Confucius, and to establish schools. The Tien Nan Shin Pao [Tian Nan Xin Bao] established by Khoo Seok Wan was strong in support of these projects.

The Confucius Society [Kong Jiao Hui] was first founded in Singapore; then Kuala Lumpur followed; then Sourabaya and Rangoon.

When Dr. Lim Boon Keng and Khoo Seok Wan established the Singapore Chinese Girls' School... the constitutions of all these schools were drawn up by Kang himself. Kang also sent his followers... to teach in these schools. Then the Chinese in all the rest of the towns of Nanyang started schools too. And that there are so many Chinese schools in Nanyang today must be attributed to the foundations that Kang had laid.

In the 1906 report of the Reform Party it is noted that in 1905 and 1906 many Chinese schools were formed in the Nanyang, and that more than 20 teachers were sent out by the party to these schools.

Wu seems to claim all credit for Kang in the matter of education. Whether or not Kang deserved all the credit, we cannot deny that he did play a very important part in the matter. Besides the girls' school in Sin-

gapore, Kang also opened a normal class in Penang⁹⁷ where his followers could be trained and then sent to work in the schools. This was an excellent stratagem. In Singapore in 1910, it was reported in the *Le Bao* that the Yang Zheng [Xue Xiao] [Yang Zheng School] was under the dominance of the reformists. The *Le Bao* editor, Ye Ji Yun, was also the founder of the school, and he said that when he drew up the school's constitution, he specifically stated that politics would not be allowed in the school. Within a few months of drawing up the constitution, and on the opening day of the school, a reformist had found his way into the school to become the principal, Ye complained. He was strongly opposed to the principal and teachers amassing too much power for themselves especially as the school did not have a supervisor. He was also against students concentrating too much on military drill, singing, and making speeches to the detriment of the, in his view, more important aspects of education⁹⁸.

On 22 September 1909, prior to writing this invective, Ye had the occasion to also hit out at what turned out to be the first political act of the Chinese schools in Malaya. The incident unfolded when the Manchu government signed away by a treaty that year concessions in Manchuria to the Japanese. The schools in Singapore immediately sent a cable to Beijing to protest against the capitulation. Ye, however, saw this as the students dabbling in political affairs. He saw the telegram as emulating the reformists' method of applying political pressure. Taking this point of view, we can see that Kang You Wei was exerting a powerful hold on the schools indeed. Yet Kang was not inimical to Manchu interests. His actions were aimed against the Empress Dowager Ci Xi and the conservatives whom she led, and not against Manchu rule per se.

On another front, Kang You Wei was challenged by Sun Yi Xian in the Nanyang. Sun came to Singapore in July 1900⁹⁹, but Kang had him immediately arrested and deported by the Straits Settlements government¹⁰⁰. However, Sun was able to enter Singapore again in 1906 and establish a branch of the Tong Meng Hui (The Alliance Society) there. Other branches then sprouted north up the Peninsula. Following him, Sun's important colleagues like Wang Jing Wei and Hu Han Min also landed in Malaya. From 1906 to 1911, Sun's visits to Malaya were frequent¹⁰¹.

Sun and his party created a large following in Malaya. In 1910, the Chinese in Perak began discussing cutting off their queues, a symbol of subservience to the Manchus¹⁰² under instigation from the revolutionaries led by Sun. His two instruments of propaganda were the newspapers and the reading rooms¹⁰³. It is generally believed that he also started some schools. But in Malaya he was not personally involved in establishing schools. This was confirmed by Hu Han Min in a speech delivered to the

Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi [Overseas Chinese Educational Conference] of November 1929¹⁰⁴. Hu explained that Sun was pressed for time, and so the project was left to his followers. The *Le Bao* on 28 March 1911 reported that the people who were running the reading room in a certain small town near Seremban were also trying to open a school later in that year. In the same year, in the report on Chinese affairs of the state of Selangor, this passage occurs:

An institution styled the Chinese Young Men's Christian Association, which had become a centre for preaching the doctrine of assassination in connection with the Chinese revolutionary propaganda, was dissolved and action had also to be taken in regard to several so-called schools instituted with the same object¹⁰⁵.

Among the revolutionaries, the one who seemed most active with the schools was You Lie¹⁰⁶. He came to Malaya in 1900 and did not return to China until 1911. His organisation was named the Zhong He Tang [Inner Harmony Hall] which in most cases masqueraded as schools to disseminate republican revolutionary ideas. In 1904 he opened a lecture hall in Kuala Lumpur with the declared objective of providing popular education. However, this closed down the year after due to a shortage of funds. Next, in 1906, he raised sufficient money to establish an educational book supply society in Ipoh. But this, too, was stillborn. After that, he returned to Singapore to run two schools.

Despite the foregoing, there is a theory that You Lie was not a genuine revolutionary. It is believed that he was really a swindler, and that he fraudulently collected money from the public on the pretext of opening schools. The law did catch up with him in 1909 when he was arrested in Singapore as a revolutionary leader and for misappropriating funds from one of his projects, the Yi Min School in Chinatown.

Notwithstanding this, he had a strong enough following so that at the approach of the revolution in China, his organisation was able to start many schools all over Malaya. This was especially marked in Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, and Chinatown in Singapore—all Cantonese areas in Malaya. Some of these were night schools.

But gradually the Zhong He Tang degenerated and became embroiled in secret society fights and gang robberies. (It is interesting to note in this connection that Sun Yi Xian, too, utilised secret societies for his purposes.) Many of its members were caught and banished. The revolutionary schools in Selangor closed by the colonial government in 1911 were probably You Lie's. This is elaborated on below.

After the revolution, You Lie returned to China and turned his support instead to Yuan Shi Kai, who was taking steps to exploit Sun's overthrow of the Manchu regime to make himself the new emperor of China. You

Lie's about-face was not surprising as all through the build-up to the revolution, he was quite unpopular with Sun. Their difference came to a head in Hong Kong before he came to Malaya in 1900. Not only was he a suspected swindler, but a confirmed opium addict as well. Although You Lie returned to China in 1911, we are to hear of the activities of his organisations in Malaya again later on.

From the evidence gathered, it is noticed that the revolutionaries, whether from Sun Yi Xian's camp or You Lie's, established their own schools instead of infiltrating existing ones. The reformists under Kang You Wei had applied both approaches to spread their influence. The reason for infiltrating existing schools might have been that the schools were conforming to Manchu policy and probably resistant to republican ideas. In the end, the revolutionaries got the better of the struggle, and even the old schools joined in to raise funds for Sun's army when the revolution finally broke out in China.

The colonial governments' benign attitude

The colonial governments generally viewed the Chinese as aliens, and their politics as purely their own communal affair. The chief secretary of the Federated Malay States in 1911 worded this attitude very succintly¹⁰⁷:

In the movement against the Manchu dynasty in China the Government of the Federated Malay States maintained a neutral attitude and I think that this attitude appears to have been justified by the results....

But there had been exceptions to this general attitude whenever the rivalry between the reformists and the revolutionaries threatened the peace and order in Malaya. Thus, we see that in the same year 1911, some revolutionary schools in Selangor were closed down. The exact nature of the disturbance they had caused is not clear, however.

On the positive side, there are some interesting points to note about the Malayan government's stance on Chinese education. The Federated Malay States continued to maintain the free Chinese school in Kuala Lumpur at the insistence of the Chinese settlers¹⁰⁸. In 1895, Victoria Institute was opened and the government in Selangor considered closing down the Chinese school in favour of the new school. But the settlers argued against it on the premise that a knowledge of the Chinese language was still essential to interpreters, clerks, and other employees in the colonial government's service. This persuaded the government to continue maintaining the Chinese school although the nature of the school had not changed since inception.

In 1898, another Chinese school was built in Kuala Lumpur¹⁰⁹. Among

the subjects the two Chinese schools taught were Chinese language and the abacus. Little is known about them apart from that fact that they performed poorly¹⁰. Their esteem was so low that in 1899, the Selangor government began to doubt whether "we are justified in continuing to maintain establishments for the benefit of an immigrant population, which has no real claim upon the state..." By 1904, only one of the two schools was still maintained by the government 112.

In the Straits Settlements, the British continued their policy of promoting Malay and English education. There was no government Chinese school in the settlements. But the governments of both the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States continued to support Chinese schools run by missionaries¹¹³. The one in Penang and the one in Singapore continued to function, and in 1898, the government considered them to be model vernacular schools¹¹⁴. However, in 1906, the Penang missionary Chinese school degenerated into a third-grade school, and might have gone out of existence altogether by 1910 for the education report of that year did not mention it¹¹⁵. The one in Singapore closed even earlier than that, in 1903¹¹⁶. In Perak, an American mission (probably the Methodists) opened two Chinese schools, one for boys and the other for girls, in Sitiawan in 1905¹¹⁷.

There is evidence that the Straits Settlements tried to aid the old-style schools run by the Chinese immigrants themselves¹¹⁸. Thus in 1908, the inspector of schools announced that he would hold an examination for the teachers of these schools. Those who passed would be given certificates and would be permitted to teach. Teachers who refused to be so examined would be barred from the profession. Whether or not the decision of the inspector was carried out was not reported in either government documents or newspapers. By then, the old-style Chinese schools, arguably the most important educational institutions for the Chinese prior to the 20th century, had sunk into a position of secondary importance, overtaken by the modern Chinese schools. Their number at that time remains unknown.

Introduction of Guo Yu as medium of instruction

Before taking leave of the subject, we have to account for one very important educational innovation which came in the wake of Chinese nationalism. This was the aim of supplanting the dialects with Guo Yu (National Language) or Mandarin as the medium of instruction in Chinese schools. This move was of major political significance. The policy was for unifying China with one spoken language, and this policy was supported

explicitly or implicitly by every political group—Manchu, reformist or revolutionary. It was the Manchus, however, who took the initiative. The night schools which concentrated on teaching the Chinese language, and also English or Malay, seemed to be more successful than the day schools with teaching in Guo Yu.

The movement, nevertheless, did not gain momentum until after 1920¹¹⁹. The situation is clearly mentioned by the *Federated Malay States Annual Education Report* for the year 1906¹²⁰. It says:

Schools have been started, I believe at the instance of the Chinese Government, where the Mandarin dialect is taught. This appears to be part of an attempt to establish a national language for China, but under present conditions instruction in the Mandarin dialect does not appear likely to be of great practical use to the Federated Malay States or Straits Settlements children.

The statement did not anticipate that after 1920, Guo Yu did, in fact, become of great practical use to Chinese school students in Malaya.

It is clear that during this period, the changes in China had major repercussions for the Chinese settlers in Malaya.

III

Education under the New Republic, 1911–1919

The year 1911 began a new era in the history of China. The revolution led by Sun Yi Xian successfully overthrew the Manchus, and the Republic of China was born. With that, China took the bold step of re-establishing her self-esteem. But the effort towards remaking the country was disrupted by the dying struggle of feudalism, with warlords jostling among themselves and keeping the country in disunity. Education, like other agents for change, was neglected. The promises that came with the founding of the republic soon began to look like an illusion. The country plunged into

years of civil war.

However, the Chinese in Malaya greeted the revolution with tremendous enthusiasm. While hundreds of Sun's followers left Malaya to enlist in the triumphant army in China 121, the other settlers indulged in grand celebrations. They cut off their queues to signal the end of slavery to the Manchus, and raised money for the revolutionary troops122. Their schools joined in all these. For example, management committee members of Yu Cai [Xue Xiao] and their pupils in Ipoh cut off their queues in a ceremony 123. In the big towns, the Chinese schools joined in the fund-raising for the revolutionary army. Small-town Chinese schools played a more important role leading the movement in the rural areas. An instance was the Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] [Zhong Hua School] in Raub, Pahang, which called a meeting of all the Chinese townsfolk to plead for their contributions 124. Not long after that, Huang Xing, one of the revolutionary leaders in China, proposed a Guo Min Juan [Nationals' Contribution] to help China avoid borrowing from foreign sources for her reconstruction125. His proposal was greeted with great enthusiasm in Malaya. The schools were drawn in, not only subscribing to the fund themselves but also persuading others to do the same. When the plan was abolished in July 1912, Singapore had already remitted 100,000 taels of silver to China¹²⁶. It should be pointed out that women, too, were active in the fund-raising movements127.

There was quite widespread conservative reaction to this revolutionary

fervour, as we are told in the report of the year 1912 by the chief secretary of the Federated Malay States. When the Cantonese and the Kejia in Kuala Lumpur tried to cut off the queues of the settlers from Fujian, they met with violent resistance. Minor similar incidents were also reported in other towns¹²⁸. And the *Le Bao* of 13 November 1911 tells us that a certain teacher in Penang, surnamed Mei, punished a student for cutting off his queue. Sometimes, too, loyalties were less clear-cut. Note for example that Hu Zi Chun, the president of the management committee of Yu Cai [Xue Xiao], led the Chinese in Ipoh in cutting short their hair¹²⁹ even though he frustrated Sun Yi Xian's attempt to open an Ipoh branch of the revolutionary party in 1906¹³⁰. And Hu was eventually appointed to take charge of the collection of funds in Malaya for the revolutionary troops¹³¹. The conversion of Hu illustrates the profound effect the revolution had on the overseas Chinese.

New politics in China and the further development of Chinese education in Malaya

The new government of China, on its part, was not slow to establish contact with her subjects in Malaya. It recognised the value of the contributions made by the Nanyang Chinese for supporting its troops and rebuilding the nation. Wishing to draw these emigrants' participation in the seemingly endless need for the economic reconstruction of China, it continued the Manchu policy of encouraging Chinese education in Malaya with the establishment of more schools.

Early in 1913, representatives of the overseas Chinese were elected to the National Assembly of the new republic. The president, Yuan Shi Kai, feted them and expressed the hope that they would foster Chinese education in their settlements abroad. At another banquet, the Chinese Minister of Industry and Commerce encouraged them to develop the industries in China¹³². Chinese government emissaries Tang Shou Qian and Shen Man Yun, and other individuals not in any official capacity visited Malaya in rapid succession from 1912 on economic missions¹³³. Tang visited schools explaining the cause although the main purpose of his mission was economic¹³⁴. In May 1912, *Le Bao* reported that Wang Shao Wen, accompanied by Wu Shi Rong, investigated Chinese education and economic activities in Malaya¹³⁵. In October 1915, it was again reported that Liang and Gao, inspectors from Beijing, were in Singapore¹³⁶.

There was also an overlap of interest from the provincial governments of Guangdong and Fujian, as most of the overseas Chinese were from these

two southern provinces. Hence, early in May 1912, Guangdong appointed Zeng Ji Xing an inspector of Chinese education in British and Dutch colonies in the Nanyang, although he resigned his post in December the same year¹³⁷. Subsequent inspectors included Xiong Zhang Qing in 1914¹³⁸, who travelled to Malaya on his own expense, Han Shao Hua in 1915¹³⁹, and Song Sen and He Da Yu in 1917¹⁴⁰. But theirs were not permanent appointments. In 1913, a visiting representative of Guangdong Province did ask for the appointment of a permanent inspector¹⁴¹. *Le Bao* reported that in 1917, the governor tried to revive the proposal for such a permanent post by appealing to certain wealthy Malayan Chinese for financial backing but received no response¹⁴². Fujian Province contributed to the effort, too, by sending Zheng Zhen Wen and Chen Hong Qi to Malaya in August 1912 to inspect the Chinese schools¹⁴³.

Le Bao recorded that Wang Shao Wen reported his inspection of overseas education to the Jiao Yu Bu [ministry of education of the day] in China early in 1913¹⁴⁴. The reader will remember that Dong Hong Yi, now an assistant minister of education, inspected the schools for the Manchu government in 1906. After returning to China, Wang, together with Dong, made the decision not to appoint permanent inspectors of education but rather a commissioner of education to be attached to the Chinese consulate for each territory to look after the Chinese schools.

The proposed commissioner was to decide which schools should

The proposed commissioner was to decide which schools should receive financial aid, and whom to reward among the people helping to promote Chinese education in the Nanyang. He was also to improve schools, and to report to the ministry on the elected officials of the relevant educational associations¹⁴⁶. This plan was not carried through as the following year the ministry instructed Chinese consuls to administer the schools as they had done under the Manchus¹⁴⁶.

We note that the consul-general in Singapore, Hu Wei Xian, was active in promoting Chinese education. In 1914, he inspected all the schools in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, and reported on them to the Jiao Yu Bu in China. He requested the ministry's aid for establishing a middle school in Singapore¹⁴⁷. The year after that, he requested President Yuan Shi Kai¹⁴⁸ to encourage overseas Chinese education by rewarding outstanding schools, reserving places in the Qing Hua [Xue Xiao] [Qing Hua School] in Beijing for overseas students who excelled in European languages, and helping good students return to China for their studies. The Chinese government responded with the promise of rewards for outstanding schools, and silver or gold medals for individuals who rendered meritorious service in promoting overseas education¹⁴⁹. However, it would only grant places in the Qing Hua to overseas students in

open competition with other students¹⁵⁰. As, for assisting good students to return to China for studies, the government had already drawn up regulations for the purpose¹⁵¹.

There were at this time also proposals made to the Chinese government to help overseas schools financially. For instance, the Governor of Rehe (Inner Mongolia), Xiong Xi Ling, proposed raising three million dollars through a five percent interest bond ¹⁵² for the purpose. But these seemed to have come to nothing as the government was too poor to come up with any money.

We learn as well that the Province of Guangdong had the desire to found a university in Guangzhou for the overseas Chinese, and to help them establish educational societies¹⁵³. These plans were fruitless, too, and the provincial government only maintained an ordinary school for overseas students in Guangzhou¹⁵⁴.

At the end of 1912, a Ji Nan Ju [Ji Nan Bureau] was opened in Fujian Province with the purpose of protecting the overseas Chinese, and promoting their education and industries¹⁵⁵. The organisation had a plan of running two trade schools in the province for overseas boys and girls¹⁵⁶. The overseas Fujianese themselves founded a middle school in their home province in China¹⁵⁷.

A few points emerge very clearly from this brief description of the activities of the Chinese central and provincial governments. Firstly, their various actions were uncoordinated—each party acted independently of and without consultation with the others. The reason was that the central government had no specific policy for overseas education and consequently the responsibilities of the various governments were not defined. Yuan Shi Kai, the president of the republic, was much more interested in trying to make himself the new emperor of China, and putting down the opposition rather than doing anything constructive for the country. Resources of manpower and finance were wasted on civil wars and political intrigues¹⁵⁸. Ministers of education were constantly replaced¹⁵⁹ as few people could cooperate with Yuan.

The central and provincial governments were quite right in their intention to investigate the state of overseas education prior to doing anything to improve it. But this inspection was not followed by any action to better overseas Chinese education. Most of the governments' plans were unrealised—and this is the second point. When the southern provinces came under governors who belonged to the revolutionary party, they formulated action plans for the overseas Chinese schools. But in mid-1913, Yuan Shi Kai relieved these provinces of their revolutionary governors. This sparked off a war between Yuan and Sun Yi Xian's party 160. Yuan

crushed the opposition but the country was never at peace again. The Le Bao of 18 November 1914 says:

In recent years, the questions of peace, finance, foreign relations ¹⁶¹ and civil war are shouted and heard all over the world. The question of education has long sunk into oblivion. Opportunistic and obsequious people even propose the abolition of schools. The administrators of education are afraid to do anything. They aim only at maintaining the status quo and the morale of the people to keep them from being dispirited.

Due to the shortage of funds, the economic and educational administrative departments of the provinces were abolished, and their functions taken over by the civil government department. The minister of education protested but to no avail¹⁶². After Yuan's death in 1916, the country fared even worse.

But returning to the question of education here, the visits of the various inspectors of education contributed much to the great increase in the number of Chinese schools in Malaya after the founding of the Republic of China. For instance, the Pei Feng [Xue Xiao] [Pei Feng School] in Melaka was directly the outcome of Tang Shou Qian's visit in 1912¹⁶³. It is important to note that Tang told the people of Port Swettenham (now Port Kelang) that in establishing schools they should first open reading rooms to pave the way.¹⁶⁴

In the meantime, the revolutionary party, originally named the Tong Meng Hui, was reorganised after the founding of the republic and then renamed the Guomindang (Kuomintang). Thereupon, branches of the Guomindang rapidly sprang up everywhere in Malaya. In fact, many of the Malayan Chinese schools, if not most of them, were founded by the

party's members.

Tang Shou Qian's call was taken up, and often the establishment of a school in a given place was preceded by the opening of a reading room. The Guomindang in Malaya concentrated on reading rooms, and on schools¹⁶⁵. Apart from a school section, reading rooms also had sections that arranged lectures and oversaw philanthropic activities¹⁶⁶.

In 1912, a reading room was opened in Tanjong Rambutan and, in January 1913, it was reported that the reading room had opened the minds of the rich people of the town who then began to plan for establishing a primary school ¹⁶⁷. Similarly, schools were founded in Kuala Lumpur, the Perak towns of Sungei Siput, Shi Cheng Bu [Batu Gajah?], and Kelian Intan, the Kedah town of Sungei Petani and even Guda [Sekudai?] in Johor ¹⁶⁸.

This movement to build schools through the reading rooms accelerated after a failed attempt in 1913 by the revolutionaries to check by force Yuan

Shi Kai's bid to rule China as a dictator. More than ever, the Guomindang realised the importance of bringing up young citizens with the right kind of mind for the new order to succeed. Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao] [Zhong Ling School] in Penang, which became and still is one of the most important schools in Malaya, was established with this motive. The political philosophy the revolutionaries taught in schools was the San Min Zhu Yi (San Min Chu I) or the Three People's Principles, Sun Yi Xian's brainchild of which we have more to discuss in a later chapter 169. To dispel all doubts, we note that the increase in the number of boys' schools was accompanied by an increase in the number of schools for girls, too.

However, they were all primary schools. The Ji Nan Xue Tang in Nanjing was the only school that provided a secondary education for overseas Chinese. But the school was closed after the fall of the Manchus. Many of its students participated in the 1911 revolution. Subsequent to the declaration of the republic, Yuan Shi Kai was unwilling to reopen the school despite being urged to many times. He was wary that the Guomindang

opposition to his ascendancy would breed there 170.

After Yuan's death, Li Yuan Hong, who originally precipitated the revolution in 1911, succeeded the presidency. Li's government in 1917 sent two eminent educationists, Huang Yan Pei and Lin Ding Hua to investigate Chinese education in the Nanyang. Huang and Lin toured Malaya, lectured to the schools and discussed educational problems with them. After the inspection, Huang felt that the overseas Chinese needed teachers and citizens with commercial knowledge. He subsequently requested the government (by then no longer under Li) to reopen Ji Nan to train teachers and entrepreneurs. Another primary aim was to develop in the students a love for the fatherland. The teachers were to be trained in propagating nationalism among the Nanyang Chinese to keep them loyal to China. To attract trainee teachers, students taking the normal course would be exempted from paying fees¹⁷¹.

Another result of Huang's visit was that the Malayan Chinese were induced to pay more attention to the practical subjects taught in school, for Huang was a champion of professional education. Unfortunately, literary studies continued to be the most prominent feature of school education.

More important than this was the founding of a middle school in Singapore by the overseas Chinese themselves. Chinese nationalism had also fired up Chen Jia Geng (Tan Kah Kee) who in early May 1913, proposed to establish a middle school in Singapore¹⁷². In June of the same year, some Chinese in Seremban even suggested starting a Chinese university¹⁷³. There was no response to these calls initially, probably due to the fact that the primary schools were not turning out sufficient candidates for higher

institutions at that early stage. The consul-general, Hu Wei Xian, revived the proposal in August 1914, and asked the Chinese government to aid the project. He could not move either the government or the Malayan Chinese, and his plan was also fruitless¹⁷⁴. But in 1917, the Chinese in Singapore requested the Chinese government's aid in reviving the idea. The Jiao Yu Bu in China replied with interest, and promised financial assistance¹⁷⁵. But the individual to finally carry the idea to fruition was Chen Jia Geng. In June 1918, he took the proposal to the Chinese in both the British and Dutch colonies in the Nanyang. Very soon, donations poured in and the Xin Jia Po Nan Yang Hua Qiao Zhong Xue Xiao [Singapore Nanyang Overseas Chinese High School], or Hua Zhong for short, was built in 1919¹⁷⁶. It offered a four-year course of studies for boys. At much the same time, a middle school was also founded in Penang under the leadership of the Chinese consul in the island, Dai Sin Yuan¹⁷⁷.

A certain Mr. Zhou wrote in the *Le Bao* of 8 September 1919 of the significance of the Singapore school. The school, besides preparing candidates for university and breaking down the barrier between the various dialect groups (whereas local Chinese primary schools typically segregated students from different dialect groups or provinces), would develop patriotism among the students towards China. He dwelled on the point that primary students not knowing much of Chinese culture would easily be lured into foreign, that is, English, schools and lose their love for their own country. He continued:

Now, fortunately, the middle school is established. The fees are not high and students can join the school easily. They will read more of the books of the sages and learn more of their teachings. They will, thereby, not be lured by the material civilisation of other people and forget that the culture of their fatherland is valuable. From generation to generation, their love will not die. When the hearts of the people are alive, our country will become great.

A beginning was also made with secondary education for girls at about the same time. In August 1917, the Nan Yang Nu Zhong [Nanyang Girls' High School] was opened in Singapore which became the biggest and most important of its kind in Malaya. Besides the usual primary education, it ran a normal course to train teachers and offered tuition in special subjects. A Miss Yu Pei Gao was put in charge of the school. She was to be among those to lead the protest in 1920 against the Schools Registration Ordinance¹⁷⁸.

Night schools, too, increased in number during this period, and many of them were probably opened by the reading rooms. The reading rooms were meant for social education and it is, therefore, no surprise that they should have established night schools to complement the day schools.

The Le Bao of 22 April 1913 reported the reading room in Tronoh opening a night school.

In later years, these night schools came under the influence of the communists and they might have even originated from socialist beliefs. It was noted in the 1914 report on Chinese affairs in Perak that, after the dissolution of the Guomindang by Yuan Shi Kai in 1913, the party's members in Perak started creating labour unions, and that their lectures and publications took on a socialist tone¹⁷⁹.

The Le Bao of 27 March 1919 remarked that the call to open night schools was becoming incessant. The cry was especially loud among the Hainanese. By March 1919, this group had opened four night schools in Singapore. The Hainanese, as we shall see later, were to become much more energetic in socialist activities after that year.

By comparison with the old-style schools, the night schools were progressive. They taught students in Guo Yu or Mandarin instead of the provincial dialects ¹⁸⁰. The night school attached to the Ai Tong in Singapore was an example of such a progressive school ¹⁸¹. It subscribed to the belief that teaching in dialects obstructed the unification of the people and the progress of their civilisation.

The day schools tried teaching in Guo Yu, too, but, up till July 1917, the newly opened Nan Hua [Nu Xue] [Nan Hua Girls' School] in Singapore could use Guo Yu as the sole medium of instruction only in the higher primary classes. In the lower primary, both Guo Yu and the dialects had to be used ¹⁸². Ye Qin Nu Xue Tang [Ye Qin Girls' School] in Kuala Lumpur was reported to be using Guo Yu¹⁸³, and in Penang an institute was founded early in 1913 particularly to teach Guo Yu and spread the use of it¹⁸⁴.

Although the overseas Chinese had representatives at the conference on the unification of the spoken language in Beijing in early 1913¹⁸⁵, on the whole, Guo Yu was far from being widely used in the Nanyang. Consul-General Hu Wei Xian reported to the Jiao Yu Bu in China in 1914 that the Nanyang Chinese schools were run on a provincial basis, and that their media of instruction were the different dialects¹⁸⁶.

We now look at the increase in the number of Chinese schools in this period.

By 1918, there were 39 of them in Singapore and four in Melaka, including girls' schools and night schools. In Penang, there were 31. Their total enrolment was 2,763 boys and girls, and many of them were co-educational schools. Sadly, statistics for the Federated Malay States are unavailable.

The rapid growth of education in the post-revolution days brought forth problems. Although all the schools conformed to government regulations for schools in China, yet in certain aspects they were rather diverse as, for instance, in the choice of textbooks.

In a bid to bring unity to the schools, and after more than a year of preparatory work, a general educational association was formed in Singapore in February 1914¹⁸⁸. Branches of the association were opened in other states including Penang, Perak, and Selangor¹⁸⁹. Consul-General Hudrew up the constitution and work programme for the headquarters¹⁹⁰. Under the jurisdiction of the Jiao YuBu, the association was to help the ministry run Chinese schools in Malaya, and to support and improve them. Named the Zhong Hua Xue WuZong Hui [General Chinese Educational Association, hereafter referred to as the Xue Zong]¹⁹¹, the association would maintain close ties with educational associations in China and elsewhere overseas. The objectives of its formation were to help strengthen China, and the association would pay attention to

 Practical education so that the strength of the overseas Chinese in matters of agriculture, industry and commerce will be sufficient to help develop organisations at home and lay a foundation for enriching the country;

2. Military education to let overseas students develop a martial

spirit and lay the foundation for a powerful republic;

 Political education to train people to enable them to represent the overseas Chinese in the houses of parliament and in the assemblies of Fujian and Guangdong Provinces; and

Social education so that overseas Chinese will be conscious of

the nation and aware of public morality.

Note that all the aims were for the sake of the fatherland and, hence, entirely political. The first two—practical and military education—were also in the Chinese government's educational policy of 1912¹⁹².

Membership of the association was open to sponsors and supporters of the association, to Chinese persons over 20 years of age in the British territories, and to people connected with overseas education. It was to be run by a council comprising a president, two vice-presidents, a number of councillors, and an administrative section.

The association had the very ambitious plan¹⁹³ of unifying the organisation of all primary schools; reforming the old-style schools; establishing continuation and vocational schools, normal institutes and classes, middle schools, trade schools, a political science institute, a Guo Yu institute, a physical education institute, a society for approving textbooks; and the publication of journals. In reality, it did establish a Guo Yu institute¹⁹⁴ and carry out limited investigation of the state of Chinese education in the Nanyang¹⁹⁵. It formed a Jiao Yu Yan Jiu Hui [Educational Research Society]

for improving the quality of new teachers¹⁹⁶, and requested the Jiao Yu Bu to reward outstanding schools and educationists¹⁹⁷. It also helped certain schools in China recruit overseas Chinese students¹⁹⁸.

However, these achievements fell far short of the stated objectives and, in 1917, complaints were made of its inactivity¹⁹⁹. As a result, it was reorganised in 1919²⁰⁰ but that, too, failed to do more. The reason is difficult to gauge but it might have been the lack of enthusiasm. Later in 1917 and 1918 respectively, the Perak and Selangor branches became independent of the parent association²⁰¹. How much this move achieved for the schools under their purview is not on record, however.

Whatever the educational associations' achievement or failing, it is interesting in that they were a product of Chinese patriotism, and that their educational goals were ultimately political in nature.

In the preceding pages, we have been describing how political forces shaped the growth of Chinese education in Malaya after the republican revolution. We saw the great efforts involved and examined the growth itself. We are now to study, in greater detail, the activities of the schools themselves.

Activism in local Chinese schools

We concluded that nationalism and patriotism had been the dominant features of the Nanyang Chinese schools. Since the Manchu days, the schools had become rather expressive of this loyalty. Their fervour was nurtured by the close connection with the reading rooms. In 1913, when Papan and Bukit Mertajam opened reading rooms, students from Pusing graced the occasions with their presence202. And in July 1917, when the Xing Zhou Shu Bao She of Singapore celebrated its 16th anniversary, the Guang Ya [Xue Xiao] [Guang Ya School] band provided the music. The principal of Nan Yang Nu Zhong, Yu Pei Gao, and another eminent educationist from China, Zhong Rong Guang, also delivered speeches203. Even as early as 1912, we are told that the headmaster of the Dao Nan [Xue Xiao] in Singapore, once gave a lecture at the reading room204. Similarly, in 1916, a certain Wu Feng Chao and a Wu Hai Tu lectured at the reading rooms. They also addressed students of the Ai Tong [Xue Xiao] (Ai Tong School), Singapore, every Saturday²⁰⁵. The schools were full of revolutionaries, especially after the failure of the "Second Revolution", this time against Yuan Shi Kai, in 1913. Yuan abolished the Guomindang and many of its members then took refuge in Malaya206. Another record of the schools' political activity was the report that, in 1917, the Ai Tong teachers lectured to students about the humiliation suffered by China at the hand of Japan.

The occasion was the second anniversary of the day that Japan, after an incursion into Shandong, made the twenty-one demands on China in 1915 when the great powers were locked in the First World War²⁰⁷.

The political consciousness of the schools expressed itself in other ways, too. As we have said, they greeted the revolution in China with enthusiasm in 1911, collected funds for the revolutionary troops and the new government, and made a statement by cutting off their queues.

Towards the end of 1912, the Russians, taking advantage of the chaotic situation in China, attempted to split off Mongolia from the Chinese nation. They concluded an agreement with the Mongolians in 1913 by which the Russians would respect Mongolian self-government, and would render them military aid to resist Chinese troops and settlers²⁰⁸. The overseas Chinese, especially the youths, were infuriated by this Russian interference. They rushed donations to support the military campaign to restore Mongolia to China's fold. Gan Si Dui [Dare-to-Die Teams] were organised to join the Chinese forces deployed in the struggle. Students joined in the collection of funds and aroused the people at rallies with fiery speeches²⁰⁹. But the flames soon died down as the Chinese government came to a satisfactory settlement with the Russians in the winter of 1913²¹⁰. Chinese sovereignty over Mongolia was again recognised by Russia, and the Chinese, on their part, granted self-government to the Mongolians. The agreement was confirmed in a treaty on 7 August 1915, and the region returned to quiet. It needs be said that the disturbance had not been widespread.

A more common demonstration of the schools' orientation towards China was the celebration of her national holidays. The National Day, the day of the uprising in Wuhan, on 10 October, the Recovery of Nanjing on 11 October, Confucius Day on 7 November, the establishment of the republic on 20 December, to name the main ones, were all commemorated with enthusiasm and reverence²¹¹. The schools had also learnt to stage plays and concerts for the celebrations. In many cases, they did not try to hide the fact that they were celebrating events of political and social significance in China. Thus, the Yang Zheng [Xue Xiao] [Yang Cheng School], a leading school in Singapore at the time, stated very clearly in 1912 that the concert which it was presenting then was to nurture the peoples' love for their country, to encourage the martial spirit, to teach people self-reliance, to arouse their enthusiasm for study and to eradicate superstition²¹². Subsequently in 1914, 1915, and 1918, the Yang Zheng [Xue Xiao] held public displays of products manufactured in China, and other exhibits by the schools to help promote Chinese products and Chinese education²¹³. For the 1915 exhibition, the school added the attraction of

staged plays. The *Le Bao* of 14 October 1915, says that, after the exhibition, the shops which participated in the event were able to sell off their goods quickly. Other schools took the cue and learnt to stage similar plays and concerts, too. One was the Zun Kong [Xue Xiao] [Zun Kong School], a leading educational establishment in Kuala Lumpur then²¹⁴.

In the beginning, the focus of the schools was only on one object—the Republic of China. This initial unity of purpose was disrupted when, in 1913, Yuan Shi Kai broke with the Guomindang. After the dissolution of the Guomindang, many of its members took refuge in the Nanyang, including Malaya. This we have already seen. There ensued the competition for the loyalty of the Nanyang Chinese schools in the new circumstances. We know that after Yuan's death in 1916, the schools took the side of the Guomindang. As evidence, they celebrated the uprising of the southwest provinces in 1916 in defiance of Yuan's declaring himself the new emperor of China²¹⁵.

When Yuan had Song Jiao Ren, a Guomindang leader who tried to effect a system of responsible government, assassinated in 1913, the students in Singapore paid homage to the martyr in public ceremonies²¹⁶. Two years later, when Yang Du, a Yuan Shi Kai appointee, organised the Chou An Hui [Work-for-Peace Society], an attempt to revert the country to a monarchy on Yuan's behalf, the Xue Zong in Singapore protested vigorously, and petitioned Yuan to dissolve the society²¹⁷. From these incidents, it is safe to assume that the hearts of most of the Nanyang schools were with the Guomindang. It is clear that the outlawed party, through its reading rooms and teachers, had a closer rapport with the schools.

As was hinted at before, the country was ravaged by militarists after Yuan's death in 1916. Again the Chinese schools in Malaya stood behind the Guomindang, this time against the warlords. Two school management committee members in Singapore wrote to Sun Yi Xian in June 1917, pledging their support for him²¹⁸. When Sun was eventually elected head of the military government which he formed in Guangzhou in September 1917, overseas Chinese, including Singaporeans, cabled to congratulate him²¹⁹. And students of Dao Nan [Xue Xiao] in Singapore sent a telegram to progressive elements in Fujian, promising support for them in their fight against the militarist, Li Hou Ji, who was abusing the province²²⁰.

The first policies for Chinese schools in the Nanyang

All these, however, did not prevent the schools in Malaya from conforming

to certain key points in Yuan Shi Kai's educational policies. Yuan's government made three pronouncements on educational policy, respectively on 4 September 1912, 22 January 1915 and February 1915, each subsequent one being a revision of the previous one²²¹. Nevertheless, we shall see that conformity with Yuan's policies did not conflict with allegiance to the Guomindang. In accounting for these policies, we shall go first by the third pronouncement instead of the others because this was Yuan's final aspiration before he died.

Regarding the third pronouncement, the first point made was an exhortation to love the country. The schools were undoubtedly patriotic, as we have seen. But what Yuan had in mind was that the schools should give him no opposition in his political ambitions. Those who were out to thwart his desire to become emperor, he considered unpatriotic to their

country222.

In order to consolidate his position, in 1914 Yuan ordered that all references to Sun Yi Xian and Huang Xing in school textbooks be deleted²²³. The schools in Malaya very likely ignored his call for the schools were more supportive of Sun and Huang than of him. Recall that patriotism was taught through such subjects as Chinese language, history, geography, ethics, military drill, and singing²²⁴.

A second point, which was listed as desiratum number four in this third pronouncement, was respect for Confucius and Mencius. It reinforced the first points in both the first and second pronouncements, calling for moral education since what the two sages taught was basically

morality.

The schools, as we have seen, already revered Confucius. If further evidence is required, they faithfully and ceremoniously celebrated Confucius's birthday every year, and worshipped his image on ceremonial occasions²²⁵. Confucius's ethics was conscientiously taught²²⁶. The Kong Jiao Hui (Confucius Society) in Malaya continued its existence from Manchu days, and some of its members preached Confucianism in certain schools227. When Consul-General Hu toured Malaya in 1914, he found the Chinese in Kuala Lumpur trying to install Confucianism as a religion. Although Hu did not agree with this move, he supported the establishment of a lecture society to propagate Confucian teachings 228. Hu, it may be recalled, was touring Malaya to encourage education. Even the several exhibitions held by the Yang Zheng to popularise Chinese manufacture and school handiwork noted earlier had, besides the avowed purposes, the aim of teaching reverence to Confucius and Mencius²²⁹. However, the ambitious Yuan Shi Kai hatched it as a ploy to equate reverence for Confucius and Mencius not only to morality but, more importantly, also to absolute loyalty to a ruler who would assume the title of emperor.

The schools, on their part, were able to reconcile allegiance to Confucius and Mencius with opposition to Yuan's imperial ambitions. This was because the Guomindang did not object to Confucianism as a moral system but only as a system of political philosophy. Note well that Sun Yi Xian did not reject every precept of Confucianism. In fact, his ideal of a Great Commonwealth for the world was Confucian in origin. Confucianism, many Chinese believe, is the best foundation for a man of admirable morality. Cai Yuan Pei, when he was minister of education in Yuan's government in 1912, prohibited the study of the Confucian classics in schools but not the subject of ethics230. Cai was a member of the Guomindang. He disliked Yuan, and resigned his post not long afterwards²³¹. He had urged Yuan not to state-worship Confucius²³². There was some conservative reaction in China to Cai's stance. When the Guangdong provincial education officer, Zhong Rong Guang, rose to support the call, certain quarters tried to throw him out of office233. But in Malaya, the call to stop teaching the classics was accepted without incident. Playing his hand, Yuan tried to re-introduce Confucian classics into the school syllabus in 1915. But his monarchy collapsed before his order had gained wide obedience²³⁴. Not many schools in Malaya followed the order²³⁵.

In a sense, the schools were really guilty of some inconsistency for not rejecting Confucianism altogether. A writer in *Bin Cheng Xin Bao* pointed out this contradiction early in 1912²³⁶. He said that when he heard that the Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] in Penang was going to hold meetings to propagate Confucianism, he was elated. But then he discovered that the three principles and the five relationships taught by Confucius contradicted the San Min Zhu Yi taught by Sun Yi Xian, as well as the principles of equality and freedom of the republic. He found himself in a quandary and hoped that someone would enlighten him.

We now turn to the second desiratum of the third pronouncement which was equivalent to the third points in the first as well as second pronouncements. They concerned military education. In this respect the Manchu policy was not changed at all.

Even as late as 1918, the Jiao Yu Bu ordered all primary schools in China to learn about war games, traditional martial arts, warriors in history and stories concerning China's humiliation as a nation²³⁷. This military bias in Chinese education policy did not go out of fashion until after the First World War when the cry for peace was heard all over the world. In Malaya, throughout this period, military training continued to

be a prominent feature. After returning from his visit to Malaya in 1912, Tang Shou Qian wrote to the Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] in Penang, praising its students for their military drill. He sent 24 paper fans as awards for the most outstanding students²³⁸. As the Beijing government's envoy, Tang encouraged military drill. Another school that demonstrated its emphasis on military drill was the Pi[?] Zhi [Xue Xiao] in Kuala Lumpur. When it celebrated National Day in 1913, it held a sports meet in which arms drill and martial music were featured²³⁹. The administrative report of Negri Sembilan for the year 1916 states that a Chinese school opened in Port Dickson that year, and that the usual elementary subjects were taught along with physical drill²⁴⁰. Physical drill was mentioned by itself whereas no other subject was. This is taken to show the prominence placed on this subject.

The fifth enumerated desiratum in the third pronouncement, a desiratum which was not found in the previous two pronouncements, was the cultivation of self-reliance. It was believed that once the students had imbibed Confucian morality they would be self-reliant and independent.

The third desiratum in the third pronouncement, which was not men-

The third desiratum in the third pronouncement, which was not mentioned in the first pronouncement but had an equivalent in the second, was practical education. The importance of practical education, as we have established, was realised only after Huang Yan Pei's visit to Malaya in 1917. Even then, literary studies continued to be popular. Subjects for practical education were arithmetic, and science, and, in certain schools, commerce and handwork, too²⁴¹. In certain prominent girls' schools, for example Nan Yang Nu Zhong of Singapore, sewing, home management, and commercial art were added to the list²⁴².

The third pronouncement did not mention an item which could be called utilitarian education, but the two earlier pronouncements did. How this desiratum could in substance and implication be different from practical education is difficult to understand. Probably because there was no actual difference between the two, the final pronouncement treated the duo as one and the same thing and had them merged.

A desirable value which also found no place in the third pronouncement as well as in the second but which was included in the first was education in the fine arts. Drawing and music were the subjects taught in the Malayan schools to promote this value²⁴³.

The last two desirata of the third pronouncement warned against social strife arising from greed and the impatience to advance one's interests. These were quite obviously aimed in particular at students influenced by the Guomindang and other radicals. They applied especially in China.

Their effect in Malaya is hard to know.

Some other issues

Women's education

The attitude of the republican government towards women's education was not different from the Manchu's. The minister of education in 1914²⁴⁴ said that he would very much like women to be educated, to have their minds opened so that their talents would benefit the country and not go to waste. He would encourage education for women. But as for women's rights, he held on to the traditional mores that required the Chinese woman to be quiet, chaste, refined, and courteous. He believed people who championed the equality of the sexes and the political rights of women were wrong for such ideas would lead women to immorality. Therefore, his policy on women's education was only to make good wives and mothers of them, and to give them knowledge and skills without diminishing their traditional desirable qualities.

The conflict between the issues of women's education and women's rights plagued many Chinese at the time. In Malaya, people discussed it as early as 1912. Thus, for instance, the *Le Bao* of 15 till 17 September presented the following argument for encouraging women's education but not their rights. The editor said he was very happy to find many girls' schools in Singapore, but he was puzzled by the question of women's rights. He then tried to show that many modern women were concerned only with beautifying themselves to attract men and that there were many cases of elopement among them. He was perturbed by the possibility of sexual immorality. He concluded that he could not accept the idea of equality between the sexes. His view was not different from that of the minister of education. It is clear that Confucianism, the basis of all national policies at the time, was difficult to supplant.

Textbooks

Of the textbooks in use in this post-revolution period, we know little for the same reason that we know so little of those used during the Manchu period. There is little record of them. We note that the textbooks used in schools were vetted and approved by the Jiao Yu Bu in China²⁴⁵, and, in 1915, the ministry went further to set up a unit to compile textbooks for the schools²⁴⁶. Yuan Shi Kai instructed the ministry to focus on "educa-

tion to nurture nationals". His other contribution to the textbooks, as we have said before, was to order all references to Sun Yi Xian and Huang Xing to be deleted.

The governments after Yuan's demise had no clear policy on education, and they did very little for it. They were dominated by warlords who had other preoccupations. Li Yuan Hong, the second president of the republic, told the overseas Chinese in 1917 that the two great challenges for rebuilding the nation were promoting industry and education. He appealed to the Chinese emigrants to return and build factories in China to give the industries a boost. On education, there is no record of any specific advice from him, however²⁴⁷. As we have stated, Huang Yan Pei visited the Nanyang on instruction from his government, but that was all that was done. Li lost office in the middle of the year²⁴⁸.

Non-mainstream schools

Alongside the modern type of Chinese schools, there were the other Chinese-medium schools maintained by the missionaries and the British government although they were of little importance, and are here noted for the sake of completeness. In 1916, the Roman Catholics had a boys' school and one for girls in Singapore, and another one in Penang²⁴⁹. The enrolment of each was never more than 80 students²⁵⁰. The Federated Malay States government had one co-educational Chinese school in Kuala Lumpur with another one in Telok Anson (now Teluk Intan)²⁵¹. In addition, a Fujianese school in Perak received aid from the authorities²⁵².

Colonial government's anxiety

In the education code of the British colonial government, grants-in-aid were provided for Chinese schools but these were not taken up by the settlers' institutions²⁵³. Because of this, the "Government and the Education Department have no official knowledge" of them²⁵⁴. But the colonial government could not continue with this attitude for long. With their rapid increase in number, the Chinese schools competed successfully with the English schools for students. This became an acute problem in Perak, Pahang, and in Negeri Sembilan²⁵⁵. In 1918, the Straits Settlements Education Department showed an interest in the number of Chinese schools in Penang, Melaka, and Singapore²⁵⁶. Before this, it had for several years referred to the Chinese schools although its reports said very little on them²⁵⁷. The success of the Chinese schools was forcing the colonial government to pay attention to them. The Perak administration report for the year 1916

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²⁵⁸ reflected the worry that many students were leaving English schools. The Chinese settlers' schools had now begun teaching English for a few hours every week, and many of them were free. The question of bringing these schools under government supervision had been put forward before and seemed to merit further consideration. Not very long after that, the British government abandoned its neutrality on Chinese education, and introduced the Schools Registration Ordinance. The ordinance was enacted also, as shall be seen, because the mainstream Chinese schools were beginning to disturb the peace and order of the land.

The overthrow of the Manchu regime and the establishment of a republic were to trigger a significant expansion of Chinese education in Malaya, including the founding of secondary schools. Yuan Shi Kai, the president of the new republic, worked together with the Guomindang initially to promote education, but later competed with it for influence after they had fallen out with each other. It was the Guomindang which won in the race eventually. Yuan had a worked out policy for education different from the Manchus. This surge in Chinese education was to begin to worry the colonial authorities.

IV

Trouble in Malayan Schools, 1919–1928, Phase I

The First World War had broken out in 1914. Although now a republic under the new-styled President Yuan Shi Kai, China was still very weak. Availing herself of the opportunity to join the strongest nations in the world then, Japan entered the conflict on the side of the Allies, and continued with her ambition of expanding on the Asian continent. Supported by Britain, she soon seized all German concessions in Shandong. Following that, in 1915, she delivered the earlier-mentioned twenty-one demands on China which aimed at turning her into a colony. Two years later, the emboldened occupiers pressured the Chinese government to accept a military alliance that would enable them to further seize the Russian sphere of influence in Mongolia and Manchuria. The war ended in 1918.

In the Paris Peace Conference convened to settle matters between the belligerents, the Chinese delegates demanded the abolition of all existing foreign burdens on China and the return of the German concessions seized by Japan. All these demands were refused. Japan, with the friendship of the Allied powers, was allowed to retain Shandong.

When news of this reached Beijing, university and college students staged a demonstration to protest against the settlement and attempted to beat up certain high officials who were thought to have compromised China's sovereignty. They organised teams to press for the boycott and destruction of Japanese goods. The Chinese government moved to put down the protests with ruthless force. In spite of this, the student agitation rapidly spread to other cities of the country. Finally, even labourers and the business community were induced to stage a strike²⁵⁹.

Anti-Japanese furor

The movement soon had its repercussions in Malaya. Chinese students and teachers in Malaya took up the action of their counterparts in China. The Xue Zong in Singapore cabled Beijing urging the government not to be harsh with the students²⁶⁰, and Penang requested the release of

those arrested in the unrest²⁶¹. The 24 Chinese schools in Selangor urged Shanghai to punish the traitors, ban the secret societies, and encourage the use of Chinese goods while boycotting Japanese ones²⁶². Some schools in Singapore toyed with the idea of requesting the Straits Settlements' governor and the American consul to present to the peace conference, on their behalf, a protest against the capitulation to the Japanese. The idea was abandoned when it was discovered that it would be impracticable²⁶³.

Then, suddenly, on the night of 19 June 1919, riots broke out in Singapore²⁶⁴. Groups of workers and students, between 15 and 16 years old, went around town searching for Japanese goods to destroy. Shops, stalls, even households and brothels were relieved of these goods which were thrown into the streets. The colony's police, backed by troops and marines from HMS Sydney, went into action arresting the rioters. The governor proclaimed a curfew and imposed martial law in the island. He prohibited meetings, lectures, and the printing and pasting of posters. The next morning, Singapore became a dead city. But the disturbances did not stop. Clashes erupted between the Chinese and the police, and with the Japanese as well. Deaths were reported.

The Chinese consul-general and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (the latter under the instruction of the protector of Chinese) tried to persuade the Chinese to stop the violence and obey the law of the island. Teachers and students from certain schools joined the chamber going around appealing to workers to stop the unrest. To ease the tension, the Straits government declared that peaceful boycotts would be allowed, stating particularly that there should be no disruption to trade, public traffic, and public services, nor threats to people employed by Japanese. Yet the disturbances continued.

Following the outbreak in Singapore, on 21 June 1919, workers in Penang, too, attacked Japanese shops and destroyed their goods²⁶⁵. This anti-Japanese outburst in Penang became compounded with dissatisfaction over the high price of rice prevailing. Rice merchants had their shops looted. As in Singapore, martial law was proclaimed and HMS Sydney helped the police and the Volunteers (a special unit of uniformed personnel in place in those days) to keep the peace. All business ground to a halt. Clashes resulted in injuries, arrests, and deaths. The Ping Zhang Hui Guan [Ping Zhang Association] helped the Straits government by trying to persuade the workers to keep the law. Meanwhile, the government and the Chinese consultried to solve the rice problem.

In Kuala Lumpur, all was well initially 266. Regardless, on 21 June, the protector of Chinese, anticipating trouble, summoned local Chinese leaders and instructed them to keep the peace in their settlements. However,

a group of Chinese gathered in Petaling Street on 28 June and stopped all Chinese from patronising Japanese prostitutes there. They eventually broke into Chinese brothels and emptied them of all articles of Japanese origin. The police took action with help from Chinese trade guilds and associations to restore order. Also, when the educational association convened on 23 June, Chinese teachers and students went around the town carrying banners pleading for an end to the violence. As in the Straits Settlements, the government declared that a peaceful boycott would be allowed.

Open violence in Singapore, Penang, and Kuala Lumpur subsided after a while, but the boycott of Japanese goods was kept very much alive. The parties most involved in this work were Chinese teachers and newspapers.

The chief secretary of the Federated Malay States believed that communists were responsible for the trouble²⁶⁷. This might very well have been true for, as we have already seen in the last chapter, socialist influences had already been uncovered in Malaya in 1914. After all, this anti-Japanese movement was initiated by leftist professors in Beijing in 1919. We are told that in the same year, a school in Singapore²⁶⁸ celebrated May Day. The Straits government, too, discovered the existence, in Singapore, of a Patriotic League and a Truth Society which were associated with the Bolshevist New Society in Guangzhou²⁶⁹. In Selangor, it was reported that the Zhong He Tang (You Lie's organisation) was very active²⁷⁰.

The activists enforced the boycott by sending threatening letters to shops which dealt in Japanese good, and putting up placards and posters around town²⁷¹. In Singapore, a more violent method was also employed. Shops that defied the boycott were bombed²⁷². The positive spin-off from this was that some schools encouraged the Chinese themselves to manufacture items of daily need. For instance, Yu Hua Xue Xiao of Kajang produced perfumes, and the night section of Yang Zheng [Xue Xiao] in Singapore made tooth-powder, ink, and shoe-polish²⁷³.

The colonial authorities were not slow to take action against the Chinese teachers and the newspapers. In July, they arrested two graduates of Japanese universities, Mo De Ru and Wen Li, school principal, Chen Cun Yao, and teacher, Zhuang Xue Xuan, of Ai Tong [Xue Xiao] in Singapore²⁷⁴. Ai Tong was very active in propagating Chinese patriotism as we saw in the last chapter. Employees of the *Guo Min Bao* were also arrested²⁷⁵, and there is a report that, in Penang, a Zhang Min Quan almost died in prison for the cause²⁷⁶. On 3 July, the protector of Chinese in Perak discovered some pro-China literature being printed in Ipoh by a Lahat teacher, Qian Zi Yu. Qian went to prison for it and, after 13 days,

was bailed out but assigned to be deported²⁷⁷. Near the end of the month, the protector of Chinese in Selangor swooped on the *Yi Qun Bao* in Kuala Lumpur on suspicion that it was printing cards for a Shi Ren Jiu Guo Tuan [Ten-Men-Save-the-Nation Team] ²⁷⁸. The manager and the editor were arrested. At the same time, the police also confined the principal of the Zun Kong [Xue Xiao], Song Mu Lin, and three of the teachers, Zhao Shi Chi, Chen Guo Chun, and Yang Guang Yao. The protector thoroughly searched through Song's and Chen's books and, one day, told the six of them that he discovered a significant quantity of anarchist literature and correspondence in their possession.

The Chinese in Kuala Lumpur rallied behind the accused. They held emergency meetings and contemplated a hartal for shops and a strike by workers, but were stopped from proceeding by the protector. They demanded the release of the six arrested, but were turned down. The six were hailed as heroes—the Liu Jun Zi [Six Gentlemen]. Ill-treatment in prison caused them great suffering. In the end, they were sentenced to be deported like Qian, the teacher from Perak.

In August, six other teachers from Qiang Ya [Xue Xiao] [Qiang Ya School], Kampar, were also ordered to leave Malaya for having given their students a holiday to remind them of the invasion by Japan²⁷⁹. The six were He Chao Fan, He Wen Lan, Wu Gong Ji, Lu Zai Shan, Cen Xi Pei, and Zhao Lian Wu.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable of the Chinese patriots was Luo Jiong Xiong²⁸⁰. He was the principal of a school in Kelang. According to the protector of Chinese in Singapore, Luo was the president of the Tie Xue Tuan [Iron-Blood Team], and chairman of the council of the Jiu Guo Tuan [Save-the-Nation Team]. Fiercely against the celebration of the 1918 peace accord, he campaigned for the displacement of Japanese goods with Chinese products. When he joined the Yi Qun Bao of Kuala Lumpur, he wrote fiery articles and also gave lectures for the cause. The British had considered the accord to be a victory for their empire and took a dim view of any view to the contrary. For the effrontery caused by his campaigning against the celebration, the Kuala Lumpur government put a price on Luo's head. But he managed to abscond to Singapore. There his organisations sent threatening letters to opium salons ordering them to close. Some wealthy Chinese reported to the Straits government that he led an assassination team. He was arrested in the island, in August that year, and imprisoned, pending banishment. While in prison, he fell ill because of maltreatment, like the rest. Presumably, he was eventually banished by the colonial authorities.

The rousing send-off given by the local Chinese to these banishees was

indicative of the depth of feeling among the Chinese in Malaya against the Japanese at that time. Qian was reportedly sent off by hundreds, including his students. The students were all dressed in white as if mourning his departure²⁸¹. Prior to that, he had been bailed out with subscriptions from the Chinese in Kinta. The Liu Jun Zi of Kuala Lumpur, too, were given a roaring send-off from Kuala Lumpur right down to Singapore²⁸². They were deported in November. Many other Chinese activists were arrested and banished during those turbulent days. There were 31 of them from Singapore alone²⁸³.

Among the Liu Jun Zi, the most distinguished was Song Mu Lin. This was reflected in the presents he received from the Chinese in Singapore. Originally despatched to inspect Chinese schools in the Nanyang, he became the principal of the Yang Zheng [Xue Xiao] of Singapore. It was under his leadership that the school sponsored the 1914 and 1915 pro-China and

anti-Japanese exhibitions. He was also active in the Xue Zong.

Meanwhile, the British government had restored order to the peninsula. On 1 August, the Singapore authorities ordered the Chinese to resume business within 24 hours²⁸⁴. They obeyed the order and the curfew was lifted on 9 September. There is no information on when Penang was relieved of the restrictions. Presumably, peace returned after the rice question was settled. In Selangor and Perak, we presume that order was also restored after the deportations.

The Shandong question created trouble between the British government and the Chinese in yet another way. The British wished their colonies to celebrate the victory of the Allies. Schools were supposed to join in. Accordingly, Penang schools were to hold a sports meet for the celebration²⁸⁵, and the schools in Singapore under Lin Yi Shun (Lim Nee Soon) planned some similar event, too286. All was going well until the news of the Shandong settlement reached Malayan shores. The government had announced 19 and 21 July to be the days of celebration287. When the time came, only the Ping Zhang Hui Guan, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and the members of the Chinese Advisory Board turned up to celebrate in Penang²⁸⁸. The Chinese schools refused to join in. In Kuala Lumpur, all Chinese stayed away from the celebration except some businessmen and the Volunteers289. The streets were deserted as the Chinese stayed indoors and rickshaws stopped running after nightfall. In Ipoh, the Chinese sought to sidestep the issue by celebrating the victory of the British instead of the Allies290. This plan was proposed by a certain Li Ke Da. The desire among the wealthy Chinese to cooperate with the British is quite understandable. Their material interest did not permit them to do otherwise. Conversely, a section of the poorer Chinese showed some ill-feeling towards the British291.

The beginning of British control

The disturbances of 1919 brought trouble to the Chinese schools in Malaya. As we have said, the British had adopted a neutral attitude towards Chinese education initially, so long as the settlers did not breach the peace. They saw the Chinese as temporary residents, after all. The situation was now different. The Chinese schools had become politically conscious and were expressing it in action prejudicial to colonial interests. To the British, the importance of the colonies lay in their economy. The boycott and riots disrupted business and was utterly unwelcome. This was on top of the competition from the Chinese schools attracting students away from English schools. The events of 1919—the violence and refusal to celebrate the Allies' victory-were the last straw and they precipitated action by the government. On 31 May 1920, an education bill was introduced in the Straits Settlements Legislative Council for first reading292. The purpose of the bill was to give the government control over the Chinese schools. The schools would be allowed to continue but they were to be stripped of their political content. As politics was the spirit and soul of Chinese education, the very reason for its existence, the bill raised a storm of protest from most of the settlers. Some of them strongly believed the bill would destroy Chinese education.

When introducing the bill to the council, the attorney-general gave an explanation of the innovation. He said,

As the law now stands the Government have control only over Government Schools. By this Bill they seek to gain control over all schools in the Colony....The reasons why the Government seek to gain control over all schools are firstly, that the schools shall be properly conducted as schools; secondly, that the teachers in them shall have efficient training for teaching; and thirdly, that the teaching shall be not of such kind that is against the interests of the Government of the Colony.

These reasons given by the attorney-general need comment. As regards the first reason, a school could be considered as not properly conducted if it taught politics. The attorney-general might have in mind only purely educational issues although of that we cannot be sure. But a school with no politics was alien to Chinese conception. The second reason would be laudable if the government intended to raise the standard of the Chinese schools. This might have been what the government wished, but it certainly allowed the government the pretext to weed out politically undesirable teachers. The third reason was explicitly political in itself.

The attorney-general continued,

The methods by which the Government seek in this Bill to control education fall

under four heads. The first method of control was the requirement that all schools, whether old or new—that is whether they existed before the passing or after the passing of this Ordinance—shall be registered. There are penalties for non-registration, and if registration is refused there is an appeal from the refusal under section 15 of the Ordinance to the Governor in Council.

The reader is referred to sections 5–9 and 15 of the bill for the specific clauses dealing with registration. See Appendix I.

The second method by which this Bill are [sic] sought to be enforced is a requirement that all teachers and managers...shall be registered, and there are penalties provided for non-registration....

This is referred to in section 10.

The next heading under which control is sought is contained in section 23 of this Bill, and that relates to the regulations which the Governor in Council is enabled by that section to make for the conduct generally of schools coming within the Ordinance....

The fourth heading is the power of the Governor to declare as an unlawful school where matters are being taught which are revolutionary or in conflict with the interests of the Government, and in that case the Governor is entitled to declare it an unlawful school.

This provision is contained in section 20 of the bill.

A school becomes an uplawful school in three ways. The first is by non-registration under the heading mentioned. The second is by a declaration of the Governor that the school is unlawfully conducted. And the third is when the school is not being conducted in accordance with regulations framed under section 20 [should be section 23] of the Ordinance.

In this last case the Director of Education who has the power to inspect schools and to enter them for the purpose of seeing if they are being conducted in accordance with the regulations, may, if he finds they are not, serve notice upon the manager of the school to that effect and require him to conduct it in accordance with the regulations. If the manager of the school still refuses, the Director of Education may declare the school as unlawful. There is an appeal from the decision in section 15 of the Act. If the appeal is not successful the declaration of the Director of Education stands, and the school is thereupon unlawful. The unlawful school comes under various penalties in the Ordinance. In the first place, a teacher in an unlawful school is liable to certain pecuniary penalties, and so is the manager, and further, the Director of Education may apply to a magistrate for an order to close an unlawful school. These are the penalties which attend upon an unlawful school.

To understand the last paragraph, the reader should look at sections 6, 7, 11–16 and 20(3) of the bill.

The attorney-general added that section 21 provided for a grant-inaid to be made for certain schools, and section 22 for the winding up of a school should it have become unlawful and should it have been closed, or which has ceased to exist.

The attorney-general concluded by informing the council that

The Ordinance...has been approved by the authorities in the Federated Malay States,

showing that the law was soon to be introduced in the Malay states, too.

The first reaction to the bill came from Penang²⁹³. Led by Zhong Le Chen, the Chinese schools immediately set up an organisation, a Bin Cheng Hua Qiao Xue Xiao Lian He Hui [Confederation of Overseas Chinese Schools in Penangl, to discuss what action to take against the bill. They resented the object of the bill and drew up a petition, requesting Dr. Lin Wen Qing to present it to the legislative council at the second reading. In Singapore, the Chinese came to know of the bill only in June²⁹⁴. Hua Zhong, the leading Chinese school in Malaya and in all Nanyang, held meetings on 8 and 28 June on the subject295. These meetings decided to ask for amendments to the bill. On 19 June, the Xue Zong began to act296. It called two meetings of the Chinese, but could not agree on the measures to take²⁹⁷. On 2 July, a Ying Shu Hua Qiao Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu [Office for Upholding Educational Matters of the Overseas Chinese in British Possessions, hereafter called the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu,] was formed by the president and the principal of Nan Yang Nu Zhong, Zhuang Xi Quan and Yu Pei Gao respectively298. The organisation was open to all Chinese and seemed to have led Singapore in the protest against the bill. It held frequent meetings to discuss drawing up a petition to request the government to rescind control. To keep the morale of the Chinese up, it printed and distributed leaflets. Other schools and organisations were not to be left out. They, too, held meetings to discuss the bill299. The Chinese press was generally quiet over the issue as the government maintained stringent censorship of news published300. Melaka was said to be active also301.

On 5 July, the legislative council met again and the bill was read the second time³⁰². As planned, Dr. Lin Wen Qing told the council that since the introduction of the bill, he had received many telegrams and letters, and seen deputations on the bill. He conveyed Chinese fears and suspicions arising from the new law. He then presented the petition from the Penang Chinese community. The petition argued that:

While appreciating the good objects which the proposed Ordinance is intended to attain, we cannot but feel concerned at the inconvenience which the operation of the Bill must necessarily entail... It is needless to say that the various Chinese Vernacular Schools in Penang have been, and are being conducted on proper lines, having due regard to the special requirements and needs, physical, moral and intellectual, of the Chinese children, i.e. to enable them to earn a living, to infuse them the sense of duties and responsibilities as citizens, and to make them good members of Society....The inconvenience and hardship which the management of the schools will be subject to under the Ordinance will, in practice, be considerable, and as members on the management of the Chinese schools are

mostly business people they can hardly afford the time involved in going through the formalities necessitated by compulsory registration.

The arguments presented by the petition are rather weak. Dr. Lin did not agree with the view it took. He then entered into a lengthy discussion of the bill, concluding that:

...the education of our future citizens shall be conducted by suitable persons on suitable lines, and that is surely one to which exception cannot be taken. Therefore, I do not see that it is possible for me to carry out what the leaders of the Chinese Vernacular Schools in Penang have requested me to do today, namely, to oppose the second reading of the Bill.

Dr. Lin understood that the prime motive for the government's bill was political. But the bill also had provisions for the improvement of the Chinese schools. He felt that the bill would be a blessing to Chinese education if its political content could be removed. He tried to show that all political cases could be dealt with under the Banishment Ordinance already in place, so there was no need to complicate the education bill with political provisions. He said.

The chief object of the Bill undoubtedly is to deal with those teachers and those managers of schools who use a school for a wrong purpose, and to secure that it is necessary that we should have some means of knowing who are the teachers and who are the persons conducting such schools.

Section 20 is the principal part of the Bill and it seems to me that there are two things mixed up in the Bill. The one thing is a political factor. We may want to get hold in some shape or form of a propaganda carried on by someone which is detrimental to the interests of the State. That, I think, should not be mixed up in an Ordinance for the regulation of ordinary schools. The Government has full power under the Banishment Ordinance to deal with such characters, and it is easier and far better to deal with such persons under the Banishment Ordinance than to complicate it by the introduction of it into this Ordinance. It seems to me that the only proper thing to come under this Ordinance is when, in the opinion of the Government, such a school is so conducted that it would be prejudicial to the interests of the pupils or of the public. I should remove all sections aiming at political activities out of this Bill. If the teachers in a registered school are found not to be acting in accordance with Government regulations for a school, then it comes under an Ordinance, and it should be dealt with under the Banishment Ordinance.

After this, he addressed the question of prohibited textbooks. He said the government should publish lists of the titles so that the schools would know them. In his view, the bill gave too much arbitrary power to the director of education. Although in certain cases reference had to be made to the governor-in-council before the director could take any action, yet the governor had to be guided by the advice of the director. It seemed unfair to Dr. Lin that by his opinion alone, the director could close a school. He quoted section 14 of the bill to this effect. As for section 20, Dr. Lin

advised that there should be some further intervening steps before the director could deregister a teacher and deprive him of his livelihood. Lin further proposed that the title of the bill be changed instead to "Schools Registration Ordinance" since the bill's main motive was not educational, notwithstanding the provision for financial grants to the schools. Even then, this provision was neither adequate nor well defined.

The respected Chinese community leader then made a case for the government's continued support for English schools that taught Chinese language as a subject. He urged the governor to be as far-sighted as Stamford Raffles who had wanted the Eastern languages to be taught in a college in Singapore.

He concluded saying,

With these remarks I shall not oppose the second reading of the Bill, because I think the Bill is quite necessary if the modifications are introduced, and it will be a Bill which will be of great help to the Government of the Colony.

But before sitting down, he voiced his dissatisfaction at the inadequate definition of the term "unlawful school", and the clauses providing for the winding up of a school deemed unlawful. He argued that the school committees should be allowed to wind up their own schools except in cases of insolvency.

The acting colonial secretary was the one to answer Dr. Lin's speech. He said that the provision for banishment under the bill was necessary, as the Banishment Ordinance did not allow for undesirable teachers who were British subjects to be banished. Therefore, the point could not be conceded. On the power of the director of education to deregister a school, he said that section 15 provided for an appeal against the deregistration, adding there would be no miscarriage of justice. However, he said the government would be willing to grant teachers greater security. The question of textbooks was a minor one, he said. He gave an assurance that the government would not prohibit the teaching of Chinese in English schools, and conceded the point about the winding up of unlawful schools.

It is not easy to understand why Dr. Lin Wen Qing did not hold fast to his objections to the inclusion of politics in an educational bill. He had the option of resigning his council seat in protest when the government refused to accept his advice. He might have had personal interests to consider, but it would only be speculative on our part to draw this conclusion.

The council went into committee to consider the bill after that. The greatest victory for Dr. Lin was the removal of section 14, the political purpose of which was rather obvious. But it did not really change the fact that the government could deal effectively with political undesirables

under the remaining sections of the ordinance, as it did afterwards.

The rest of the amendments were unimportant so far as politics was concerned. Section 14 (originally section 15 in the draft) was amended to allow appeal for teachers who had their registration struck off by the director of education. Sections 7, 8(ii) and 10 were amended to allow more time for school managers and teachers to register themselves with the education department. The term "school" was redefined. Dr. Lin suggested that the lower limit of ten students as the trigger point requiring registration of a school be raised to 20 instead. He argued that, in rural areas, it was common to find more than ten students studying under one teacher, and to require these rural folk to register would be inconvenient. After some debate, the director of education suggested that a school should mean any gathering of 15 or more students above the age of eight. It was agreed upon. Section 23 was amended to include provision for the distribution and management of grants, and section 22 was deleted. The title of the bill was changed to The Schools Registration Ordinance. The rest were minor amendments.

The Chinese were dissatisfied with the amended bill. It had remained largely intact. They continued their agitation to protest against it. In an unfortunate twist, the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu misunderstood Dr. Lin through a mistranslation of the report on the second council meeting carried in the Xin Guo Min Ri Bao³⁰³. Dr. Lin had been reported to have asked the government to use the Banishment Ordinance against those who opposed the bill, and that he defended the bill. A quarrel ensued between the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu and Dr. Lin. Although Lin wrote to the daily to clear himself, and the paper itself later gave the correct interpretation of the proceedings, the leader of the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu, Zhuang Xi Quan, was already prejudiced against the doctor. Zhuang felt that Dr. Lin should not have settled for the amended bill in place of the withdrawal that the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu had pressed for.

On 12 July, the protector of Chinese summoned the leaders of the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu and the president of the Xue Zong to his office, and warned them about causing further unrest³⁰⁴. But the protector stated that meetings to discuss petitions were allowed. On 20 and 28 July, the government gave public assurances that the bill was not intended to obstruct Chinese education³⁰⁵. On 24 and 25 the same month, Zhuang and another leader of the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu, Chen Shou Min, were arrested³⁰⁶. Zhuang believed that Lin Wen Qing was responsible for bringing about their detention. But other members kept the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu going. On 26 July, it presented a petition in the name of Singapore to Lin³⁰⁷. The petition carried 6,000 signatures. Petitions were also sent to him from

Penang and Selangor³⁰⁸.

The Hua Zhong of Singapore called a meeting of Chinese community leaders on 15 July. With little dissent, the meeting decided to ask the government to withdraw the bill³⁰⁹. The schools in Penang met on 16 July, and decided on three alternatives to present to the government³¹⁰. They would ask, first of all, for a withdrawal of the bill. If this were refused, they would ask for an exemption for the Chinese schools from the operation of the bill. Should the second alternative also fail, they would ask for amendments to the bill. The Xue Zong called a mass meeting of the Chinese on 17 July which decided to request for the withdrawal of the bill, and to do this under the aegis of the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu³¹¹. On 18 July, the Hainanese resolved to support the decision of the Xue Zong³¹². The Hua Zhong School Management Committee held meetings on 20 and 23 July, and, on both occasions, decided to request for the bill's withdrawal, and to coordinate their efforts with the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu³¹³.

Even the Chinese in Perak and Selangor joined their brothers in the Straits Settlements in the movement. The Perak branch of the Xue Zong held seven or eight meetings about the bill, and sent their petition to the Straits legislative council³¹⁴. On 28 July, the branch in Kuala Lumpur met and also decided to petition the Straits government to withdraw the bill ³¹⁵. This branch further planned to garner the support of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the 19 guilds in Kuala Lumpur to petition the government similarly. The other states were also to be informed and asked to throw their support behind the movement with like petitions. The government and the people of China were to be kept abreast of developments in Malaya.

A similar bill was to be introduced in the Federal council for first reading on 20 July. This was essentially the same as the Straits bill. Recall that the attorney-general had already announced at the first reading of the Straits bill that the Malay states were going to institute the same law. The obvious differences included the title (it was called an enactment instead of an ordinance), and the Malay rulers took the role of the governor of the Straits Settlements, in the appropriate sections. Hence, the motive for the enactment was the same³¹⁶—control of the Chinese schools.

The Chinese representative, Yu Dong Xuan (Eu Tong Sen), requested that the bill be postponed for discussion³¹⁷, saying that the Chinese everywhere were dissatisfied with the measure, and that managers and teachers regarded the requirement to register themselves an affront. Hoping that the Federal council would not go against the will of the Chinese, he suggested that the council should wait to watch how the Straits Settlements government resolved the problem of Chinese resistance and agitation

against the bill before proceeding.

The educational association in Perak called an emergency meeting of all its schools. It resolved to send representatives with its petition to see two of the European legislative councillors, as well as Yu Dong Xuan. Other delegates were assigned to contact the Chinese educationists in the other states of the Federation to ensure unified action with them³¹⁸.

When the Straits Settlements council met again on 30 July³¹⁹, Dr. Lin Wen Qing said that he had received two petitions from the Chinese community. But as it was too late for him to read them beforehand as required by the Standing Orders, he was unable to present them at the meeting. The council then again went into committee to make more amendments to the bill. Section 3 was amended by deleting the portion that gave the governor the power to exempt any school from registration by gazette notification, and the definition of the term "school" in section 2 was amended by excluding religious schools from its purview. This was in response to the feeling that the Chinese schools were being targeted by the bill. To show the desire to treat all schools alike, the government made the amendment to include all schools except the religious ones. The new definition of a school also removed the mention of the students' age. The draft had stipulated the lower limit of eight years for the students' age for the school to fall within the bounds of the bill. Since Chinese schools tended to take in children at a tender age, this redefinition was of much significance. The council adjourned in committee.

In Singapore, the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu drew up a petition in the name of the Straits Settlements to present to the legislative council, after which the organisation was dissolved on 30 August³²⁰. The *Le Bao* reported that in a show of support, Perak, too, submitted a petition to the same council³²¹.

The council met again on 30 September, this time in Penang³²². Zhuang Xi Quan voiced the opinion that it was no coincidence the council moved the venue to Penang. The Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu had planned to call for a mass demonstration in front of the Victoria Memorial Hall on the day scheduled for the meeting³²³. Zhuang was probably right that the council wished to avoid the demonstration, as the acting colonial secretary was evasive about the change in venue when questioned by a council member.

Two petitions were received by the council. One, probably from the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu, carrying 20,000 signatures, was tabled. The other from Selangor was presented to the council but not read.

The Straits Settlements petition³²⁴ appealed for exemption for Chinese schools from the operation of the legislation since it became apparent that

the bill would not be withdrawn. The petition advanced the following 14 reasons as grounds for the appeal:

- 1. The legislation had no clear criteria by which the Chinese schools could demonstrate their compliance. Section 9, for example, did not give the standards by which the director could refuse to register any school. Nor was section 11 clear on how it judged if a school was properly operated, or whether it was necessary for educational purposes, before judging it unacceptable. (Note that this provision in section 11 had been deleted in the council meeting of 30 July, following the removal of the original section 14 on the advice of Lin Wen Qing.) Sub-sections (1) and (2) of section 19 were similarly silent on what political propaganda was detrimental to the interests of the colony.
- 2. The legislation would discourage participation in schools' management committees. Non-committee members were subject only to the common laws of the colony but, as committee members, they would, in addition, be subject to the Schools Registration Ordinance, and, thus, liable to punishment should their school be declared unlawful. The ordinance did not guarantee ordinary justice. Moreover, as committee members, they had to go to the education department to register themselves, which was a disincentive. These two reasons would deter people from sitting on school management committees.
- 3. To register school management committee members and teachers was needless. Committee members lived and owned property in the colony, and were daily under the law of the government. Teachers had their certificates. There was proof of their character and education. Moreover, committee members could hire and dismiss teachers on pain of good behaviour. Death, birth, migration, and lawyers, doctors, and prostitutes need be registered, not educationists.
- Section 21 empowered the governor-in-council to make regulations for the schools. This would be harmful to Chinese education as it was different in context as well as policies from British education.
- Chinese education was important to commerce in Malaya. The Chinese in Malaya were middlemen for trade between Britain and China. And the local Chinese schools taught the commerce of China and contributed much to the productivity of the Chinese which was in the interest of the colony.
- The legislation would drive away teachers already in Malaya and deter potential recruits for the profession. This would hurt

Chinese education.

The government should allow the Malayan Chinese to preserve their cultural heritage transmitted through their own schools.

 Raffles had founded Singapore on the principle of freedom. Education was one of the institutions given freedom. Therefore, the government should not control Chinese education.

 British educational policy allowed schools not aided by government the freedom from government control. Since Chinese schools did not want aid from the government, to control them was to upset the balance between rights and duties.

 The legislation might injure the friendship between China and Britain.

 Britain was a constitutional state. Legislation in a constitutional state should have the approval of the people. This bill did not have the approval of the Chinese. Furthermore, a constitutional country should encourage education, not control it.

 Education taught people to be law-abiding. If Chinese education were obstructed, it would increase the number of illiterate and ignorant people, prejudicial to the peace of the colony.

 The legislation did not respect international equality. English education in Chinese territory was respected. Hence, Chinese education in Malaya must be equally respected.

 Chinese civilisation could contribute to world civilisation. The Chinese schools in Malaya aimed at doing this. This piece of legislation would be prejudicial to this desirable aim of Chinese education.

The arguments of the petition were strong but they were presented without good organisation. The council took into consideration the first point made in the petition. After it was laid on the table, the council went into committee to continue amending the bill.

Sections 9 (1) and 19 (1) were amended according to the first item of the petition. In (9), a more definite statement was given to how the director could refuse to register a school. The amendment made clear that a school could be refused registration only on the grounds of insanitation. In 19 (1), the amendment states that the interests of the colony would be prejudiced by political propaganda (of a certain type). These amendments took out the vagueness in the original draft that would have given too much discretionary power to the director of education and governor.

Sections 6 (1), 10 (5), and 10 (6) were amended to make pecuniary punishments for certain infringement of the ordinance more lenient. A new subsection (2) was added to section 21 to provide for punishment for those who disobeyed the regulations made by the government.

Sub-sections (2) and (3) of section 10 were amended to allow one month from their opening date for new schools and their teachers to register themselves. The draft had required them to register themselves on the opening day itself. Section 18 was also amended to allow more time, from one week to one month, for schools to report changes in staff and management committees. These amendments made for leniency as well and there were other lesser amendments.

The bill passed the second reading after the amendments of three council meetings. From the political perspective of the local Chinese, the amendments were unimportant because they made no substantial concession to their demands. But the government had set out to put controls in place and it would not retreat from its position. Lin Wen Qing's hope that it would remove all political content from the legislation went unrealised. It was surprising that he did not resign from the council.

On 13 October, the council met again and the bill passed the third reading, and became law³²⁵. Selangor's petition was circulated among members and laid on the table, but it was as good as not presented. Everything had already been decided.

Meanwhile, the government made up its mind to banish the two arrested leaders of the Xue Wu Wei Chi Cho, Zhuang Xi Quan and Chen Shou Min. Local Chinese appealed to the government for their release but were disappointed. They tried to secure help from the Chinese consulgeneral, but Zhuang said that the consul did not see their representatives. Chen was deported on 21 October 1920 whereas Zhuang did not leave Singapore until 11 January the following year³²⁶.

In the interim, the bill for the Federated Malay States came up for first reading on 15 September 1920³²⁷. The legal adviser made the same explanation about the need for the legislation as the attorney-general did for the Straits Settlements. However, the record of the proceedings of the Federal council of the fourth quarter of 1920 is lost. The author was fortunate to have come across a report of the meeting of 15 September in the *Le Bao* although the report is incomplete. It is known that the council went into committee the same day to make amendments to the bill—amendments of the type already made to the Straits Settlements' bill but the exact changes are not known.

On 20 November 1920, the Federated Malay States council met again and passed the third reading of the bill which was named the Schools Registration Enactment. The Chinese representative on the council, Yu Dong Xuan, later wrote to the Chinese telling them that he had put in his greatest effort to block the bill. But he was outnumbered and defeated by

the European councillors328.

When it became clear that fighting the legislation was hopeless in Malaya, the Chinese took it to the international arena. Their methods included appealing to the Chinese government for support, and also sending their representatives to meet with the British government in London. Pending the result of such representations, they tried to persuade the local government to postpone the implementation of the law.

According to this plan, Yu Pei Gao (who had in the meantime married Zhuang Xi Quan on the latter's release from jail pending his deportation to China) 329 was elected by the Chinese in the Straits Settlements to go to Beijing to present their case to the Chinese government 330. Yu left Singapore on 6 December 1920, and arrived in Beijing on the following 4 January. En route, she visited Xiamen and Shanghai to whip up support from public bodies there to back her petition to Beijing. Student bodies, education organisations, newspapers and individuals responded and helped her sway public opinion to the cause. Yu wrote to and visited the education and foreign ministries. She requested the foreign ministry's intercession to present the case to London, to request the Straits Settlements government to postpone the enforcement of the law, and to instruct the consul-general in Singapore to give encouragement to the local Chinese.

The foreign ministry agreed to the first and last of the three requests but not the second³³. In actual fact, the ministry had already decided that it could not do anything about that request. This became clear when representatives from a students' union in the city met with the ministry to reinforce Yu's appeal. They were told that the ministry could not intercede as the Chinese in Malaya did not enjoy extraterritorial rights. It added, furthermore, that the non-Chinese schools were not protesting.

The foreign ministry's attitude was extremely disappointing to the student representatives³³². Nevertheless, it instructed the Chinese ambassador in London, Gu Wei Jun (Wellington Koo), to make representations to the British government³³³. Gu did request the postponement of the enforcement of the ordinance together with amendments to the law³³⁴. The Chinese in Malaya also cabled their protest to Gu³³⁵. The foreign ministry in China as well instructed the consul-general in Singapore to meet with the Chinese there, and attempt to mediate the matter with the Straits government. However, when the consul-general requested a meeting with the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the latter replied that it did not recognise Yu Pei Gao's mission. The chamber was presided over by Lin Yi Shun who was a good friend of Dr. Lin Wen Qing. It became obvious there was a split among the Chinese that would bring no good to the community. To make matters worse, the Chinese schools in Penang took it

that the consul-general was the one who did not recognise Yu. They cabled Beijing and Ambassador Gu in London to protest that Yu was genuinely their representative. The misunderstanding was later cleared up by the *Le Bao*³³⁶. The Chinese foreign minister also met the British ambassador to China many times over the matter³³⁷.

The Chinese in the Straits Settlements in the meantime presented a letter of appeal to the colonial office, together with copies of five petitions previously presented to the Straits council, requesting exemption from the law for Chinese schools. They appealed to the rule of law and the generosity and liberality of the British administration, and stressed that the Chinese schools had never disturbed the peace of the land³³⁸.

At the end of that month, Cai Yuan Pei, the first minister of education of the republic, passed through Singapore on his way to Europe. In a speech delivered at the Hua Zhong School, he expressed his dissatisfaction with the law. The locals also requested him to move public opinion in Europe and among his friends in London to help the Malayan Chinese in negotiations with London. There was, however, no news later of whether or not Cai carried out the requests³³⁹.

In April 1921, the Chinese in the Federated Malay States followed in the footsteps of their brothers in the Straits Settlements, and elected Liao Heng Zhuo to take their case to the Chinese government³⁴⁰.

Meanwhile, the Chinese in both the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States got together and formed a council to advance the case for getting rid of the legislation. This council made a decision to send representatives to London to put the matter before the British king, the colonial office, and parliament. Again an appeal was made to the governor in the colony to meanwhile delay the implementation of the law. They entreated the Chinese government and its ambassador to make similar representations to London³⁴¹. The consul-general, on his part, also pleaded with the governor for a delay of implementation.

The Chinese council's representatives, Zhong Le Chen and Wu Yuan He, left Penang on 28 July 1921, and arrived in London the next 6 September. Dutifully, they sent a petition to the British government, calling on the colonial office no less than four times, and met the Chinese ambassador. However, they were not given a definite answer of refusal until 28 October³⁴². Yet on 19 August, before Zhong and Wu had even reached London, the British government had already given its sanction to the Straits government for the law³⁴³. In retrospect, Zhong's and Wu's efforts had been rather futile.

For his part, Ambassador Gu met with the British foreign ministry six times, and sent it three notices. He, too, was not given a reply till the beginning of August. In the reply, the British assured Gu that the colonial government would not thwart the Chinese in their study of their own language and literature. Textbooks not prejudicial to British interests would be allowed for school use. Gu could only relay the reply to the Chinese in Malaya, advising them not to send their representatives, if they were not already on the way³⁴⁴. The ambassador had given up the struggle.

Zhong and Wu returned to Penang on 11 December³⁴⁵. But before their return, in a meeting of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council on 3 August, the protector of Chinese revealed that Zhong had conspired to create a commotion to back up his mission to London. Evidence of the conspiracy was found in a letter from Zhong to the Xue Zong of Singapore. It was discovered by the protector when the association was raided and dissolved. Zhong had planned for the Chinese in Malaya to hold mass rallies, with the backing of the newspapers in highlighting them. He proposed to use also the newspapers in London to create the impression that the Chinese would revolt if the law were not withdrawn. He even suggested bribing Reuters in Singapore so that it would send the news back to England to reinforce the impression³⁴⁶. After his return to Penang, Zhong left for China with his family the same month³⁴⁷.

After the laws were passed, management committee members and teachers in many Chinese schools resigned, and many schools closed down³⁴⁸. They preferred this to subjecting themselves to foreign control. Examples of schools whose staff resigned en bloc were the Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao] in Penang, and the Zun Kong [Xue Xiao] in Kuala Lumpur³⁴⁹. These were two of the leading schools in Malaya then. The problem was particularly serious in Perak where the government had ordered all Chinese schools to register themselves by a certain date. So many schools closed down as a result that, on 8 September, the educationists of the state met to discuss the problem.

When some schools in Kuala Lumpur suggested that there was no way out of the difficulty, and proposed registering themselves under protest, this option was roundly condemned by the schools in Penang. The Kuala Lumpur schools justified their capitulation saying that there was no practical alternative to registration under protest. By the middle of September, some schools had registered and the government made capital of this to try to draw the other schools into the fold. On 6 October, another list of registered schools was published.

As stated above, the Straits government dissolved the Singapore Xue Zong, believing that it was the core of the resistance³⁵¹. Contrary to this, some believed that the association had been inactive and ineffective most of the time. An effort to reorganise and revive it in October 1920

had failed352.

An article appeared in the *Le Bao* of 3 November 1921, which appealed to the Chinese schools not to shut down, likening it to suicide. The 1921 education report of the Straits Settlements says that all was quiet after the dissolution of the Xue Zong in Singapore, and that, by the end of the year, all schools had been registered. Meanwhile, in December 1921 alone, 38 people, including a very well known Penang banker, Chen Xin Zheng, were banished for continuing to oppose the school laws³⁵³.

The Chinese in Penang proved the most recalcitrant. On 11 and 12 November 1921, the *Le Bao* carried a proposal by someone to establish a Bin Lang Yu Di Yi Zi Zhi Xue Xiao [The Penang Island First Self-Governing School]. The idea was to have this as a beginning, organising all schools in future in small units of 14 students each at most, just within the criterion for exemption from registration. The management committee was to comprise students, again allowing them to avoid control by the authorities. The scheme became so successful and prevalent that, in later years, the school regulation laws had to be amended to cope with them³⁵⁴.

In 1923, grants-in-aid were provided for Chinese immigrants' schools on the principles which were that 355:

- a. It is desired to encourage and assist the education of the Chinese-speaking children through the medium of their own domestic dialect or dialects which they understand. Where a Straits-born or other Chinese has no domestic Chinese vernacular, his language shall be taken as English and he shall be eligible directly for entrance to an English school.
- It is unnecessary to assist by grants-in-aid the teaching of English in Chinese Vernacular schools.
- c. While there is no objection to the teaching of Mandarin or of English in Chinese vernacular schools these two subjects should not be considered grant-earning.
- d. It is desirable to assist by grants-in-aid the further education in their own domestic dialects of Chinese-speaking children not proceeding to English schools at the age of ten years. In the case of Chinese-speaking children proceeding to English schools at the age of ten years a certain number of free places should be provided for those who have spent at least three years at an approved vernacular school and who are promising pupils of suitable age and the children of poor parents.
- e. The curriculum in aided Chinese vernacular schools should as far as possible be so arranged as to make it a useful preparation for an English education, with special reference to arithmetic and geography.

One fact reveals itself from these principles—that Chinese education was treated as subservient to English education. It was the government's attitude that the various races in Malaya would be more useful if they knew both their own languages and English, rather than just English alone. Therefore, Chinese education was to be encouraged but in dialects, not in Guo Yu. Guo Yu had too much political significance and, hence, it was not to be supported by grants. Nor would the government support the teaching of English in Chinese-run schools, otherwise graduating students from vernacular schools would not go on to the English-medium schools. The colonial government also wished to attract the brightest students to the English schools, so free places would be reserved for them. And the last principle is very explicit.

The first to apply for a grant was the Zun Kong [Xue Xiao] in Kuala Lumpur³⁵⁶. Some other schools followed its example. The grants were paid half-yearly and on a per student basis³⁵⁷. Taken on the whole, the grants were not popular with the Chinese schools. Thus, the director of education's report for the year 1926 says³⁵⁸,

No application for grants were refused, but Chinese schools in the Straits Settlements have not, generally speaking, shown any desire to seek Government assistance or submit to the slight measure of control involved by the acceptance of a grant.

The "slight measure of control" referred to above was that aided schools were inspected twice a year whereas unaided schools only once a year³⁵⁹.

The same year, in the Federated Malay States, a separate administrative section was created in the education department to take charge of Chinese education. A temporary assistant director of education (Chinese) and an inspector of Chinese schools were appointed.360. The next year, in 1924, the position of assistant director of education (Chinese) was made permanent, and he was made to cover not only the Federated Malay States but also the Straits Settlements. Then, parallel with the inspector of Chinese schools for the Federated Malay States appointed the previous year, the post for an inspector of Chinese schools for the Straits Settlements was also now created361. Further, three years later in 1927, there seemed to be another change. Both the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements still shared one common assistant director of education, but the "Chinese" was removed from his job title. With this change, the posts of the two former parallel inspectors of Chinese schools seemed to have disappeared and, instead, there were now a chief inspector of schools and a Chinese inspector. Then the Straits Settlements by itself had yet another assistant director of education who had jurisdiction over Singapore, Melaka, and Labuan.

How the two assistant directors of education shared power over Singapore and Melaka is not known. Furthermore, the Straits Settlements by itself now had also another Chinese inspector. How the other Chinese inspector, who managed both the Federated Malay States as well as the Straits Settlements, and this one, who managed only the Straits Settlements, shared out responsibilities between them in the Straits Settlements is also unknown. Under this second Chinese inspector, two sub-inspectors were also appointed, one in charge of Singapore, and the other Penang³⁶².

The British took the rather significant measure of training teachers for the Chinese schools. A teachers' training college was set up in Kuala Lumpur in July 1924 with 14 men and 12 women students. The subjects it taught were Chinese literature, mathematics, history, and principles of education³⁶³. But the college was never important. The education report of the Federation for 1927 says that development of the institution was hindered by the lack of suitable premises and the lack of prospects for its students. Better teacher training facilities in China meant that local Chinese schools looked to China for their supply of teachers. The local college could only attract the few who could not afford to study in China or who were taking Chinese for the Cambridge examination³⁶⁴.

The general regulations for the conduct of schools were drawn up by the governor-in-council in 1925 under the new ordinance. Parallel regulations were set out in the Federated Malay States by the chief secretary the next year. Regulation 37 in the former, and Regulation 35 in the latter, dealt with prohibited books. No schools were to use such books on the pain of being fined. **

Consonant with this regulation was the desire of the government to compile textbooks suited to the needs of the local Chinese. The curriculum was also to be reorganised based on comparative data366. However, the textbooks produced by the Chinese themselves at this time contained nothing objectionable. The Chinese were engulfed in the tide of peace then sweeping the world, and the resentment against their own warlords who were totally taken up with fighting for their self-interests. Their textbooks reflected this lack of any specific aim, and were so general that they could be used in any country without giving offence367. Notwithstanding this, the British introduced the clause about textbooks for schools in Malaya as a precaution, no doubt. Their Straits Settlements Annual Education Report of 1927 says that a series of readers had been prepared by the government and was under discussion prior to printing. A geography reader was nearing completion and textbooks on arithmetic and hygiene were also contemplated368. In 1928, permission was granted to publish a subsidised trial edition of the readers369.

Nexus with the fatherland

The Chinese government failed to deal effectively with the British on problems over the new legislation. It was too weak to do anything concrete. It was powerless among the militarists struggling for power. And the Jiao Yu Bu was bankrupt. The situation had deteriorated since the rule of Yuan Shi Kai. In the south, Sun Yi Xian had organised a rival regime. Whilst he battled the north, he faced several challenges to his leadership. In the circumstances, the home country could do little if anything for overseas Chinese education³⁷⁰.

Again, it was the provincial governments that were more actively concerned with the overseas Chinese. The Fujian government continued to send educationists to investigate overseas Chinese schools in the years 1919 and 1922³⁷¹. They carried out the investigation and did nothing more, however. Guangdong, on its part, sent an inspector in 1919, and in 1921 it was reported to have encouraged certain well-run schools in Perak and Penang by awarding them calligraphed boards³⁸².

After the introduction of the school laws in Malaya, the local Chinese sent representatives to request the Guangdong government to set up special schools for overseas students whom they said had been deprived of a good education by the colonial government. Guangdong agreed and made a start by opening classes for overseas Chinese students in a certain higher normal school³⁷³.

The Jiao Yu Bu in Beijing did send inspection missions to the Nanyang in early and late 1920³⁷⁴. In 1922 and 1927, similar missions were again despatched³⁷⁵. The missions in early 1920 and 1927 had the added purpose of recruiting overseas students for the Beijing and the Wen Zhi universities. It is noted that many universities and secondary schools in the home country admitted overseas students. The most prominent of these were the Xiamen University established by Chen Jia Geng and presided over by Dr. Lin Wen Qing³⁷⁶. There was also the Zhong Shan University in Guangzhou³⁷⁷ and the Ji Nan Xue Tang which opened a college of commerce in Shanghai in 1920³⁷⁸.

The regulation governing the return of overseas students for further studies was amended by the Chinese government in 1921³⁷⁹. The Chinese president was also reported to have given financial encouragement to certain overseas schools, for instance, to the Hua Zhong in 1920³⁸⁰. In Beijing, two years later, the government also established a Qiao Wu Ju [Overseas Chinese Affairs Bureau] which declared it would, among other things, promote overseas Chinese education. The declaration referred to

the restrictions on overseas Chinese education imposed by the colonial governments. The Qiao Wu Ju promised education for overseas Chinese children, for students returning to China for the purpose, and for the working class. But the bureau, like the Jiao Yu Bu itself, failed to realise its plans due to stringency of funds. In late 1926, the bureau carried out an investigation of overseas education and that was all it did³⁸¹.

Besides the governments, certain unofficial public bodies also tried to do their part for overseas education. On record, the Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Lian He Hui [All-Nation Federation of Educational Societies] held its several conferences in the first quarter of the 20th century on Chinese education in general. The seventh conference in 1921 made 17 resolutions, one of which was to aid overseas education. At the 11th conference in 1925, there were overseas representatives, but no resolutions on overseas education were made382. Another body, the Zhong Hua Jiao Yu Gai Jin She [Chinese Educational Reform Society] held its first conference in 1922, which overseas educationists attended. At its third conference in 1924, the president announced the society's plan to study the state of overseas Chinese education, and to take necessary action. Some overseas Chinese returnees decided to act on their own, and organised a Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Xie Jin Hui [Overseas Chinese Education Promotion Association] in February 1926, in Shanghai. But its workers were soon attracted away by the Northern Expedition. Taken as a whole, what these bodies did for the Chinese schools in Malaya was negligible384.

Notwithstanding the sorry situation in China as far as assistance for Chinese education in the Nanyang was concerned, there was a tide that swept through Malaya from the home country. It was the movement led by energetic educationists to popularise Guo Yu and Bai Hua [Plain Language] in the field of education. We have discussed the use of Guo Yu in education, so it was not new. But Bai Hua, although used in certain textbooks before 1919, did not begin to replace the literary language until then. The new enthusiasm about these language transitions was triggered by the May 4th Movement of 1919 (known to Westerners as the Chinese Renaissance), a corollary of the political response against the Paris Settlement. The transition to Guo Yu and Bai Hua was the immediate aim of the movement. Its long-term aim was to build up a new Chinese culture. The movement was very strong in China, and reached Malaya largely due to the efforts of leftist patriots and the nationalism of the Malayan Chinese themselves. After 1919, many Nanyang Chinese schools began to teach in Guo Yu while their textbooks began using Bai Hua. The spread of Guo Yu had escalated when, years earlier in 1913, a set of pronunciation symbols was already invented that facilitated learning of the language. The

first school to adopt the new symbols was Yang Zheng of Singapore. The other schools followed Yang Zheng's lead, and many special institutes, for example the Hua Qiao Zhu Yin Zi Mu Chuan Xi Suo [Overseas Chinese Guo Yu Symbols Training Institute] and the Zhong Hua Guo Yin Xue She [Chinese National Pronunciation Society] of Singapore, were established to teach Guo Yu using these symbols. The movement was Malaya-wide. Thus, in Kuala Lumpur, the Zun Kong [Xue Xiao] led in the effort. In spite of the great enthusiasm, Guo Yu did not come into universal use until about 1935385. Nevertheless, an extremely significant beginning had been made and we may quote a passage from the *Straits Settlements Annual Education Report* of 1932 on this. The report says:

Since the National Language Movement in 1920, which originated in China, the Chinese Vernacular Schools in Malaya have wholeheartedly adopted the National Language or Kuo Yu as the medium of instruction. This has involved the virtual abandonment of the old literary language, and with it the Confucian and other classics³⁶⁵.

The first of the changes that occurred to the Chinese schools was the fading away of the military spirit. Up till about 1922, the Malayan Chinese schools still retained their military character. A manifestation of the popularity of militarism among the Chinese was the establishment of the Jing Wu Ti Yu Hui [Chinese Athletic Association] in Malaya around 1920³⁸⁷. This organisation promoted the Chinese martial arts. Some schools practised military drill and maintained military bands. An example was Hua Zhong's military band which gave a performance during a concert commemorating its first anniversary in 1920³⁸⁸. A scout and guide movement was noted to have also begun that year. Hua Zhong, together with Dao Nan, also maintained student troops³⁸⁹. This militaristic character of the two schools was a vestige from the old system. But the movement was not very widespread, according to a *Le Bao* article on 28 June 1923. In fact, the article appealed to parents to let their children join the movement.

The change started in China around the year 1922. During the Washington Conference, convened a little earlier to apportion allowable relative naval strengths among the world powers as well as to manage their rivalries in East Asia, the Americans had enunciated a doctrine of universal peace. With American support at the conference, the Chinese delegates were able to pressure the Japanese into easing their demands on Shandong, and won vindication of a sort for the nation. Pro-American sentiments swept through China as a consequence³⁹⁰.

The Chinese education system was reorganised in 1922 at the suggestion of Huang Yan Pei³⁹¹. The Japanese education model was dropped in favour of an American model instead. The old school set-up had a four-year lower primary, a three-year higher primary, and a four-year secondary stage. In the new system, the four-year lower primary stage was retained to resume with two years at higher primary, three years at lower secondary and three more at higher secondary. As stated above, the schools lost their military character, although they did not lose the spirit to fight for the advancement of the home nation. During the celebrations to commemorate its 18th anniversary in 1925, the Yang Zheng [Xue Xiao] staged an ordinary mass drill instead of the traditional military drill, and paraded a brass band instead of a military one³⁹².

The second feature of the new system that we highlight here is the retention of the traditional respect for Confucius. As before, the anniversary of his birthday was celebrated every year³⁹³. In 1926 and 1927, the president of the Confucius Society in Beijing, Chen Huan Zhang, went on a lecture tour in Malaya³⁹⁴. The society's various counterparts in Malaya continued to exist. The local Chinese schools still paid much attention to moral education. The aims of the schools at this time were the cultivation of the students' morality, their physical and mental development, and the teaching of knowledge and the arts necessary for their livelihood³⁹⁵. For achieving these aims, the Ying Xin [Xue Xiao] in Singapore taught the subjects of ethics, physical drill, music, drawing, handwork, Guo Yu, English language, and mathematics at the lower primary level, and added history, geography, science, commerce, and book-keeping at the higher primary stage³⁹⁶. The Hua Qiao [Nu Xue] [Hua Qiao Girls' School], also in Singapore, had a slightly different programme consisting of ethics, physical drill, music, drawing, Guo Yu, history, geography, English language, arithmetic, embroidery, sewing, and household management³⁹⁷. The Zun Kong [Xue Xiao] in Kuala Lumpur taught civics, art, Guo Yu, geography, history, English language, mathematics, nature study, commerce, general knowledge, and book-keeping in its secondary curriculum398. So we note that different schools in those days taught slightly different curricula. Secondly, we also note that emphasis in education was now chiefly literary. Only in the bigger schools was there a practical bent³⁹⁹.

In 1925, an event of great significance occurred⁴⁰⁰. The warlord, Duan Qi Rui, became the temporary head of government in China. He set about creating a constitution and a national assembly that would work to his own interests. The assembly had 16 places for overseas Chinese. These overseas delegates were to be elected by public organisations, including schools. Altogether, more than 400 electors were selected by the overseas Chinese to return to China to elect 16 representatives from among themselves to the assembly. Some of the electors from the Singapore schools were from the Hua Qiao Yi Wu Xue Xiao [Overseas Chinese Free School],

Zhou Han Guang; from Yu Ying [Xue Xiao] [Yu Ying School], Chen Feng Chu; from Qi Fa [Xue Xiao] [Qi Fa School], Yang Zi Xiu; and from Melaka's Pei Feng, Zhang Yong Fu. Other public bodies also chose school officials to represent them. Yun Mao Bo, the headmaster of Yu Ying [Xue Xiao], represented the Qiong Zhou Hui Guan [Hainanese Association], and Huang You Yuan, Treasurer of the Hua Qiao Yi Wu Xue Xiao, represented the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce. The delegates from Malaya finally elected to the assembly were Huang You Yuan, Lan Guan Qun, and Liu Shan Shou.

However, the election was tainted by illegal tactics and, not long after that, Duan lost his office and all that he did was nullified. The significance of the event lies in the fact that the overseas schools were given power to participate in the legislative process for China. It indicated Duan's recognition of the importance of overseas schools. Also significant was that Yun Mao Bo and some others made representations to the Chinese government expressing their concern about the chaotic situation in China. Yun had previously written frequently to the newspapers in Singapore denouncing the warlords. They also urged the Chinese government to open universities for overseas students in certain big cities or, alternatively, to increase the number of free places for overseas students in the national universities. The government agreed to the latter and allotted overseas students 200 places. In addition, Yun had asked for the compilation of new textbooks and the provision of regulations specifically for overseas Chinese schools, and the reform of the Qiao Wu Ju.

After 1925, we pass into the second phase of the period of trouble, namely between 1919 and 1928.

The most important event of the period we have covered was the intervention in Malayan Chinese schools by the British colonial government—achieved principally because China was too weak to prevent it. Arguably, the British intervened because of the wave of discontent and violence aroused by anti-Japanese sentiments, as well as the affront to British dignity by the refusal of the Chinese to celebrate the victory of the Allied powers in the First World War, all arising from the settlements occasioned by Japan's aggression in Shandong.

V

Trouble in Malayan Schools, 1919–1928, Phase II

The legislation of 1920 to control the Chinese schools in the British-governed parts of Malaya did not prevent the schools from being increasingly influenced by the politics in China. The predominating players on this stage were the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party, the latter having been formed in 1921. By 1926, the school laws were used freely against the Chinese schools. The next phase in this period of history would cover 1925–1928, but before 1925, some far-reaching and ramified events had already taken place leading up to this next period of our study.

Further trouble in the Chinese schools

The background events unfolded when Sun Yi Xian met Joff, the Soviet representative to China, in Shanghai, in 1922. After talks with him, Sun decided to reorganise his party along the lines of the Russian Communist Party, and to reunify his country by force. Members of the Chinese Communist Party were to be allowed to join the reorganised Guomindang individually, and an alliance was to be made with Soviet Russia. The reorganisation of the Guomindang was completed in 1924, after which the revolutionaries in Guangzhou were prepared to march north with an army to dispose of the warlords 401. This situation in China, naturally, had its reflection in Malaya. Two facts were of particular significance. The first was the great hope and enthusiasm over the Northern Expedition to quash the militarists. In Malaya, a burst of political activities accompanied it. The second was the admission of the communists into the Guomindang. This allowed the communists in Malaya to act under the guise of the Guomindang after 1924. Prior to that, they had acted alone and underground.

Political activities in China were to a great extent financed by overseas money. This was the case with the Guomindang. It had tremendous influence in the Nanyang and, when the party was reorganised, its agents were sent to Malaya to raise funds for its coffers. Propaganda and recruitment were also intensified.

The protector of Chinese in the Straits Settlements reported in 1922

that exceptional lawlessness prevailed in Singapore and Penang among the Chinese, and that he thought the reasons for this included the influence of the unsettled conditions in China and communist ideas imported from there⁴⁰². The next year, the administrative report of Melaka made a similar remark on Chinese political activities in that colony. The report reads:

The situation in Kwangtung was the chief factor in the recrudescence of its [a secret society's] activities. There was evidence that members who had been living under the reign of lawlessness and brigandage in China during the last year or so, were coming south and bringing their revolutionary doctrines with them. Many of them were probably agents of one or other of the parties in China who were seeking funds for their military and political campaigns at home⁴⁰³.

In the same year, it was reported that the Chinese in Singapore attempted to start another boycott of Japanese goods, but were curbed from proceeding by the police⁴⁰⁴. In 1925, a woman attempted to kill the protector of

Chinese in Kuala Lumpur with a bomb405.

Both the Guomindang and the communists utilised the schools as propaganda machines and places to hold meetings in. The Guomindang, in fact, had plans to influence education among the Chinese in the Nanyang for a long time, as mentioned repeatedly earlier. An opportunity arose again on 23 January 1921. A memorial service was held in Guangzhou to commemorate the death of a Guomindang leader, Zhu Zhi Xin. At the service, attended by Chinese representatives from the Nanyang, it was decided to organise an Overseas Chinese Guomindang General Association. The association was to have six objectives, the first and last of which were 405:

- To foster the spirit of patriotism and bring into prominence the part played by overseas Chinese in the revolution.
- To promote education.

In a report submitted to a conference of the Guomindang in 1924, a prominent party leader from Malaya, Deng Ze Ru, stated that

For the purpose of propagating the principles of the Party, members in the Nanyang carry on newspapers, schools and reading rooms⁴⁰⁷.

In January 1925, in the Nanyang, the Guomindang had one headbranch, 14 branches, 71 sub-branches, 80 divisional sub-branches, 4,317 members, six newspapers, 26 schools, and 15 propaganda outfits⁴⁰⁸.

The communists, either through the Guomindang or by themselves, also concentrated on education. A police report says that the political methods of the communists were terrorism, intimidation, and subversion⁴⁰⁹. The last method was generally used in labour unions and schools.

In denying any complicity with the communists in the report of 1921, Deng Ze Ru said that "Unfortunately, the Governments of the Nanyang invariably mistake the Party [Guomindang] for one of Bolshevist character and, therefore, take vigorous action by having [our] members imprisoned or banished." 410

From 1921 onwards, the Chinese Department in the Federated Malay States began to urge the government to dissolve the Guomindang branches, and, in February 1925, the local government recommended to the imperial government in London to take action, stressing the communist outlook of the Guomindang⁴¹.

Most of the leftist elements of the Guomindang in Malaya were Hainanese. The reason for this fact was to be sought in the poor economic and psychological circumstances of the people. They tended to occupy very humble positions in the colonial society, many of them being servants to Europeans. Because of this, they were often despised by Chinese of the other dialect groups. Many of them came to Malaya from Guangdong during this period. Hu Han Min found that the Guomindang commissars in the Huang Pu Jun Guan Xue Xiao (Whampo Military Academy) in Guangzhou, established by Sun Yi Xian to train his revolutionary army for the Northern Expedition, neglected their Hainanese cadets. The result was many of these cadets turned to communism eventually. Hu also highlighted the poor economic circumstances of the Hainanese cadets that was conducive to communist influence⁴¹². The Hainanese leftists opened a considerable number of night schools to give themselves and other underprivileged people an education. A quotation from the Monthly Review of Chinese Affairs, August 1934, states the situation very clearly:

The most disturbing feature in 1925 was the growth of the movement among the Hailams [Hainanese]. Hailam enthusiasm for the Kuomintang [Guomindang] cause had been raised by the capture of Hainan by Kuomintang forces and the growth of bitter anti-British and anti-capitalist agitation in Hainan. Many agitators arrived in Malaya from Hainan with the intention of fomenting strikes. The growth of the movement was fostered chiefly through night schools offering vernacular education and training in political theories of the extreme type. First of these was Ping Man School, started in Kuala Lumpur in March 1923 and was then staffed by extreme Kuomintang propagandists from China. 1925 saw the birth of many of these schools in Singapore, and enthusiasm for the cause and hatred of the British were fostered by a flood of propaganda from Canton [Guangzhou] and Shanghai giving distorted accounts of the 30 May incident in Shanghai and the Shakee [Shaji] affair of 23 June. On 26 July, 1925, the Singapore branch formally but secretly inaugurated by amalgamating the first, second and third sub-branches which were almost exclusively Hailam. It had nearly three hundred members. The fourth sub-branch consisted of over fifty Cantonese.

Three important points arise from this quotation. The first is the reference to the night schools established by the Hainanese, and the second is

their anti-British attitude. The passage also refers to the Shanghai incident and the Shaji affair. The Shanghai incident grew out of a clash between the Japanese and the Chinese. In May 1925, a Chinese worker in the employ of a Japanese cotton factory in Shanghai was killed by his employer. The event sparked off a violent protest from all the Chinese in Shanghai. Demonstrations and strikes by students, workers, and Chinese businessmen erupted. The foreign powers sent their police against the Chinese, resulting in many deaths. Anti-imperialism and conflicts with the expatriates spread to the other cities in the country as well. Chinese workers in Hong Kong and Shamian laid down their tools. The inhabitants of Guangzhou held a protest march in June and, when they reached Shaji, they were fired on by land and naval guns of the foreign powers. The most ruthless of these foreigners were the Japanese and the British. This only served to harden Chinese hatred for them413. This hatred had its reflection in Malaya. The next year, the Northern Expedition started under the leadership of Jiang Iie Shi 414. Sun Yi Xian, before his death in 1925, had made it clear that the Northern Expedition was to be anti-warlord and anti-imperialist415. Although Jiang broke off the alliance between the Guomindang and the communists in April 1927 and gave up the anti-imperialist objective of the expedition⁴¹⁶, the anti-British campaign in Malaya continued. The expedition terminated at the end of 1928⁴¹⁷, but, while it lasted, it had serious repercussions in Malaya. The Chinese patriots in Malaya conducted their political activities through the night schools, organised by what was called the "Main School"418.

There were good reasons why the night schools were more politically active than the day schools. Most of the students in the night schools were adults whereas those of the day schools were at most teenagers. Moreover, as workers, most of the students in night schools were susceptible to leftist influence. In any case, there were few middle or secondary schools throughout the country.

In 1922, several confrontations occurred between the government and the Malayan Chinese educationists. In May, the Yang Yi Hang [Tailors' Guild] in Kuala Lumpur tried to open a Guo Yu night school, but was refused registration by the government because too many workers would attend it. The school started operating in spite of the government's ruling, but it was immediately ordered to close⁴¹⁹. This action on the government's part was strictly illegal as the school laws of 1920 allowed the government to refuse to register a school only on grounds of insanitation. In July, the educational association in Kuala Lumpur was searched, and books and documents were confiscated⁴²⁰. The one in Perak, the Pi Li Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui [Perak Overseas Chinese Educational Association], met an even

worse fate; it was closed in August⁴²¹. When a few years later, the educationists in Perak organised a new body to take care of the schools, the authorities required them to explicitly write into the constitution that the new organisation would not interfere with politics or infringe the law⁴²². The next year, 1923, a Chinese school teacher was fined for infringing the Printing Press Ordinance⁴²³.

Tighter British control over Chinese schools

Taken as a whole, however, the years between the passing of the school laws and 1925 were comparatively quiet. The situation changed with the approach of 1925. By that year, the reorganisation of the Guomindang was completed; the Shanghai incident and the Shaji affair had stirred up emotions; and the Northern Expedition was about to begin. The school laws were found to be inadequate for their objectives. Many schools were following the Penang strategy of purposely keeping down their enrolments to avoid inspection and control by the colonial government, and carry on their political propaganda. To rectify this, the attorney-general requested the Straits Settlements Legislative Council to amend the Schools Registration Ordinance to close this loophole⁴²⁴. The amendment bill was read a second time in June without any essential changes, a third time in August and duly passed⁴²⁵. The parallel amendment bill was passed in the Federal council in April the same year⁴²⁶.

When introducing the bill to the Straits Settlements, the attorneygeneral explained that

The principal Enactment of this Bill is in Clause 2 (1). The result of that is that the inspection of any school, however many pupils it has got, will be allowed. At present, unless a school has sixteen pupils no inspection is allowed. It was found, however, mainly, I think, in the case of Chinese schools, that the number of pupils was kept under sixteen with the express purpose of evading any inspection and in these schools propaganda of an undesirable nature went on to a considerable extent. Therefore, it is proposed to say that whatever the number of pupils the school has, it shall be deemed to be a school for the purpose of that section....

Another amendment provided the director of education with power to deregister a defunct school. Under this amendment, a school could be considered defunct if it had fewer than 15 pupils. The two amendments together dealt effectively with the Penang scheme of schools.

One other amendment gave power to the director of education to refuse to register a teacher, and made provision for punishing a teacher who taught despite being unregistered. Aside from that, a new clause 4 provided for changes in Forms 5 and 6 in the schedule of the ordinance requiring more information of a teacher for his registration. These changes

made it more difficult for trouble-makers to register themselves as teachers.

The whole amendment bill was obviously political in character. This comes as no surprise as the ordinance itself, we have noted, was politically motivated in the first place.

After the amendment was passed, two schools were declared unlawful under section 19 (1) of the ordinance before the end of 1925. One was Khai Meng, a night school, and the other was Pui Man, a day school⁴²⁷

On 28 February the next year, some teachers and students of five schools in Singapore held a meeting. It was held under their organisation, called the Nan Yang Xin Jia Po Hua Qiao Ge Jie Lian He Hui [Union of Various Overseas Chinese Professions, Singapore, Nanyang] or the Chu Xu Gong Hui [Savings Society]. The schools involved were Chi Min, Lok Khwan, Lok Iok, Man Meng, and Yok Sin. The organisation was a cover for the reorganised Guomindang in Singapore and the Nanyang in general. Its mission was to spread anti-capitalist propaganda and to build up a communist cell of members. It was, therefore, unregistered and illegal. The protector of Chinese sprang a surprise raid on the meeting convened at Chi Min School and arrested all 41 attendees, most of whom were Hainanese. The other four schools were thoroughly searched for incriminating evidence⁴²⁸.

The arrested were tried a first time on 9 March, and the second trial was on 11 March. On the second occasion, the protector of Chinese accused the meeting of discussing the commemoration of the first anniversary of Sun Yi Xian's death, and the launching of a boycott against Japanese goods, producing documents to prove his charges. He added that the Hainanese would have created trouble the previous year if they had not been curbed by prompt police action. The judge released one man and sentenced the others to four months' rigorous imprisonment. In the third trial, those accused of both participating in and managing the meeting were sentenced-two of them to ten months' rigorous imprisonment, and three to 18 months of it. The trial judge deferred sentencing a man charged with attempting to arouse Chinese hatred against the Japanese. It was reported that all 41 of them expressed the wish to appeal against their sentences, but there is no further record of the outcome of that 429. In the interim, on 12 March, representatives from the schools had met the protector and voluntarily requested banishment for the arrested.

As a fallout from the incident, the government decided to close the Lok Iok and Lok Khwan Schools. At the prospect of losing their schools, 400 students met the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Chinese consulgeneral on 6 March to appeal for their intercession. Nothing came of this

meeting. Towards the end of that month, the colonial government closed the schools. On 30 March, however, the students made another attempt to keep their schools open. Two hundred of them collected at the Qiong Zhou Hui Guan, intending to march to the Chinese consulate-general in Robinson Road. Most of them were workers from restaurants or the domestic servants of rich households, but there were young students, too. The boy who led the procession with a huge banner was about 12 years old. They distributed leaflets asking the government to reinstate the schools, to abolish the Schools Registration Ordinance, and release the 41 arrested students. When the procession was not many yards from the association, the police stopped it. They arrested 22 of the older marchers. Then the procession was allowed to proceed to the Chinese consulate-general.

Student delegates saw the Chinese consul-general and requested his help to reopen the schools, abolish the ordinance, and release all the imprisoned students. The consul-general gave them a letter which only supported their third demand. After seeing the consul-general, the students called on the protector of Chinese. The protector refused to assist in getting the school closure reversed. He told the students that they could open new schools instead⁴³⁰.

On 7 April, the 22 students arrested at the march were tried. However, the judge did not find them unruly during the march and acquitted them⁴³¹.

Following the dissolution of Lok Khwan and Lok Iok, three other schools were closed before May. They were the Peng Min, the Ng Iok, and the Chi Min⁴³².

By the middle of 1926, the amended school laws were found to be still inadequate for the government's purposes. Undesirable schools, for example, could not be declared unlawful when the manager hid himself so that notice could not be served on him. The laws also made no provision for cancelling the registration of an unlawful school and its management committee, and gave no power to the education department to effect the declaration of the governor. As a remedy, in May 1926 in the Straits Settlements, and July in the Federated Malay States, further amendments were made to the school laws, providing the government more powers⁴³³. In both the councils, all three readings of the respective amendment bills were done at one sitting. The attorney-general of the Straits Settlements produced an emergency certificate, and explained that the additional powers were required immediately to deal with the Chinese schools. The standing rules and orders of the councils relative to the publication, reading, and commitment of bills were suspended. This exceptional measure showed the tenseness of the situation. The Northern Expedition in China was to begin in a month.

The attorney-general had this to say in the council about the Straits Settlements amendment bill:

...under the Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1920, power is given to the Governor in Council to declare a school to be an unlawful school, if it is used for political propaganda detrimental to the interests of the Colony or of the public. It is necessary, however, that notice should first have been given to the manager of the school before such declaration is made. If he cannot be found and notice, therefore, cannot be given to him, the powers of the Governor in Council cannot be exercised. This Bill remedies that defect by providing for service of the notice by affixing it to the school premises in cases in which the manager cannot be found.

At the second reading of the bill, the Chinese representative, Song Wang Xiang, suggested that the notice should also be published in one issue of the *Gazette* and his advice was accepted.

The attorney-general continued:

The Ordinance does not provide that, upon a declaration being made that the school is an unlawful school, the registration of the school and of the manager and of the committee of management should be cancelled; nor does it give power to any public officer to enter upon the premises of such a school and remove the signboards, seals, banners and other insignia and any documents containing political propaganda that there may be on such premises. This Bill seeks to supply those defects.

The attorney-general finally added that

Unless the Ordinance is amended in these particulars it will fail to attain one of its principal objects. There is nothing in this Bill which need cause the least anxiety to the management of any legitimate school.

The Government regards the Bill as an urgent one for the reason that the powers under section 19 are incomplete without these amendments....

The amendment bill was named Enactment No. 3 of 1926 when passed in the Federal council. The writer is unable to find this enactment as the document has been lost. However, it can be safely assumed that it was much the same as the Straits legislation, as was the case with the previous amendment.

Five more schools were declared unlawful under section 19 (1) of the further amended ordinance in the Straits Settlements. These were the Yok Sin, the Wah Khuan, the Nam Mong, the Yok Cheng, and the Nam Kian⁴³⁴. Altogether 12 schools were made unlawful in 1926 in the Straits Settlements, and they were all adult night schools. The certificates of 19 teachers were cancelled under section 16 of the ordinance. The undesirable schools and teachers were all in Singapore⁴³⁵. In the Federated Malay States, no school suffered the same fate, but there were prosecutions against two teachers under section 9 of the enactment for supplying false informa-

tion. Conviction was obtained in one case, but in the other the charge was withdrawn as the accused absconded before the trial. The certificates of the two teachers were cancelled under section 18 (ii) of the enactment⁴³⁶.

As events unfolded, the government gradually found the school laws of 1920 still inadequate in spite of the amendments. On 12 July 1926 in the Straits Settlements, and on 8 August in the Federated Malay States, new legislation was introduced to replace the old school laws altogether. Largely based on the old set of laws, the new bills sought to increase the powers of the government further. In the Straits Settlements, the second and third readings were done on 6 September 1926. No substantial changes were made to the draft bill in the passage. In fact, in the Straits Settlements case, the bill was not even on the agenda for the council meeting on 12 July, but the attorney-general brought it up for first reading on the pleas of urgency. In the Federated Malay States, the bill passed all three stages of readings in one sitting with no amendments to the draft. The hurried readings of the bills were indicative of the urgent need the government had for additional powers to deal with the serious situation in the Chinese schools⁴³⁷. The Northern Expedition had taken off on 9 July 1926⁴³⁸ and was beginning to heighten anti-British sentiments in Malaya.

The attorney-general gave an explanation of the differences between the old law and the new, mainly the additional powers granted to the authorities. He said,

Most of the amendments have for their object the checking of the growing practice of using schools as the medium of political propaganda. In the Bill, the term "Supervisor" has been adopted instead of the term "Manager", which appears in the existing law.

Elaborating, he said the first of these additional powers was the power to refuse registration for any school on grounds that it might be used for political purposes against the colony. The right of appeal to the governor of the colony was included. He compared clause 8, sub-clause (2) of the new law with clause 9 of the old one, and said,

At present, when an application is made for the registration of a school, the registration has to be granted except only in cases in which the premises are insanitary. It is proposed that there should be power to refuse registration in other cases too, namely that the premises are "likely to be used for the purpose of political propaganda detrimental to the interests of the Colony or of the public, or for the purpose of instruction detrimental to the interests of the pupils, or as the meeting place of an unlawful society"...If the school is not registered, there is a right of appeal to the Governor in Council.

There was also a proposal to allow the government to refuse to register persons judged to be undesirable for supervising, managing or teaching at the schools. We quote the attorney-general again,

At the present time, when any person presents himself for registration as a supervisor or member of committee of management or teacher, there is no power to refuse to register him. In Clause 9 (of the new law, which is to be compared with Clause 10 of the old one), there are certain provisos which are designed to give the Director an absolute discretion in certain cases; for instance where the applicant has been convicted before any Court of competent jurisdiction for an offence punishable by imprisonment, where the supervisor or member of committee of management or teacher has been engaged in an unlawful school, declared to be unlawful under the provisions of this Ordinance or of any law in force in any Malay State;... and lastly where the person is a teacher, if the Director is of the opinion that it would be prejudicial to the interests of the Colony or of the public or of the pupils of any school at which he may be employed as teacher, he may refuse to register him.

In that way, it was hoped to prevent unlawful persons from opening new schools in the colony, and undesirable teachers from teaching. The attorney-general drew a further distinction between the bill and the existing law. The old law came into being when the schools were already operating, and so the authorities felt obliged to register supervisors, managers, and teachers. The new law would allow the director or assistant director the discretion to refuse to register new applicants.

In clause 14 of the new legislation, the director or assistant director, or inspector had the power to enter and search any school on suspicion of involvement in political propaganda detrimental to the colony or the public.

The new clause 16 gave power to the director to deregister any supervisor, management committee member or teacher if the person had been convicted "by a court of competent jurisdiction".

A new clause 17 gave the director or an authorised officer the right to enter, forcibly if necessary, and search an unregistered school.

The new clause 18 (replacing the old clause 19) gave the governor-incouncil the power to declare a school unlawful, not only on the ground that it was used for political propaganda detrimental to the colony or the public, but also if it was used for instruction detrimental to the pupils, or as a meeting place of an unlawful society. The clause had also been extended to include a procedure under it.

The new clause 23 imposed a penalty on persons who obstructed the director from his duty in entering and searching any school's premises. And under new clause 25, the time of appeal against such penalties was reduced from one month to 14 days, and notice of hearing from 14 days to seven. This lessened the period and the possibility of the unlawful use of the school, pending appeal.

Furthermore, clause 27 (to be compared with clause 21 of the old law) now contained a sub-clause (d) providing the governor the right to prohibit the use of schools for purposes seen to be undesirable. This

would circumvent the argument that the governor had no jurisdiction as the school might not be in session, or that it was a club or that it was a debating society and not a school that was meeting in the premises. As a measure of protection for individuals, the law would require prosecution to be initiated on a complaint of the director or assistant director.

The reader is referred to Appendix IV for the whole text of the new school law.

The great powers given the Straits government were also given to the Federal government. Due to the loss of documents, it is not possible to discover the text of the new legislation in the Malay states. But there was no essential difference between the two laws. The two differences which did exist were non-political. This was revealed by the legal adviser when he introduced the new law to the Federal council. He said,

This Bill...follows the re-enacted Ordinance which has been passed in the Colony as Ordinance No. 8 of 1926.

There is a very close connection between the two administrations in the matter of the administration of these measures, and the same officer is in charge of the registration of schools under both administrations. It is therefore necessary that he should have the law here as closely approximated as possible to the law in the Colony.

The Federal law was re-enacted by the various state councils in 1934 as a measure of decentralisation, and this re-enactment was identical with the new Straits Settlements law in essentials⁴³⁹.

At the beginning of 1927, the general regulations for schools in the Straits Settlements were revised according to the new law of 1926. But the revision was only on a technicality; for instance, it replaced all references to "manager" with "supervisor" wherever the former occurred 440. However, in 1929, the general regulations were revised, adding a provision with political significance 441. The existing regulations provided for the prohibition of the use of undesirable books. Item No. 43 of the new regulations provided for the prohibition of the use of school premises for any undesirable purpose, too. We speculate that the regulations should have been revised in the Federated Malay States also, but the writer is unable to discover any evidence of this.

The British government lost hardly any time in wielding this new instrument against the perceived threat from the Chinese schools. Before March 1927, barely nine months from the enactment, five schools were declared unlawful in the Straits Settlements under the new legislation. They were the Kiu Lam Night School, the Jang Mong, the Khe Seng, the Chek Jang, and Jang Tin⁴⁴². Then an unpleasant incident broke out in Singapore.

12 March 1927 marked the second anniversary of the death of Sun Yi Xian. The Chinese in Singapore, as those elsewhere in Malaya, wished to show their respect to the revolutionary. A number of the leaders from the Chinese community in Singapore saw the protector of Chinese about a memorial service for Sun. The protector referred them to the police who obtained from them an undertaking that no speeches would be made at the service, and that there would also be no procession⁴⁴³.

When the day came, Huan Le Yuan [Happy Park] in Tanjong Pagar, the venue for the service, was packed with supporters. Students from both day and night schools were present. Nearly 30 Hainanese night schools attended the ceremony. The majority present were Hainanese or Cantonese, although some Fujianese and Chaozhou people were there, too. The morning passed quietly. But in the afternoon, trouble began. Some Hainanese started to make speeches. They were interrupted by a certain Huang Zi Yan who told them of the organisers' undertaking to the police. The hapless Huang was set upon by some of the Hainanese. Another man who tried to intervene was also beaten up. So were two policemen who tried to stop them. Another constable called the Central Police Station and the Detective Branch.

After that, students from eight to 30 years of age, formed a long procession and marched out of the park heading for the streets. They carried Guomindang flags, sang Chinese patriotic songs, chanted slogans, and distributed leaflets. When they reached Kreta Ayer Road, they were stopped by two police constables. The marchers in turn stopped an Inspector Dill who had followed them from the park in a lorry. A fight ensued in which the police inspector was hurt. Worsening the conflict, a European driver of a trolley bus which plied that route rammed some students with his vehicle. According to a Chinese witness, who took photographs of the incident, this bus driver's rash act precipitated the bloody clash that followed.

The injured Inspector Dill fled into the Kreta Ayer Police Station. The crowd pursued him. The policemen who tried to stop them were attacked. Then the police opened fire on the crowd. According to a German, who had witnessed the incident, the first shot was fired into the air. To this, the crowd reacted by shouting and playing martial music. Thereupon, the police shot at the students and felled many of them. The casualties included seven dead and 11 wounded. Except for one dead bystander, the rest were presumably night school students, mostly working adults. The youngest was 17 years of age.

The incident startled the whole of Malaya. However, nothing else untoward occurred until 27 March despite the tension arising from the disturbance. Judging that the trolley bus company was responsible for the violence, the Chinese started a boycott of its services that was to last for several days. On the night of 27 March, they attacked the company's buses. It required firemen with water hoses to curb the attackers. They retaliated by throwing stones at the firemen. The following night troops were sent out to guard important road junctions, and guns were even mounted at certain strategic points.

On the night of 29 March, people gathered in Chinatown to vent their anger again. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce sent representatives to try to restore peace among the protesters. Then the police arrived and a clash broke out. In the ensuing trouble, 29 persons were arrested. By then, 17 buses had been damaged. The next day, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce distributed leaflets to workers urging them to keep good order.

The violence did not abate until 31 March. The 29 persons arrested on 29 March were eventually released. However, some others who had been arrested elsewhere were committed to rigorous imprisonment.

Meanwhile, between 17 March and 9 April, there was an inquiry into whether the police were to blame for the shooting deaths of the six students on 12 March at the Kreta Ayer Police Station. The judge found that the police could not be held responsible for their deaths. The policemen were justified for firing at the crowds which were threatening to them.

These events revealed the intense resentment among the Chinese against the government's actions.

The altercation was followed by intensified political activity among Chinese schools. Societies were formed to avenge the dead and wounded, and to exact the government's apology, compensation, and the abolition of the unpopular school laws. The Main School sent its members to the peninsula to persuade the Chinese to boycott British goods. A great deal of communist literature was distributed. Activities were particularly noticeable in Selangor and Negri Sembilan where labour unions proceeded to organise themselves under the cover of the Guomindang and the night schools. Towards the end of the year an important communist cadre returned from Hankou, and their activities were stepped up. Among other things, a Communist Youth Organisation was formed⁴⁴⁴.

Further significant events to note for the year 1927 were: in April and May 1927, the government in Singapore raided many Chinese schools. On 26 April, the Yu Cai [Xue Xiao] [Yu Cai School] was searched, and several teachers and students arrested. One person was found to possess a bill with the stamp of a Hou Yuan Hui [Back-up Society]. Two of the arrested were detained for "personal reasons" while the innocent ones were released 445. A few days after that, the Jue Xin and the Zhi Yang were also raided 446. And

on 15 May, a Hainanese school was visited, and a teacher in possession of illegal documents taken away⁴⁴⁷. A total of eight schools in the Straits Settlements were declared unlawful in 1927 for allowing their premises to be used for the purpose of political propaganda⁴⁴⁸. All of them were adult night schools. The director of education was enthusiastic about the effect of the Registration Ordinance. He reported:

In Singapore successful measures were taken to stop the anti-British and Communist propaganda issuing from the Hailam adult night schools. As a result there has been a noticeable effort in most Hailam schools to restrict the use of their premises to educational purposes.

The director proved to be over-optimistic as the following year the schools became more active than ever. He, however, did observe, before ending the paragraph, that

...though there were signs at the end of the year of a renewal of this political propaganda.

In the Federated Malay States, four Hainanese night schools were also dissolved for the same reason. The most notable of these was the Ping Man Night School of Kuala Lumpur. The protector of Chinese raided this school in February and confiscated a very important document—a list of members of the Main School. This was, in fact, how the government uncovered the existence of this organisation. It was declared unlawful the following month⁴⁴⁹.

The year of greatest political activity in the Chinese schools in both the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States was the year 1928, and a great number of them were closed by the government. The reason for the great burst in activity was the great success of the Northern Expedition in China. By the end of that year, the last warlord had surrendered to the revolutionary army. On 22 June 1928, the police visited a school in Geylang, and arrested the school clerk and a student. They were found in possession of communist documents. They were, however, released after paying a bond of \$100 for future good behaviour. Prior to this, the school had already been raided once, and a teacher taken away for having the correspondence addresses of communists⁴⁵⁰.

The police made more important discoveries in August. On the 18th, they surprised the Jing Fang Nu Xiao [Jing Fang Girls' School] in Neil Road, and uncovered a branch communist organisation there. Much communist literature was found and taken away. The documents revealed that a Gan Si Dui [Dare-to-Die Team] of 36 men had been organised to assassinate the Guomindang leaders Hu Han Min, Zhou Lu, and Xu Chong Zhi who were to transit the following day in Singapore en route back to China from

Europe⁴⁵¹. In April 1927, Jiang Jie Shi, the commander of the Northern Expedition, had broken off the alliance between the Guomindang and the communists. The communists were conducting too thorough a revolution for Jiang's liking⁴⁵².

On the last day of August, the police uncovered another communist organisation in River Valley Road. A man and two women teachers were secured. The police alleged that the teachers had been sent by the Chinese Communist Party to Malaya⁴⁵³.

Fifty members of an illegal society were holding a meeting in He Cheng Ye Xue Xiao [He Cheng Night School] in Owen Road on the evening of 4 December. The police surprised them in a raid and committed all to jail. Most of the arrested were domestic servants and saw mill workers. When they were brought before a court, the protector of Chinese withdrew his charges against 11 of the younger students. The rest were given sentences, ranging from a fine of between \$30 and \$100, to a term of eight months in rigorous imprisonment All this was despite the fact that the school had previously been declared unlawful.

On 11 December, the communists in Singapore celebrated the anniversary of an uprising by their comrades in Guangzhou, putting up posters all over town. Some of them were arrested by the police, who also raided Jue Jue Xue Xiao (Kok Kok School) and a Hainanese school in Eu Tong Sen Street. At both these places, they took away some suspects⁴⁵⁵.

These 1928 incidents are on record in the *Le Bao*. In all, 13 schools were declared unlawful in the Straits Settlements—nine in Singapore, one in Melaka, and three in Penang. The government closed all of them, using section 18 of the 1926 ordinance. The schools involved were: in Singapore, the Chin Yok, Kiak Tin (Kok San), Lok Seng, Hap Sing, Yu Tsai, Phui Jiok, Lok Tin, Nam Pheng, and Hin Jia; in Melaka, the Pei Tsai; and in Penang, the Sen Khwan, Kok Khwan, and Pwi Jang. The registration of the supervisors and teachers of these schools were also cancelled, not surprisingly. While these were all Hainanese adult night schools, the director of education was able to report that in 1928, no day school in the Straits Settlements carried out any unlawful political activity⁴⁵⁶.

In the Federated Malay States, four proposed Hainanese night schools were refused registration during the year. The ground cited was their inability to provide security that they would not be used for undesirable purposes. In addition, two schools were declared unlawful, one in Kuala Lumpur the Pu Yi Xue Xiao (Poo Eye Public School) and, the other in Kelang, the Li Yu Tong Su Ye Xue (Lak Iu Thung Siok Night School)⁴⁵⁷.

The following year, there was suddenly a period of calm. Only one school, the Jue Ye Xue (Kok Kok Night School) in Singapore, was de-

clared unlawful⁴⁵⁸. In 1930, not a single school was dissolved. The reason for this was again to be found in the situation in China. After breaking with the communists in April 1927, and after the successful completion of the Northern Expedition in 1928, the Guomindang under Jiang Jie Shi gained tremendous prestige and power. They hunted down the communists with a view to eliminating them. The reversal of the communists' fortune had its reflection in Malaya, which would explain the sudden cessation of leftist activities in the Nanyang's Chinese schools.

Before leaving the topic of modern Chinese schools in Malaya in this period, we have to take note of a significant event which took place in May 1928. When a column of the Northern Expedition army captured Jinan city, the capital of Shandong, on 1 May, it aroused intense nationalistic emotions. Then, under the pretext of protecting her nationals in the province, Japan took the offensive, bombing Jinan killing thousands, both soldiers and civilians. The Chinese troops were in no position to take on

the Japanese and had to retreat.

This stirred up Chinese patriotism everywhere, including Malaya. Under Singapore's lead, chou zhen hui (relief fund committees) were set up throughout the country to collect donations for the victims and the troops. Chinese schools joined in sometimes as sponsors of the committees, as for example in Singapore. Concerts were held in the bigger towns like Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, and Ipoh to draw the donors in. Singapore schools made flowers to sell on the third week after the debacle. The schools themselves contributed financially as well. Students saved up and donated from their pocket money, and teachers gave from their salaries. The teachers stoked the students' spirit with lectures every day. A lively boycott of Japanese goods was whipped up, with schools playing a major part in the propaganda and enforcement. It was reported, for example, in Kuala Lumpur that certain Chinese persons were rebuked by students for buying "the enemy's goods". The boycott went so well that the British government feared it would develop into an open conflict between the two nationalities in Malaya. Consequently, in September, the authorities ordered the closure of all the relief fund committees. The affair in Shandong was not settled until March the following year, but the patriotic movement in Malaya died an early death 459.

Other Chinese schools

The main narrative of the last two chapters concerned only the main type of Chinese schools, namely the modern type. Yet a number of old-style schools existed side by side with the new ones. After the introduction of

the school laws, the education department kept statistics for them every year. However, their importance paled beside the new schools⁴⁶⁰.

The Federal government continued to maintain a Chinese school in Kuala Lumpur⁴⁶¹. The Roman Catholic mission had a boys' school in Penang, and one each for boys and girls in Singapore. Interestingly, the medium of instruction employed by the Catholics was the Chaozhou dialect as opposed to the Guo Yu used in the modern schools maintained by the Chinese community itself. Ultimately, these mission Chinese schools disappeared from the education reports by the end of this period of our study⁴⁶².

Thus, we close the chapter on a period that saw the intensification of British control of the Chinese schools in response to the local turbulence inspired by developments in China, chiefly brought on by the reorganisation of the Guomindang, the alliance forged between the Guomindang and the communists, the split between the two, and the Northern Expedition.



\mathbf{VI}

Education under the Guomindang Government, 1927–1937, Phase I

After the split between the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party in April 1927, Jiang Jie Shi set up his own separate government in Nanjing as against the government at Wuhan. In December the next year, he completed the Northern Expedition and established the Guomindang as the dominant political party in China. Sun Yi Xian had conceived of a political philosophy, the San Min Zhu Yi (The Three People's Principles) for the revolution as early as before the 1911 Wuhan outbreak, but he did not make a clear and definite enunciation on it until he reorganised the Guomindang for the Northern Expedition. In 1923, the philosophy was finally stated in unequivocal terms in the declaration of the First Congress of the party in Guang zhou. The following year, he explained his concept to his comrades in a series of lectures 163. This was the philosophy by which China was to be rebuilt. The new government in Nanjing accepted the instructions bequeathed by the deceased leader, and San Min Zhu Yi became the basis of all state actions. Education was seen to be one of the most important fields of reconstruction. The new education was, therefore, to be founded on the San Min Zhu Yi.

We have here to give a summary of this very important set of principles: First of all, Min Zu Zhu Yi (the Principle of Nationalism); second, Min Quan Zhu Yi (the Principle of the People's Sovereignty); and third, Min Sheng Zhu Yi (the Principle of the People's Livelihood). In the outside world, nationalism aims for China to be equal with all other nations, and internally, it aims for the union of all races on a basis of equality. People's sovereignty means that the people would exercise the four powers of election, initiation, referendum, and recall. The livelihood principle would secure a living for the people by land equalisation and the regulation of capitalism. Sun Yi Xian held that these principles eminently suited the needs of China⁴⁶⁴.

Sun also set three stages for these ideals to be realised. The first was the military reunification of the country; the second was the period of politi-

cal tutelage of the people under Guomindang dictatorial rule; and this to be followed by the third which would be the realisation of constitutional government⁴⁶⁵. At the start of this narrative, the first stage had already been achieved in 1928 with the completion of the Northern Expedition. The second stage began immediately with Jiang Jie Shi in power. Here we review the education of this period when the Guomindang controlled everything in China.

Party-ising education

The new government in Nanjing had a well defined plan for overseas Chinese education. Like the previous regimes, this government had, to a great extent, counted on help from the overseas Chinese to reconstruct the country. Moreover, the Guomindang had benefited from overseas Chinese aid throughout the whole revolution. Hence, for reasons of need for further support and for repaying the overseas Chinese for their aid thus far, the new government drew up a definite scheme to promote overseas education.

The education system began to be adjusted to Guomindang philosophy in 1927 with the progress of the Northern Expedition in that year though no defined policy was decided upon until the following year. The change was known as "party-ising" education. Enthusiasm for the change swept through the overseas schools and many of them in Malaya were quick to accept the dominance of the Guomindang, as previously mentioned. Among the evidence, we find that the Nan Yang Nu Zhong in Singapore, the leading girls' school then, had Sun Yi Xian's will read out during a graduation ceremony in 192746. Also at the Chinese National Day celebration in Kuala Lumpur the same year, Sun's picture was included for homage467. Formerly, it would have been Confucius to receive this respect. The displacement of the old sage by the new leader was of revolutionary import. By the middle of the next year, when victory of the expedition was certain, the whole Chinese community in Malaya duly replaced the flag of the old republic with that of the Guomindang government 468. The Chinese people celebrated the revolutionaries' recovery of Beijing. In Malaya, there were processions, and in Sungei Siput, Perak, this was led by a school. On Penang Island and Perai in Province Wellesley, they held memorial services for the warriors who had died fighting in the Northern Expedition. In Perai, the services were again led by a school469.

The first measures for overseas Chinese education

The new government, as was said, had good reason to promote overseas education immediately. In June 1927, the Da Xue Yuan [Ministry of Education] was established and it had a Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Wei Yuan Hui [Overseas Chinese Education Commission] for the purpose⁴⁷⁰. A plan to promote and reform overseas education was presented to the commission by one of its members, who was also on the teaching staff of the Ji Nan Da Xue (Ji Nan University)471. Whether or not this plan was accepted is not verifiable. In any case, the commission did not last long. After a few months, it was dissolved due to a lack of funds and faulty organisation. Its portfolio was handed over to the Qiao Wu Ju [Overseas Chinese Affairs Bureau], set up in the foreign ministry in February 1928 to take care of the overseas Chinese⁴⁷². The Da Xue Yuan was abolished in December 1928, and was replaced by a new Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education] 473. But before its dissolution, the old ministry had made certain important regulations for overseas education. In January 1928, the Hua Qiao Xue Xiao Li An Tiao Li [Rules for the Registration of Overseas Chinese Schools] were promulgated474. The fourth article of the regulations was important for it stated that the organisation, curriculum, and other matters concerning registered overseas schools must conform to regulations and orders from the Da Xue Yuan. This ministry could also strike off the registration of any school if it was dissatisfied with its running or its results. This gave the Da Xue Yuan power to control overseas Chinese education.

In February of the same year, a number of other orders were issued. The most important one was the Hua Qiao Xiao Xue Zan Xing Tiao Li [Temporary Regulations for Overseas Chinese Primary Schools]⁴⁷⁵. The first article of the first section instructed overseas primary schools to adopt the San Min Zhu Yi. The primary school should impart, according to the stages of development of the pupils' minds and bodies, knowledge and ability conducive to their survival in society. The rest of the articles stipulated that the schools should be of two grades: a lower elementary grade of four years and a higher elementary grade of two years, and that kindergartens and other elementary courses could be attached to them. All overseas schools must register with the Da Xue Yuan and must accept direction from the Hua Qiao Quan Xue Yuan [Overseas Chinese Education Promotion Officers] stationed abroad (presumably attached to various Chinese diplomatic missions) as well as the Hua Qiao Shi Xue

Yuan [Overseas Chinese Education Inspection Officers], sent out from the home country (presumably regularly or periodically).

The second section was on the schools' curriculum and system. Subjects to be taught were San Min Zhu Yi, civics (replacing the classics and ethics of the earlier periods), Guo Yu, languages, arithmetic, history, geography, hygiene and nature study, music, physical training, scouting, drawing, and handwork. The higher elementary would teach also professional subjects according to objective requirements. The school could modify this curriculum if there were special reasons, and if approved by the Da Xue Yuan. Similarly, textbooks used had to be approved by the same ministry.

The third section dealt with the organisation of the teaching staff, including the assignment of headmasters and teachers, and their qualifications. The fourth section was on infrastructure and equipment. The fifth concerned admission and graduation of students, and the sixth on school semesters and holidays.

The Hua Qiao Bu Xi Xue Xiao Zan Xing Tiao Li [Temporary Regulations for Overseas Chinese Tuition Schools] 476 and the Hua Qiao Zi Di Hu Guo Jiu Xue Ban Fa [Measures Catering to Overseas Chinese Students Returning Home To Study] 477 were also promulgated. The underlying principle of the former was to enable adult illiterates and children studying in foreign schools to learn the Chinese language and about Chinese civilisation. The aim of the latter was to encourage overseas students to return to China to further their studies.

The Da Xue Yuan also drew up regulations on the Hua Qiao Quan Xue Yuan and Hua Qiao Shi Xue Yuan, but these were never promulgated and, therefore, did not come into effect⁴⁷⁸. However, they were important as part of the Da Xue Yuan's overall plan to promote overseas education.

The Ji Nan Da Xue

What was of equal importance was the elevation of the most important school in China for overseas Chinese, the Ji Nan, to the status of a university 479. The task of the school's reorganisation was entrusted to Zheng Hong Nian in June 1927. He was a former principal of the school and had returned from Java. The elevation, as acknowledged by Zheng himself, was the government's show of gratitude to the overseas Chinese for their contributions to the fatherland. The university was also seen to be the vehicle for improving their competitiveness vis-à-vis the Europeans among whom they sojourned so that they would be treated with equality and enjoy freedom as equals. Zheng made it clear that this move was not

meant to injure the standing or freedom of any other people, by which, in the author's opinion, was meant the indigenous people like the Indonesians and Malays. Rather the Chinese would seek to help weak nations attain equal status and freedom which would accord with Sun Yi Xian's

philosophy.

By 1932, the university had five faculties in addition to a secondary and a primary department. They were the commerce, arts, science, education, and law faculties⁴⁸⁰. Not satisfied with the already significant elevation of the school into a university, the government and Zheng pressed on to enlarge an already existing Nan Yang Wen Hua Shi Ye Bu [Nanyang Cultural Affairs Department] on campus into a Nan Yang Ji Mei Zhou Wen Hua Shi Ye Bu [Nanyang and American Cultural Affairs Department] to further the cause of Chinese colonisation overseas.

There are some interesting insights into Zheng's thinking. Clearly, he was not a simple man. In a previous paragraph, we referred to his assertion that the Chinese desired to assist weak nations to attain equality and freedom. This is to be compared to an earlier occurrence. When Ji Nan Xue Tang was founded during the Manchu Dynasty, Zheng composed for the school a song in which he pointed out that Java had been developed by the Chinese but seized by the Dutch, and that the Chinese should recover it⁴⁸¹. We shall have more to say about this matter of political motives in later pages.

The southward drive of the Japanese to the Nanyang since the end of the First World War was becoming a serious threat to the Chinese both physically and economically. Rising to the challenge from an old adversary, the bureau was to imitate the Japanese in their push. The man put in charge of the bureau was Liu Shi Mu, a graduate of a Japanese university who had studied the subject of colonisation⁴⁸². The purposes of the bureau

were stated very clearly in its declaration483.

The bureau declared that there were four dangers confronting the overseas Chinese, and they were reasons compelling action. First, the overseas Chinese were faced with economic decline. The Chinese had lost their political power in the Nanyang since the advent of the Europeans. Now they were in danger of losing their economic power also. Formerly, white people were unable to tolerate the tropics. Now they could and, moreover, they were applying scientific methods in their economic activities to the disadvantage of the Chinese. The local governments were also restricting Chinese economic activities through legislation. Added to these was the threat of the Japanese driving south. Secondly, the Chinese were facing a cultural decline. They were being assimilated by Europeans or by the natives. Thirdly, their educational system was inefficient. This was due

to the lack of overall planning and liaison among the schools. Finally, the Chinese government and people had been indifferent to the expansion of Chinese influence, unlike the Japanese. Japanese expansionism had full support from its government and society.

For all these reasons, the bureau felt that the overseas Chinese needed help. They were part of the Chinese nation and their problems were, therefore, the problems of the whole country. The race as a whole must together solve the problems if it was to achieve international equality and freedom.

The declaration then explained what actions it would assume. The first step was for the bureau to transmit Chinese civilisation to the Nanyang Chinese through educational and cultural activities. The university would promote studies in Chinese culture to preserve ties with them. It seems Zheng Hong Nian and Liu Shi Mu, et. al., assumed that Chinese culture by itself would be able to inculcate Chinese competitiveness, in the view of this author. These would enhance the power of the Chinese to prosper together with the most advanced nations.

In the next step, the bureau would collect all materials relating to the Nanyang and investigate all matters of culture and education in the Nanyang.

The third action would be to create and maintain a close connection between the Nanyang schools and the teaching sections of the Ji Nan Da Xue. The bureau, as a research body, would, on the one hand, keep in close touch with the teaching sections of the university, and, on the other, would try to unify the disparate school systems in the Nanyang, so that they would dovetail with the university's system. It would, as it were, play the role of a middleman. The bureau would carry out accurate investigations into the real conditions and needs of the Nanyang Chinese for the sake of future educational planning. All this would increase the colonising power of the overseas Chinese.

Then the bureau would also disseminate information about the Nanyang to the Chinese in the home country to encourage emigration. This was seen as a solution to the problem of unemployment, caused by the economic slump of the 1930s.

Finally, the bureau would keep the overseas Chinese informed of conditions in the fatherland so that they would be motivated to participate in movements at home.

Summarising, we can say that the Bureau for Nanyang and American Cultural Activities aimed to increase the power of the overseas Chinese to compete economically so that they would be in a position to help China expand abroad and gain equality and freedom internationally. In fact, these

were the motives of the whole university. The declaration significantly concludes that the bureau would employ peaceful, but the most effective, methods to achieve these ends.

The bureau proceeded to issue a vast amount of literature. As early as 1929, it had already published 30 books and journals or was in the process of doing so⁴⁸⁴.

A general orientation and specific policies for Chinese education

The new regime was also quick to decide on an educational policy. In May 1928, not long before its dissolution, the Da Xue Yuan, also convened a Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi [All-Nation Education Conference] 485 to decide on a new overall plan for the educational needs of the country. This was to consist of a pronouncement on the general orientation schools should follow in their development in the years ahead, including that for overseas schools, as well as a number of specific measures. This overall plan was, however, soon set aside by the Guomindang 186. The matter of education for all Chinese schools at home and abroad was again raised in March the following year, when the party met in a third Quan Guo Dai Biao Da Hui [All-Nation Congress of Representatives]. This congress made a decision on an alternative general orientation for the new education of the country487. After that, a third round of deliberation of the matter was held, this time during the second Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi, convened by the Jiao Yu Bu which had replaced the Da Xue Yuan. Meeting in 1930, it made a comprehensive plan of specific measures to offer guidance to the schools in their future development⁴⁸⁸. We shall narrate in what immediately follows the third Quan Guo Dai Biao Da Hui's decision on a general orientation as well as some of the resolutions on specific measures made by the first Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi which, though set aside, are of interest to our discussion. The comprehensive plan of specific measures made by the second Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi will not be accounted for until pages later. Note that between the third Quan Guo Dai Biao Da Hui and the second Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi, a number of other interesting developments also took place which will be described first.

The pronouncement from the third Quan Guo Dai Biao Da Hui of the Guomindang reads as follows:

China's education is based on the San Min Zhu Yi....It aims to make full the life of the people, to aid the survival of the society, to develop the livelihood of the people and to prolong the life of the race, so that the nation will be independent, the power of the people widely exercised, the livelihood of the people developed, and all these to promote the realization of the Great Commonwealth of the World.

This first Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi, during its deliberations on specific policies, considered three proposals submitted to it by an "Overseas Chinese Education Association" [?] in Shanghai. This association had been revived in the autumn of 1927 by Zheng Hong Nian, Zhou Qi Gang, and others 488. The first of the association's proposals was for promoting overseas education. The reasons advanced for this proposal were interesting, and largely of a political nature. They may be paraphrased as follows:

- Thinking in much the same way as the Bureau for Nanyang and American Cultural Activities, the association pointed out that the overseas Chinese did not enjoy political, economic, and social equality and freedom in the places where they lived. This, the association asserted, was due, firstly, to the lack of protection from the Chinese government, and, secondly, due to the poor political and economic ability of the overseas Chinese themselves, the result of a lack of education among them. The Chinese government never actively supported education among her subjects in the Nanyang. Moreover, Chinese education was being oppressed by various laws of the local governments. Under such circumstances, it was impossible to save the overseas Chinese from slavery and the chains of foreigners. To fight for their independence and survival, international equality and freedom, overseas Chinese education must be developed. Again it was stressed that overseas education should spread the spirit of the nation and help the nation to overcome all obstacles.
- The revered leader, Sun Yi Xian, had instructed that all the people
 of China should participate in the politics of the country. But for
 this to be, every Chinese must have access to education. Many
 overseas children did not have the educational opportunities that
 their counterparts in China did.
- The San Min Zhu Yi worked not only to revive the Chinese nation. It would also contribute to creating world justice and an everlasting peace. Chinese civilisation could mend the defects of Western civilisation, and give the world a truly cosmopolitan character.
- Overseas education would disseminate Chinese civilisation to other people.

Thereupon, the proposal called on the Da Xue Yuan to define a policy for the overseas Chinese. Naturally enough, it was suggested that the policy should be based on the San Min Zhu Yi. It should be similar to the policy for China but modified to suit the local circumstances of the overseas Chinese. The proposal then emphasised the need for character building as

part of education, especially for teachers. The other two proposals from the "Overseas Chinese Education Association" were of a purely educational nature on which we will not expand.

On the basis of what the association suggested, the first Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi resolved to call on the Da Xue Yuan to work with the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui [Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission] to draw up a plan for overseas education. The conference made other resolutions, two of which related to financial aid, as well as one which related to the compilation of books for use in overseas schools⁴⁸⁹.

Action of the Jiao Yu Bu

The new Jiao Yu Bu, which had meanwhile replaced the Da Xue Yuan, took the cue and hastened to set up a Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Wei Yuan Hui [Overseas Chinese Education Commission] to do the planning 490.

Further down the road, in January 1929, the Jiao Yu Bu drew up regulations governing contributions towards education and the awards granted in recognition of such deeds⁴⁹¹. Article 9 of the order applied to overseas schools. The regulations were to encourage people to contribute financially to promote education. This seemed to be the only action taken for overseas schools on the decisions of the first Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi. Following that, in May, the Jiao Yu Bu released a more important document that concerned the administration of overseas education by the consulates⁴⁹². Interestingly, the document was based on a similar one drawn up by the education authorities of the previous central government based in Beijing under the various warlords. By this, the consuls came to assume educational functions besides their diplomatic work. And their role in promoting education and educational reform was to be an active one.

A conference convened by the Ji Nan Da Xue

Meanwhile, in June 1929, another educational conference was held, but this time it was solely on overseas education⁴⁹³. It was called by the Ji Nan Da Xue and sponsored by the Nan Yang Ji Mei Zhou Wen Hua Shi Ye Bu. Seventy-eight representatives attended in all, including those from public bodies, schools, and cultural organisations from the Nanyang, the Guomindang, the government, the university itself, and education experts from China. The number from Malaya was 20, six from Singapore, four from Penang, two Melaka, four Selangor, three Perak, and one Johor. The representatives, including those from overseas, were asked to be thoroughly conversant with the San Min Zhu Yi.

Lasting a whole week from 5 June, the conference moved a great number of resolutions on overseas education touching on such matters as administration, teaching materials, finance, educational bodies, teachers, incentives, privileges for overseas students, libraries, and publications, and even on principals. But most of these were not put into effect as so often before. However, they were incorporated into a more comprehensive plan on overseas education produced by another conference which met later that year. Therefore, we will not cover the details here. The declaration of the conference was important, nonetheless, as it explains the motives of the conference and accounts, in a very broad way, for the resolutions made. It reads:

The San Min Zhu Yi first pronounced by the Father of the Nation, Mr. Sun Yi Xian, was envisaged to work for the welfare of mankind and to lead the world to becoming the Great Commonwealth. It teaches that the universe is for everyone, and is pregnant with meaning; it teaches peace and love, this is of the utmost importance and of the widest application. The country is now united and the period of political tutelage has just begun. Education is a fundamental measure for the construction of a country. Our country has defined its educational policy and proclaimed it to the people...(The declaration then recounts the policy declared in 1929).

This conference is continued from the Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi of last year, and was called due to the needs of the time, firstly, to ensure that overseas education will progress in step with education in the home country and not lag behind, and secondly, to see that San Min Zhu Yi education, as it can be realised at home, can also be realised overseas. The teachings of the Father of the Nation can then be equally enjoyed by people both at home and overseas, and that distance makes no discrimination.

This conference has decided that the policy of overseas education should be based on the San Min Zhu Yi. Overseas education should develop the ability and character of Chinese nationals abroad. The aim is to ensure the healthy survival of the Chinese race and their equality with other peoples. In accordance with these principles, insofar as overseas education itself goes, the conference is convoked to integrate its administration, the suitability of teaching materials, the definite arrangement of finance, the training of teachers, the direction of students going for higher studies, the encouragement of education, the preservation of the virtue of the overseas Chinese and their various adaptations to the (overseas) environment. Insofar as relations with friendly nations go, the training of overseas Chinese by San Min Zhu Yi methods is to make them scientific in their thinking, disciplined in their action and artistic in their living. Although almed at improving their welfare, these will also increase the welfare of the society in which the overseas Chinese are sojourning. To aim to raise the political, economic and legal position of the overseas Chinese is also to proceed towards the same direction as the friendly countries are taking for their own nationals; this would enable the overseas Chinese to enjoy equality with other peoples. Overseas Chinese education, therefore, strives for the freedom and equality of the overseas Chinese, but it does not injure the freedom and equality of other people. We obey the precept of the Father of our Nation that with an attitude of love and kindliness we shall help all mankind to attain freedom and equality....

After the conference, the Ji Nan Da Xue submitted all the proposals to the Jiao Yu Bu for approval and execution. It then did two important things. Zheng Hong Nian, in the name of the conference and of the university, sent a telegram to the prime minister of Britain on 20 June requesting that the school laws in Malaya be abolished⁴⁹⁵. However, the message fell on deaf ears.

The conference also urged the Fujian and Guangdong governments and people to eliminate the communists in their midst to enable overseas Chinese to return home to promote education and industry. Protection

was also sought for the families of the overseas Chinese.

Jiao Yu Bu's further action

The Jiao Yu Bu promulgated the Hua Qiao Xue Xiao Li An Gui Cheng [Regulations for the Registration of Overseas Chinese Schools] in August 1929, which was substantially the same as the one drawn up by the Da Xue Yuan. This order was amended in November to accommodate the powers of the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui, and to rule that the Jiao Yu Bu and the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui could order a school to reform, or to have it dissolved if it contradicted the party's philosophy 496. This amendment is noteworthy.

The Jiao Yu Bu also drew up a plan for developing overseas education. The work was to be completed in five years, with each stage occupying a year. We will not go into the details of the plan as it was purely educational

in nature. Suffice it to note that the ministry had such a plan497.

A conference convened by the Zhong Yang Xun Lian Bu

In November of the same year, a conference on overseas Chinese education was again convened, but this time by the Zhong Yang Xun Lian Bu [Central Training Department] of the Guomindang⁴⁹⁸. The reasons for holding the conference were recounted by the department itself. It said that overseas Chinese education was oppressed by the local governments and resented by the natives who were becoming politically conscious. Also, overseas education lacked overall planning and, therefore, no unified action could be taken for its management. The restrictions of local governments had also caused a short supply of good teachers. These were identified as obstacles to the progress of overseas education. The Guomindang recognised that education was one of the means by which China could be rejuvenated. Therefore, the party decided to call the con-

ference, aimed at unifying, reforming, and expanding overseas education, to plan for positive action.

The Zhong Yang Xun Lian Bu was responsible for the indoctrination of party members and the Chinese people generally in Guomindang philosophy, and, hence, education came under its purview, too. This event marked the Guomindang's decision to directly plan for and control overseas education. The conference was attended by delegates from the party, the government, and important overseas public organisations in China. There were, however, no representatives from organisations or institutions overseas. This meant that the overseas Chinese themselves, except the delegates from the one or two overseas organisations in China, had no participation in planning the education that was to affect their future. As the meeting was called by the party, the proceedings were dominated by party members. The draft plan for overseas education was drawn up by the Zhong Yang Xun Lian Bu itself, and submitted to the conference for amendment and agreement. There are three points to note about the decisions arrived at.

Firstly, they repeated many of the resolutions of the Ji Nan Conference. Secondly, because they had the resolutions of the previous conference to work on as a basis, they were more systematic and coherent. Thirdly, and this is an extremely important point, the preoccupation of the conference was political rather than educational. The resolutions had a far heavier emphasis on politics than the Ji Nan Conference did. They were solely concerned with how to effect the teaching of the San Min Zhu Yi. Education was seen to be a means to serve the political end. We will not here relate all the decisions of the conference in detail as they were incorporated into the plan for overseas education drawn up by the second Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi five months later. However, we will recount the policy decided on by the conference for overseas education as well as the declaration of the conference which reveals the ambition of the Guomindang towards the overseas Chinese and their education, and tells us by what methods the party sought to realise the ambition. The methods were the resolutions of the conference.

The conference believed that a clear policy and concrete plan were the prerequisites for the unification and development of overseas education. Therefore, the conference, first of all, made this resolution:

To plan for the unification and development of overseas education on the basis of China's educational aims and the methods of enforcing these aims.

The educational aims and methods of enforcement referred to here were those passed by the Guomindang's third Quan Guo Dai Biao Da

Hui in March 1929. On a previous page we have already seen what these educational aims were. We will not relate the methods of enforcement as they were concerned with details.

The second principle decided on was that

Overseas education, with reference to the special conditions of the overseas Chinese, should aim at increasing the national consciousness of the overseas Chinese, should train their power of self-reliance, should improve their livelihood and should develop their productive ability so that their position could be elevated and their equality with other people achieved.

The third resolution was

To work for the improvement and development of general education, professional education, normal education, social education and supplementary education of the overseas Chinese with reference to the specific, realistic conditions of education overseas.

We shall now relate the declaration of the conference which reads:

The rise or the fall of a nation is measured by its power to expand internationally. Its power of international expansion is measured by how civilised its members are. The aims of education are no other than to develop the various powers of the people, to expand the spirit of the nation, and to create a great, lofty and popular civilization. For it aims not only for the advancement in the life of the people at home, but also, and more importantly, for the advancement of the people overseas. Our Party realises that for the people's survival, we must first develop the excellent characteristics of the people, and that the development and consolidation of these characteristics can rely on no other measure than education. Therefore, in our promotion of education we pay special attention to overseas education. This overseas educational conference is called to discuss the various fundamental problems and to decide on several measures, which we expect to be definitely executed. This is because our people overseas are the vanguard of the international expansion of our Chinese nation, and the young generation of our overseas people, especially, have the duty to continue this great mission. Our overseas people had a great part in the establishment of our Republic. When Zong Li [Chairman, i.e. Sun Yi Xian] was conducting the revolution, the elder generation of our overseas brothers rendered both monetary and spiritual aid to Zong Li; they expended great effort and made great sacrifices, to give us the China of today. How much the later generations of our overseas brothers must continue the aspirations of their fathers and their elder brothers in the development of enterprises overseas—it is needless to say. Not only that. Due to changes in trends in the world and the fatherland's efforts at revolution, the love of our overseas brothers for the fatherland and their duties in completing the revolutionary construction of the new China will naturally be greater than those of their predecessors. Our overseas brothers should, therefore, hereafter exert a great effort themselves to develop and consolidate the excellent characteristics of the nation. It can be readily seen what the mission of this conference is.

The declaration then explained the nature of the resolution made by the conference. First, it touched on the question of training teachers for overseas schools. The declaration clearly pointed out the political nature of this question. Overseas Chinese must not be assimilated into other cultures. It says: It need not be stressed that our overseas brothers have a great need of general and social education. However, primary education is fundamentally the most important. The reason is that the children of our overseas brothers either depart from the country with their elders at an early age, or they are born and bred in foreign countries and, being in contact with foreign influences, can easily be assimilated by others. If there were no primary education to build up a foundation and to frequently direct them and open their minds, then, after a few generations, they would not even be aware of their fatherland. Emigration overseas thus becomes only an act to injure the characteristics of the nation. Exactly because of this fear, there is no nation that refrains from imparting its culture to its children in its colonised territories. But to popularise education, we have, first of all, to pay attention to the people who direct that education.

The declaration then says that a great number of primary teachers was needed in the home country because of the expansion of education there. Therefore, there was a need to train teachers from among the overseas Chinese themselves besides supplying overseas schools with instructors from the home country. The paragraph on the supply of teachers concludes by saying that

The policy must be one of enabling them (i.e. the teachers trained from among the overseas Chinese) always to remember the fatherland. By this measure, the number of teachers will increase every day, so that there will be no shortage of them at any time and, since, there are people to direct [primary education], the children will not have to suffer from being misted.

The declaration next deals with the point of social education. The overseas Chinese were in a very difficult situation. They were persecuted by the natives and oppressed by the ruling powers. Instead of standing together in face of this, they were split by their narrow provincial outlook, and factional fights often broke out among them. To overcome such difficulties, the overseas Chinese must learn to unite through education. Moreover, education would impart to them useful knowledge and skills.

The next problem that confronted the conference was the need to train cadres for all kinds of social activities overseas. The declaration relates that European countries and the USA had special organisations and personnel to take care of and direct emigration of their people. However, the Chinese would not learn the military method of colonisation of the Western countries. The Chinese would adopt only the peaceful method. The success of the Westerners in colonisation was due not only to the support of their government but also to the fact that they had cadres for all kinds of social activities. The Japanese had learnt the methods of the Westerners in their recent expansion. They could obstruct the development of the Chinese although they might not defeat the whites. The Japanese had succeeded also because they had cadres for all social activities. They maintained colonisation departments in their universities or established special colonisation schools. Their students were versatile. They could

build houses and boats themselves, could be self-governing, and could run their own law courts and schools. In other words, they could lead. The declaration then asked "What about we Chinese?" It concludes by saying that the Chinese must wake up and struggle for the progress of their overseas enterprise.

The fourth point was university education for the overseas Chinese. The declaration points out that there were very many learned people among the overseas Chinese, but these usually had no connection with the fatherland, and they obtained their education in distant foreign countries. Recently, due to the promotion of certain people, many overseas students were returning home for higher studies, especially in the Ji Nan and the Zhong Shan universities. But there were actually few places for overseas students in institutes throughout China. Therefore, all universities in the country should thereafter open their doors to overseas students. They should have studies suitable for overseas students. They should also have coaching classes as many overseas students were not thoroughly conversant with the Chinese language. All these would attract more students to return. The declaration then says:

And those who have completed their studies will propagate the civilisation of their fatherland overseas. This has a great bearing on the expansion of the spirit of our nation.

The fifth problem the conference tried to solve was the reform of the functions of the consuls. So far the consuls had been quite ineffective because of the disinterest of the Chinese government in the overseas Chinese, and also because of the unequal treatment of China by the world powers. The consulates had to be strengthened. Their functions were to cover not only the commercial sphere but also education as well. To fulfill their enhanced functions, the consuls had to be men loyal to the republic, strongly convinced of party philosophy, and capable in and enthusiastic about education.

The declaration concludes by pointing out that the successful development of overseas education depended on two forces: firstly, aid from the Chinese government and, secondly, corporate effort of the overseas Chinese themselves. These two forces had to work together for the success of overseas education. The conclusion goes on to state:

Due to the possession of excellent characteristics, our overseas brothers are found everywhere in the world. They toil and tire [to open new lands]. The opening and development of America, Australia, and the islands of the Nanyang in recent centuries were all due to the effort of our overseas brothers. The Europeans and the Americans always boast of their part in the opening of this new world, but the effort and the sacrifices of we the Chinese race were the greatest of all. Although the people who have made the greatest effort and sacrifices are our overseas

brothers, those who enjoy the fruit are the Europeans, the Americans, and the Japanese. Moreover, after the countries are developed and civilised, our Chinese people are persecuted and deprived of all freedom of residence, movement, and work. Although this is due to the imperialism of the Europeans, the Americans, and the Japanese, the low standard of education and knowledge, and the weak organisational power of our own people is also an important reason. This lesson we have learnt from the past, and for the future we understand that we must exert great efforts in this matter of overseas education. There is another point. When our brothers go overseas, they are oppressed and despised, and, when they look back at the home country, they see extreme poverty and chaos. Under such circumstances, they should stand united and help each other, but instead they often differ in their opinions, and fight among themselves. This is all because they have not been unified in their thought, beliefs, and strengths through the redeeming San Min Zhu Yi. Zong Li had enlightened us that a belief is strength born out of conviction when thought is cleared. Therefore, to unify their philosophy means unifying their thought, unifying their belief and unifying their strength [sic]. Since our overseas brothers have opened up new worlds to the credit of the nation, they should, hereafter, rally around the San Min Zhu Yi so as to create momentous strength to enable them to undertake great enterprises in the world. This is the great hope of the conference of our overseas brothers.

The ambition of the Guomindang for the overseas Chinese was, therefore, clearly political. This ambition was to expand Chinese presence overseas. But it must be noted that the Guomindang did not desire to expand militarily, rather by peaceful means. Specifically, it hoped to influence other people with a superior civilisation. It was what the Chinese had done in history. This was the Sun Yi Xian ideal when he spoke of the Great Commonwealth of the World. Education was seen to be the food of this expansion. As a result, various approaches were devised to foster overseas education.

The resolutions of the conference were approved by the Central Standing Committee of the party, and sent to various government or party departments for execution.

In December of the same year, the Jiao Yu Bu promulgated rules for the organisation of a planning committee for overseas education. The committee was responsible for all planning for overseas schools⁴⁹⁹. The rules were called the Jiao Yu Bu Hua Qiao Jiao Yu She Ji Wei Yuan Hui Zu Zhi Tiao Li [Ministry of Education Overseas Chinese Education Planning Committee: Rules of Organisation].

The second Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi and further policy statements

The next year, in April, the Jiao Yu Bu called a second Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi under instructions from the Guomindang⁵⁰⁰. The conference was to decide on practical measures of putting into effect the resolutions of all

other previous conferences. All of China's educational concerns, including overseas education, were brought into one broad schema, and an overall plan was drawn up by which Chinese education was to be guided for the next 20 years. In other words, the plan was for a 20-year period. The resolutions of the second overseas Chinese education conference of 1929 and the plan for overseas education devised by the Jiao Yu Bu were incorporated into this new comprehensive plan with modifications. The declaration of the conference says that the government intended to use its strength to help overseas education. We quote the plan in full as Appendix VII.

In fact, action had already been taken on many of the items in the plan. Among them were No. 1 and part of No. 2 of Section III, and also part of (ii) of the second No. 6 in Section V. Furthermore, the overseas schools had already put into practice many of the stipulations. These were No. 3 of Section IV, (i) and (ii) of the second No. 1 in Section V, a part of (iii) of the second No. 2 in Section V, and (i) of No. 1 in Section VI.

Further basic principles

It was based on all the above plans that the Guomindang and the Chinese government took action in the years that followed. However, it is to be noted that in 1931, two more significant documents were issued concerning basic principles for overseas education.

In June, the Chinese government promulgated its Yue Fa [Contract] with the people during the period of political tutelage⁵⁰¹. The contract had eight sections, one of which dealt with education. One article in this section stipulates that:

...the State should encourage and aid overseas Chinese education.

Although only an open statement of the new government's tacit policy all along, this was an important statement by which the authorities committed to themselves to promoting Chinese education overseas.

Three months later, a meeting of the Third Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Guomindang passed a resolution named the San Min Zhu Yi Jiao Yu Shi Shi Gang Yao [Principles of Enforcement of San Min Zhu Yi Education]. The purpose of this document is clear from its title. In particular, Chapter VII of the document was on overseas Chinese education. Section I of the chapter stated the aims of overseas Chinese education. This was a repetition of the three-point policy decided on by the November 1929 conference for overseas Chinese education already related in an earlier chapter. We shall not reproduce it here. The rest of the chapter is Section II. We shall quote this section in full in Appendix VIII.

After the Northern Expedition, the Guomindang gained control of the whole country. The Guomindang government energetically planned the development of education in the nation as well as for compatriots overseas. Many conferences were held and numerous resolutions were made towards that end.

There are two salient features in the new plan for overseas education. Firstly, like that in the home country, it was based on the San Min Zhu Yi and, secondly, it was to be a force in the international expansion of the Chinese race. In the next chapter, we shall see how far the new scheme was put into operation.



VII

Education under the Guomindang Government, 1927–1937, Phase II

The Guomindang and the new government in Nanjing did not ultimately finish planning for education until 1931 and no plans were, therefore, put into operation until the years that followed. After the break between the Guomindang and the communists, for a while, many of the Chinese schools in Malaya came under the dominance of the Guomindang, But after the reorganisation of the battered leftist forces into the Malayan Communist Party in 1930, these gained a powerful grip on the schools again for a number of years. Several probable reasons can be advanced for the new influence of the communist party their own reorganisation might be one, the Great Depression another, and the hostility of Governor Sir Cecil Clementi towards the Guomindang might be a third. But we will not be certain of the real reasons until we have access to communist documents that, in the present political situation in Malaya, were unavailable [Editor's note: that was in 1957]. After about 1933, the Guomindang was fortunate enough to regain its over-riding influence in the schools. This, however, did not mean that the communists were pushed totally out of the picture. True, there were no overt activities on their part but this was only because they were an underground force. In 1936, an incident of some magnitude took place to show that they were still alive. The reversal that they suffered after 1933 was most probably due to very successful action taken against them by the colonial police.

A second feature of Chinese education during this period was its anti-Japanese drive, triggered by the invasion of Manchuria by Japan. Against this common enemy, the Guomindang and the communists joined forces.

Rivalry among political forces

Our study of the second phase in the development of education under the Guomindang opens with the way clear for the party. We have noted in the previous chapter that, as early as 1927, certain schools in Malaya were already accepting the dominance of this party. Although, in 1928, the communists were still extremely active in the Chinese schools, the Guomindang was steadily gaining influence. In the middle of that year, Jiang Jie Shi floated a short-term bond to collect money for national reconstruction. He received enthusiastic response from Singapore. The schools there joined in to lead the local community to subscribe to the bond. The bond's promotion committee was set up and sponsored in September, along with others, by 20 boys' and girls', and day and night schools. The schools had representatives in the executive and standing committees of this committee. Although strong in Singapore, the movement did not seem to have spread to the other parts of Malaya. By December, sufficient money was collected and the organisation was dissolved.

What was of more significance was an event that occurred the following year, for it created a dilemma for those who were communist-minded and yet nationalistic at the same time. How the leftist students in Malaya reacted to the incident is really difficult to know, but the nationalists among them were clear in their action.

It was May 1929. The new government of China, under the leadership of Jiang Jie Shi, took action against the Russians in Manchuria. In a break with Russia, the Chinese searched the Soviet diplomatic mission in Harbin and, two months later, took over the Soviet stretch of the railways and its related properties in the northeastern provinces, expelling all Russians there in the process. The two countries severed diplomatic relations with each other as a consequence. Clashes between Chinese and Soviet troops broke out that lasted for months. Civility between the two was not restored until other powers mediated, and the Japanese invaded the provinces⁵⁰⁴.

The incident provoked a reaction in Malaya among the Chinese. Their schools in Penang and Melaka sprang to the support of the Chinese government. In August, Penang Chinese schools led by the Zhong Ling began discussions about rendering aid to China. Consequently, on 27 and 28 September, they staged a concert to raise funds for the Manchurian people. Other cultural bodies in Penang had done the same even earlier. In Melaka, a fund collection committee was set up, and on the executive arm of this committee were representatives from Chinese schools. In Asahan, the patriotic movement was also led by a school. From the action taken in Penang and Melaka, it can be seen that the means chosen to raise funds to help the fatherland were staging concerts and collecting direct donations⁵⁰⁵.

However, in Singapore, all was quiet. Hu Wen Hu, a wealthy and

prominent Chinese community leader, tried to arouse the people, but even the Guomindang there was inactive. The reason is unknown. There is no evidence that the emigrants in the Malay states in general were more enthusiastic than those in Singapore⁵⁰⁶.

On 30 December 1929, an important comment on the patriotism of the Penang students appeared in the Xing Zhou Ri Bao. The writer referred to the incident as political activity under the guise of charity. He said that this was the first time that Penang students had participated in any social movement on their own initiative. They had been like modest maidens, shy of action, before. He said that their inactivity was because society and culture in Penang were still immature. The highest standard in schools was Junior Middle and society did not pay attention to the students, and the students themselves lacked a liaison network. To him, there was no stimulant like the May 4th Movement in China. The writer then criticised the students for lacking firm determination and ability to get things done, and several other weaknesses. For these reasons, they had to rely on people from outside to direct them. This last statement is very revealing. The writer continued to say that recent activities spelt a bright future, however, and that the students should be encouraged and directed. The public and society should value them, he further said.

The approach and mode of presentation of the article seem leftist, but it is rather strange to find a leftist supporting action against their Russian comrades. Apparently, nationalism was a stronger sentiment than internationalism. The years following 1929 would see the schools further aroused by China's struggles.

In 1929 itself, the school laws were brought to bear against certain teachers in the Straits Settlements and in the Malay states. The teachers were either refused registration or had their registration cancelled for political activities which the government frowned upon. They had been accused of publishing undesirable articles or involvement in unlawful societies. One school was required to furnish security that it would not be used for purposes of political propaganda⁵⁰⁷.

In 1930, the scene changed. That year Sir Cecil Clementi arrived in Singapore as Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner to the Malay states. He had been a very successful administrator in Hong Kong. Thinking that the Guomindang in Malaya was carrying on anti-British propaganda and diverting local Chinese loyalty from the British government, he decided to ban the party. It is noteworthy that on the day of his arrival in Singapore on 5 February, Guomindang delegates held a meeting on the island.

Getting down to business, the new governor summoned the party

leaders to tell them of his non-tolerance policy. He allowed individuals to be members of the party, but he would not their joining up in groups. The action was extended to the Malay states. The ban only drove the Guomindang underground, although it took its toll. By September, the party had become very weak in Malaya. Two of its leaders were banished in July, the Malayan head branch was finished, and most of the branches became moribund⁵⁰⁸.

Nonetheless, education remained one of the instruments of Guomindang propaganda. Its political activities in schools undoubtedly suffered from the ban imposed on the party. In a speech to a public association in London in 1934, Sir Cecil pointed out that the Guomindang had tried to bring all the schools under its control, and impart anti-British thinking to the students through their textbooks⁵⁰⁹. During a meeting of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council on 26 January 1931, in reply to a query by the Chinese member on the matter of Chinese education, the director of education remarked that

At the present moment, however, and especially since the advent of Sir Cecil Clementi, Chinese vernacular education is engaging the attention of this Government. The inspecting staff of the Chinese schools (European and Chinese) has been strengthened. The question of textbooks is being carefully considered. The question of improved normal teaching for Chinese teachers in Chinese schools is also under consideration; and we hope that, by the time Sir Cecil returns, we may be able to submit the Department's views for his consideration.

In fact, Sir Cecil went further than banning the Guomindang. In 1933, he came out with an unequivocal announcement that the government would promote only Malay education, and that future applications for grants-in-aid by the Chinese schools would not be entertained although those which were receiving them at that time would have them continued⁵¹¹. This aroused Chinese resentment even though we have no record of any related incident.

The government's desire to train Chinese school teachers as well as to publish Chinese textbooks was never fully realised. The two objectives were politically sensitive and, hence, received a lot of attention. But in the end, the Straits Settlements never got to train any teachers for the Chinese schools although the Federal government did. The governments, however, paid larger grants to students of the normal schools and classes run by the Chinese themselves⁵¹². We have seen that even in the 1920s, the British government had been occupied with the matter of textbooks, but it never brought out any series of its own. What it did was to ban those Chinapublished textbooks it judged to be prejudicial to its interests—and left the Chinese themselves to make the necessary adjustment to the situation.

107

A brief history of the production of Chinese textbooks is given by an article which appeared in the Xing Zhou Ri Bao of June 1936. The article says that before the Wuhan Revolution of 1911, Chinese textbooks taught only self-cultivation, loyalty to the emperor and love for the country. This was what we have observed, earlier on in this work, of the educational policy in the Manchu period. After the revolution, the ideals of democracy and liberty were introduced. As these were never contradictory to British interests in Malaya, initially, no problem arose with the colonial government until 1925. The Straits Settlements Annual Education Report of that year says that political and anti-foreign contents had been found in Chinese textbooks as of that year513. Nevertheless, it was not until after the launch of the Northern Expedition that trouble really began. The expedition was preceded and followed by periods of tumultuous revolutionary fervour in China that swept overseas. The spirit of this campaign was borne by the textbooks leading the British to ban textbooks for the first time in 1928. That year, a list of textbooks prohibited both in the Straits Settlements and the Federation⁵¹⁴ was stipulated. It happened that, the following year, the Chinese government promulgated a You Zhi Yuan Xiao Xue Ke Cheng Zan Xing Biao Zhun [Temporary Standard Curricula for Kindergarten and Primary Schools 515, and Chinese book publishers quickly set about compiling textbooks that complied with the new requirements. One of the provisions of these curricula was that San Min Zhu Yi was to be incorporated into the textbooks. The British government found the new books objectionable and, in 1930, banned in Malaya the Xin Shi Dai (San Shi Toi) [New Times] series of textbooks published by the Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan (Commercial Press), and the Xin Xue Zhi (San Hok Chai) [New Educational System) series and the Xin Zhu Yi (San Chu I) [New Ideology] series of the Shi Jie Shu Ju (World Book Company)516.

It happened that when, in 1930, Sir Cecil Clementi banned the Guomindang in Malaya, leftist forces were organising themselves into the Malayan Communist Party 517. In fact, the communists had already formed a South Seas Provisional Committee in 1928 to succeed the Main School 518. As a consequence of this organisation, communist activities resurfaced in the Chinese schools. The resurgence gained much from the Great Depression that reached its trough that very year. The economic slump brought a considerable number of unemployed intellectuals from China to Malaya. Many of them failed to secure work in Singapore, and soon began participating in activities disliked by the authorities 519. The report of the Chinese Protectorate of the Federated Malay States for 1930 recorded a marked increase in communist party activity, chiefly in producing and distributing handbills and pamphlets in the Malayan languages

on commemoration days⁵²⁰. The central committee of the communist party had, under its Communist Youth Organisation, a Children's Corps and a Students' Federation besides a Women's Section and a Young Workers' Department⁵²¹. The first two were for students and the third could hold activities for female students. The communist students in Singapore ran the *Singapore Student*, a periodical⁵²². In the middle of 1930, the Singapore police discovered a document that revealed the existence of a Singapore Chinese Middle School Teachers' Federation in the island. The document was a manifesto issued by this federation, opposing the educational policy of the government and urging the formation of an association to struggle for the freedom of education on lines adopted by the Soviet Union⁵²³. Through these various means, the Communist Party of Malaya sought to bring the intelligentsia into its fold.

It should be noted that the emphasis of the communists in school activities shifted from night schools to day schools after their reorganisation. The reason for this change is unknown as communist documents are inaccessible. It was probably because the government had closed too many of the night schools and was giving them too much attention to make it possible or practical for the communists to work through them anymore. The number of night schools in the Straits Settlements had dwindled in this period. The colony's education report for 1931 says that there was only one Hainanese night school in Singapore that year524. In 1933, the entire Straits Settlements had only two525. On the other hand, for the communists' purposes, the population of the secondary students had probably grown sufficiently large since the earlier period, having come through the various Chinese primary schools. In 1930, secondary education was offered in two boys' schools and normal education in four girls' schools in the Straits Settlements, and there were seven junior middle schools in the Federated Malay States⁵²⁶.

The general line of division in the Chinese schools seems to be that the management committees as a whole were on the side of the Guomindang, whereas the students were more inclined to the communists. The teachers had adherents in both camps.

So far as communist activities in the schools went, however, 1930 was still a comparatively quiet year. Nevertheless, we are able to relate a few incidents. In April, a Xin Qiao [Xue Xiao] [Xin Qiao School] in Tanglin, Singapore, was raided by the police. Forty-three people in all were arrested and a considerable amount of illegal literature discovered. The arrested were all Hainanese, 19 of whom were soon released as the police found them innocent⁵²⁷.

Women's Day fell on 1 August. For the occasion, leftist activities were

widely planned. On 31 July, a man and two women were arrested in Kuala Lumpur for writing slogans on the walls of certain government offices. The women were former students and, at that moment, one of them was a teacher. The next morning, Sultan Street in the town was littered with leaflets. It was the work of students. A headmaster was arrested. Parallel activities were reported in Penang and Singapore⁵²⁸.

A He Nan Ye Xue [He Nan Night School] in Upper Serangoon Road, Singapore, had a visit from the police in October. The school seemed to be an important cell of the communists. The police discovered three real and another three fake pistols, 243 bullets, besides a vast amount of literature and a printing machine. Twenty people who lived in the school, including teachers and its other employees, as well as students, were taken to jail. The next month, the school was again searched and eight Hainanese youths were arrested. Propaganda literature was again seized, besides red flags. Expecting the communists to be celebrating a certain anniversary, the police had been on the alert in early November. They detained 42 persons in two days, seizing red flags, leaflets, and posters found everywhere in the city⁵²⁹.

Sometime during the year, a woman in the Federation had her teacher's certificate of registration rescinded when the government judged that she was likely to prejudice the interests of the country and of her students⁵³⁰.

In contrast, 1931 was the year of greatest communist activity. In both January and March, the Xin Qiao [Xue Xiao] in Singapore was again raided by the police, resulting in the usual arrests and confiscation of communist literature. In January also, the police surprised a Yu Qiao [Xue Xiao] [Yu Qiao School] in Neil Road, Singapore, and took away many students who were in their teens and twenties⁵³¹. It is rather surprising that the British government did not dissolve the Xin Qiao [Xue Xiao] given all evidence that it was communist-infiltrated.

Not many days after the raid on the Xin Qiao in January, serious trouble broke out in the Hua Zhong, the most important Chinese school in Malaya. Hua Zhong had seen a strike in 1926 and the school was closed for a year. But that incident was quite non-political. The students had merely wanted an inefficient, immoral, and detested principal replaced⁵³². Yet the 1926 incident showed that the students were already very well organised, possibly by the communists. In 1930, the police suspected that a communist cell had been organised there⁵³³. Moreover, it was not alone in this development. Other schools had also organised strikes before the burst of communist activity in 1931, following the Hua Zhong, in particular, the High School in Penang in 1926⁵³⁴, the Yu Ying in Singapore in 1927⁵³⁵,

the Yang Zheng in Singapore in 1929⁵³⁶, and the Zhong Hua in Penang in 1930⁵³⁷. This Zhong Hua incident in Penang was especially startling as the striking students broke off from the old school altogether, and started a new school of their own. All these events revealed the advance of communist influence in Malayan schools.

On 12 January 1931, Hua Zhong's management committee published a notice in the Xing Zhou Ri Bao538, announcing that the school would be reorganised beginning the following term. All teachers then employed would have their contracts terminated and new teachers would be engaged to replace them. All students had to re-register themselves and find a guarantor each to vouch for their good behaviour. Those who were boarders were ordered to leave the hostel by a certain date. The move was aimed at checking the spread of communism in the school. The existing students had been accused of neglecting their studies; of arrogant and disruptive behaviour, often insulting or slandering management committee members and teachers; and interfering with the school's administration, besides other mischief. However, the students boarding in the school defied the notice to vacate the hostel. A meeting was convened, on the part of the management committee, to discuss why the boarders should not leave the hostel. At the meeting, the students audaciously made seven demands of the committee. Among these were that there should no change of the teaching staff, no requirement for re-registration of the students, that they be given complete freedom to choose their own teachers, as well as freedom to publish, to make speeches, to hold meetings, to organise, and to study. After failing to get the students to accept a compromise solution, especially to drop the last three critical demands, management committee chairman, Chen Jia Geng, threatened to close down the school.

The government was watching the events with grave concern. On 27 January, the protector of Chinese and the police raided the school and came away with incriminating leftist literature and three arrested students. It turned out that the three were from the Dutch East Indies and it was understood that students from those parts were ringleaders in political activities. However, they were subsequently released and ordered to go home.

Following the police action, the school's management committee held an emergency meeting on 28 January. The protector of Chinese participated in the meeting and told the committee that the illegal literature in the school premises was sufficient ground to dissolve the school. Knowing that the committee was against the communists, he, however, chose not to close the school, but rather get the recalcitrant boarders evicted from the school. The committee agreed to the second course of action. Thereupon,

men from the Criminal Intelligence Department entered the school and got the students to leave. The gates were locked behind them and two constables were left behind to keep watch.

With the trouble in the school ended, the principal took responsibility for not having prevented it, resigned his post, and returned to China. The school was not re-opened until 1 March. When it did re-open, only two of the original batch of teachers were retained and the Senior Middle section closed down as there were only four students. The newly registered students were not cowed. They continued to defy the school administration. At the ceremony re-opening the school, many refused to sing the Guomindang party song. Chairman Chen Jia Geng, in a speech at the ceremony, claimed that the students and some teachers were financed by the communists to disrupt the school. He charged that the students were committing the four great crimes of refusing to celebrate the Chinese National Day, issuing posters to slander the school's management committee members, rebuking teachers without reason, and presenting the seven unreasonable demands. The incident illustrated clearly the partition in political affiliation between the school's management committee and the students.

In February, March, and April, the students in three girls' schools staged strikes. However, these strikes were again against incompetent teachers and principals, and, hence, were not actually political. The February incident involved the Zhong Hua Nu Xue (Chung Hua Girls' School) in Singapore⁵³⁹; the March incident, the Zhong Guo You Zhi Yuan, Shi Fan Bu [Chinese Kindergarten, Teachers' Training Department] in Penang⁵⁴⁰; and the April one, the Gong Li Nu Zi Xue Xiao (Public Girls' School) in Ipoh⁵⁴¹.

On 5 March, the Duan Zheng Xue Xiao [Duan Zheng School] in Jurong, Singapore, was raided by the vice-protector of Chinese, who discovered there subversive literature and a printing machine. The principal was presented in court and charged with possession of illegal literature and of being a member of an illegal Xing Zhou Xue Sheng Lian He Hui [Singapore Students' Federation]. The judge gave him six months' rigorous imprisonment⁵⁴².

It was earlier mentioned that trouble affected Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] in Penang in 1930, resulting in the students' opening a school of their own after the quarrel with the school authorities. They called their school the Nan Qiang Zhong Xue [Nan Qiang Middle School], before renaming it the Nanyang later. It was an extremely well-run school and so became a close rival of the other middle schools in Penang, for example, the Zhong Ling. The students engaged their teachers and the management

committee members, and they had also a say in the administration of the school. Undoubtedly, it was an organisation sustained by the greatest resolve on the students' part. But on 8 April 1931, the assistant director of education, the protector of Chinese, and the inspector of schools raided the school. Bulletins, books, and essays written by students were taken away as evidence of their undesirable activities. A few days later, a teacher, Dong Zheng Qiu, and probably also another Huang Qing Zhen[?] were arrested. Certain essays written by their students had referred to a second world war⁵⁴³, a very touchy matter. Three days later, the rest of the teachers were also summoned by the assistant director of education for questioning. The students held a meeting on 14 April and sent representatives to see the Chinese consul to request his assistance in securing the release of the teachers, ensuring that the school would not be closed by the government, and protecting the future freedom of the teachers and students. The consul in turn requested the consul-general in Singapore to take the matter up with the British government. On his part, he consulted the school's principal, although the latter resigned the same day. He met the students at a few more meetings and, on 16 April, had an audience with the British authorities without securing any assurance about the school's fate. That same day, the assistant director of education visited the school a second time, where he summoned a student leader by the name of He, and warned him not to create disorder or incite his fellow students. After that, the school was locked up. The students met the consul and threatened to break the locks if they were not removed. Far from getting the British government to concede, the consul formed a committee of representatives from the school's management committee, the parents of the students, and the headmaster to manage the school, and then, complying with the instructions of the government, it required the students to re-register themselves, and get their parents or a public organisation to guarantee their good behaviour. This requirement was naturally ignored by the students. Soon, the impotent committee was dissolved and the problem handed back to the management committee of the school544. According to the Nan Yang Qing Bao [Nanyang Information], the school was dissolved in 1933545, but the Straits Settlements Government Gazette made no mention of it.

Other related reports show the spirit of the struggle of the Chinese schools. On 10 April, five teachers of the Zhi Xing Yi Xue [Zhi Xing Free School] in Singapore were fined by the government for teaching without registration 64. A teacher in a school in Neil Road was sent to two months' rigorous imprisonment on 16 April because he was a member of the Xing Zhou Xue Sheng Lian He Hui, and was caught in possession of illegal

literature⁵⁴⁷. And near the end of the month, two teachers of the Xin Qiao were also found in possession of illegal literature and arrested⁵⁴⁸.

In May, disturbances again broke out in the Hua Zhong in Singapore. May was a month with many holidays: 1 May was May Day; 4 May, the anniversary of the May Fourth Movement; 5 May, the anniversary of the revolutionary government; 9 May, the anniversary of the presentation of the twenty-one demands of the Japanese; and 30 May was the commemoration of the conflict between the Chinese and the foreign powers in Shanghai in 1925. All these holidays were pregnant with political significance. However, the teaching staff of the Hua Zhong decided that only May Day should be commemorated and not the others. Their reason for this was that students should devote more time for study. There was no initial reaction from the students when the notification was made on 20 April. Quite suddenly on the night of 3 May, however, some students of the Junior Middle II wrecked their self-study room, demanding that 4 and 5 May should also be celebrated as holidays, rebuking teachers, and pasting up posters. The dean of discipline failed to control them.

The next morning, in a meeting, the teachers agreed to the students' demand, but decided to expel three of their leaders Lai Nan Qiu, Zhang Jia Hua, and Cai Xing. This was an extremely ill-considered move. If they had intended strong action, then they should not have acceded to the students' demand and, if they were willing to bow to the demand, then they should not have expelled their leaders. With the taste of success, the Junior Middle II students called a strike. They argued that the school might have asked them for compensation for the damages, but was not justified in expelling their leaders. Moreover, they stressed that there was no evidence that the three had been responsible for the damages. In the face of this defiance, the teachers resorted to stronger action. Three more leaders of the strikers, Liang Tian Wo, Luo Yun Hua, and Liao Qing Hong, were named for expulsion. Still the students refused to budge. They made speeches and accusations against the teachers who reported the matter to the school's management committee. Committee chairman, Chen Jia Geng, tried to get them to reconcile with their teachers. When the students turned a deaf ear, Chen saw the director of education, who, with the protector of Chinese, came and took away the six expelled students.

After the director and the protector had left, the Junior Middle II students convened a meeting of all the students and called a general strike. They formed a strike committee to demand the reinstatement of the six leaders and also that no student should be expelled without reason. The school's management committee summoned all parents and guardians to discuss how best to handle the situation. The students asked to send their

representatives to the meeting but were refused. The school's management committee made re-admission of the six students conditional on their submitting letters of penitence. The 50 parents and guardians were asked to persuade the students to end their strike and return to class. Chairman Chen issued a warning that the school authorities would take appropriate action if the students failed to obey their orders.

On 13 May, the consul-general joined in the effort to persuade the students but without success. At a general meeting that night, the students held fast to their demand and threatened action against any student who would go against the student body's decision. A male representative from the Xing Zhou Xue Sheng Lian He Hui and a female representative from the Xue Sheng Ba Ke Hou Yuan Hui [Students' Strike Back-up Society] were present at the gathering and spoke to encourage the students. When the director of education received his spies' report on the presence of these two agents, he took immediate action. With the protector of Chinese and the police, he raided the school that night. Four students, Ling Nan Xing, Ling Nan Long, Wu Yu Zu, and Ke Wei Zhi[?] were arrested. The first two were chairman and secretary of the meeting respectively. The police confiscated a great number of books and a large amount of gao zi (paper meant for essay writing).

The next morning. Ke was ordered to return home to Singapore and the three others despatched to the Dutch East Indies from whence they had come. Parents and guardians also visited the school that morning to see their charges. Only a few students went back to class as a result and Junior Middle II was completely deserted. This situation persisted for many days. However, the students' resolve very slowly melted away. The more moderate among them stole away home as their resistance and enthusiasm wore out. However, it was not until 5 June that classes were reported as being gradually filled up again. Like previous outbreaks, this trouble in the Hua Zhong was taken to be very serious⁵⁴⁹.

Towards the end of July, the Zheng Yu Xue Xiao [Zheng Yu School] in Seletar Road, Singapore, was raided by the police who took several teachers as well as students into custody⁵⁵⁰. Then in early December, a student in Taiping, Perak, was also arrested and sentenced to nine months jail for pasting posters around town to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the communist uprising in Guangzhou⁵⁵¹.

During the course of 1931, eight schools in the Straits Settlements were declared unlawful under section 18(4) of the Schools Registration Ordinance. The schools that were dissolved did not seem to have created any sensation since there was no report of it in the press. The eight comprised the Hua Nam, Tong Boon, Tin Kian, Poe Jang, and Nan Kwang Day

Schools; and Ek Tin, Jang Dek, and Ching, Jiok Night Schools⁵⁵². On the other hand, schools like the Hua Zhong, that engaged in rowdy protests, were not banned. No school was banned in the Federated Malay States.

The Malayan governments continued to prohibit textbooks that they objected to. The order was first made in the Federation in November 1931, which was followed in the Straits Settlements in May the next year 553. The banned textbooks, all published in Shanghai, were:

Published by the Zhong Hua Shu Ju (Chung Hua Book Company)[China

Book Company]

The Xin Zhong Hua Jiao Ke Shu [New China Textbooks],

- The Xin Xue Zhi Shi Yong Xin Xiao Xue Jiao Ke Shu [New Primary School Textbooks Suitable for the New Educational System] and
- The Xin Zhong Xue Jiao Ke Shu [New Middle School Text-books].

Published by the Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan

1. The Ji Ben Jiao Ke Shu [Basic Textbooks] and

The Xin Xue Zhi Jiao Ke Shu [New Educational System Text-books].

Published by the Min Zhi Shu Ju [People's Knowledge Book Company]

- 1. The Xin Biao Zhun Jiao Ke Shu [New Standard Textbooks] and
- 2. The Min Zhi Jiao Ke Shu [People's Knowledge Textbooks].

Published by the Guang Yi Shu Ju [Extensive Benefits Book Company]

 The Xin Xiao Xue Jiao Ke Shu [New Primary School Textbooks]

Besides the textbooks above, the governments renewed the ban on the three textbook series prohibited in 1930, and also outlawed a popular vocabulary book of the Zhong Hua Shu Ju.

An anti-Japanese campaign

Before proceeding, we have to note an important event of the year 1931⁵⁵⁴. It was a year remarkable not only for communist activities but also for an anti-Japanese campaign. We have noted in the previous chapter that the

Chinese were extremely perturbed by the Japanese advance into Southeast Asia. However, this threat to the Chinese was deemed less dangerous than the drive of the Japanese on the Chinese mainland itself. So antipathy towards the Japanese was a concomitant characteristic of this period of history. In September that year, the infamous Manchurian incident took place allowing the Japanese to split Manchuria from China and to set it up as Manchukuo under the puppet emperor, Pu Yi. The invasion of the Japanese created a furor among the Chinese at home and overseas.

As in 1928, when the Chinese and the Japanese clashed in Shandong, the Malayan Chinese were immediate in their response to the altercation. Under Singapore's leadership, a campaign was mounted to collect money for the home country. Meetings were held throughout Malaya and fund-raising organisations were set up. In the big towns, the schools joined in the movement and in the smaller ones, they led the movement. Thus, in the meeting in Singapore on 24 September, the representatives of 59 schools or student organisations were present. Examples of schools that took an active lead in the effort included the Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] [Zhong Hua School] in Mentakab, Pahang. In Tualang, Perak, teachers and students of the Tong Han [Xue Xiao] [Tong Han School] marched around town to arouse Chinese support. A Jiu Guo Wei Yuan Hui [Savethe-Nation Committee] was formed under the school's direction. Similar initiatives were taken in the small towns of Papan and Tanjong Rambutan in Perak, and Jasin and Simpang Empat in Melaka. When the meeting in Singapore called for national mourning of the defeat by the Japanese, it was heeded throughout Malaya.

Aid from Malaya for China took various forms: political, moral, financial, economic, and military. For political and moral support, the Malayan Chinese sent cables to China, the United States, Britain, and the League of Nations, protesting against the incident. The telegrams to China tried to muster resistance to the Japanese and appealed for reconciliation between Jiang Jie Shi, who was head of the Guomindang government in Nanjing, and his political rivals in the party, Wang Jing Wei and Hu Han Min, who had their power bases in Guangdong. Such messages were sent by the Chinese community in Malaya as well as their schools. Yu Cai [Xue Xiao] [Yok Choy School] of Ipoh sent one in October that year. Cables to the Western powers appealed for the defence of humanity and justice.

The Chinese teachers kept up the students' spirit with lectures, news bulletins, and posters. A certain school in a small Selangor town went further. The students were instructed to regard every Saturday as a day of penance. They were to atone for all their mistakes on such days. After lessons, they were to also help the servants of the school in manual work, preparing them for hardship. All this was to instill in the students the strength of character needed to face the Japanese challenge.

The most important kind of the support for the home country was monetary and the schools played a great part in this. The schools contributed out of pocket and collected more from the community. Their contributions came from teachers' savings from incidental expenses or their salaries and students' pocket money. Some schools, like the Pei Feng in Melaka, started saving societies for the purpose. In Penang, most of the Chinese schools banded together to form a single savings organisation. Enterprising schools set up businesses, as did the Ping Min in Melaka. selling food and newspapers in school. Others, like the Nan Yang Nu Zhong in Singapore, the Pei De[?] in Melaka and the Pei Zhi[?] of Perai sold articles and students' handwork for the fund. Knowing the popularity of concerts, the Nan Yang Nu Zhong, the Nu Zi Ti Yu Zhuan Men Xue Xiao [Girls' Physical Training Specialist School], the Jing Fang Girls', and the Nan Yang Gong Shang Bu Xi Xue Xiao [Nanyang Industrial and Commercial Tuition School] participated in performances alongside others in Singapore. Schools in Kuala Lumpur, Kajang, Penang, and Ipoh followed suit. Sometimes, not only was money raised, warm clothing was collected as well to help the victims weather the winter. Itinerant teams roamed the towns, persuading people to donate towards the collection. In certain places, even some English schools pitched in by putting up concerts and sent out persuasion teams, as in Ipoh and Kuala Lumpur in November.

Economic action against the Japanese took the form of a boycott of their goods. Again schools took a leading role in this and it was reported in November that the Hua Qiao Xue Xiao [Hua Qiao School] in Kemaman, Terengganu, distributed strips of black cloth to the Chinese bearing slogans calling for the boycott. The effort was so successful that the Nan Yang Qing Bao reported many Japanese shops closing down in Singapore.

Military aid from the Chinese emigrants was insignificant. Early in 1932, three teachers from the Gong Li Nu Zi Xue Xiao in Ipoh returned to China to serve as nurses in the army.

But overall it was a good show of patriotic support. The movement that began in September received fresh impetus in December when Japan attacked Shanghai to divert attention from Manchuria, and to force the Americans and British to accept Manchukuo as a fait accompli, among other reasons. The Shanghai incursion was a bloody affair between the Chinese and Japanese. As in the Shandong incident, Malayan Chinese rallied round and sent funds to help the Chinese cause. However, the conflict did not last long, and, in May the following year, a truce was arranged which provided for the withdrawal of the belligerent forces from

and the demilitarisation of the city.

However, defence of the fatherland was not the only cause to which the Nanyang Chinese rose. In October 1932, Malayan Chinese began another campaign to raise money, this time, for the victims of a flood in Manchuria instead.

British reaction against activism

It now remains for us to see what attitude the British government assumed towards this show of patriotism by the Chinese settlers in Malaya. Generally, its policy was one of neutrality as in the past. The Chinese were allowed to conduct their campaign so long as they did not endanger the peace and order of the land. Nevertheless, the Chinese were immediately checked whenever the government thought that they exceeded their limit. The governor, Sir Cecil Clementi, did not hesitate to suspend a Chinese newspaper for a month because of an objectionable editorial. Recognising the influence of the press, the British, in fact, closely watched and controlled it. Public debate was similarly viewed. It was reported, for example, that the government prohibited lectures on the Manchurian affair. Yet again, schools were put under surveillance. In November 1931, officers of the education department searched a girls' school in Ipoh, charging that its students had written essays that infringed the law. The president of the school managed to placate them. However, the registration of two of its teachers was cancelled sometime after that. The Xing Zhou Ri Bao attributed this incident to the students' zeal over the fund-raising campaign.

In the same year, a Hainanese school teacher in Melaka was convicted for promoting the anti-Japanese boycott. The following year, it was noted that the education department also summoned the headmaster of the Da Ren in Ipoh for questioning for allowing his students to write undesirable essays. He was initially released, but was arrested again to be banished from the country.

This anti-Japanese drive of 1931–1932 was welcomed by both the Guomindang and the communists who, in the face of a common enemy, were forced to unite.

Emboldened, the Chinese students carried on with their political activities. In January 1932, the police called at a Japanese hotel in Sophia Road and arrested five Chinese youths. They were arraigned in court and charged with possessing subversive materials, including correspondence with and publications of German communists. The constitution of a Fan Di Guo Lian Meng Hui [Anti-Imperialist League] was also found on them. In the eyes of the judge, they seemed to be important members of the com-

munist organisation and had directed the recent communist activities in the colony. One of them, named Dai Yan Chuan, was an English school teacher and a member of the Volunteer Corps. The rest were Li Wen, Lu Wen Zhou, Lin Yuan Guang, and Chen Bao Han, all former students of the Hua Zhong expelled for political activism. Later, in another trial, Lin was released at the request of the police. Chen was given three months' rigorous imprisonment, and Dai six. The judge released Li and Lu also but they were re-arrested by the police and deported⁵⁵⁵.

The next wave of activism began from 18 March, a memorial day for the communists. Leftist students in Penang visited the Fu Jian Nu Xiao Shi Fan Bu [Fujian Girls' School, Teachers' Training Department] and Fu You Nu Xue [Fu You Girls' School] and declaimed to the students. They distributed leaflets and wrote slogans on the blackboards. Not all of them evaded the police and three were caught⁵⁵⁶. In Kuantan, Pahang, the headmaster and a lady teacher at the Hua Qiao Xue Xiao [Hua Qiao School] were detained on 21 May. They were Chinese nationalists, not communists. However, banned books and song sheets were discovered in their students' drawers⁵⁵⁷.

At the end of the year, another serious incident involving the Hua Zhong, Singapore, occurred 558. The Chinese communists celebrated their uprising in Guangzhou on 11 December. With police on the alert, the day passed without incident until 7.00 p.m. Then, a great crowd which had gathered in the Rochor Road, Queen Street, and Java Street vicinity proceeded to march, carrying a banner protesting against the Immigration Restriction Ordinance that barred the entry of undesirable persons. The police arrived to stop them and disperse the gathering. A few people offered resistance, resulting in 58 arrests, 29 of whom were students from the Hua Zhong and four were women, including a teacher. Students from English medium schools were also among those arrested. A similar demonstration in Victoria Street was also dispersed as well. The following day, police raided the Hua Zhong and took away a considerable volume of leftist literature.

When the 58 arrested were brought to trial, Hua Zhong students issued a public declaration that they were wrongly accused, that it had all been an unfortunate coincidence when they were caught at the demonstration as they had been on their way to watch a volleyball match or to do some shopping. Believing the students, the school's management committee had engaged lawyers to defend them. The trial ran from 12 to 23 December. Important members of the management committee and staff were summoned to court as witnesses. The judge doubted the students' story and proclaimed them guilty. Punishment was meted out according to the

age of the offender. All of them were, firstly, required to deposit a sum of \$200 each with the government as a bond for their good behaviour for a year. On top of that, those aged 16 years or older were fined \$25 each or jailed for a month in default. The younger ones were caned, the punishment received ranging from three strokes for the 12-year-olds to six for the 15-year-olds. We note that there were two 12-year-old students and two aged 13 years among those receiving this punishment.

A student from an English school was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment while another was acquitted. The lady teacher was required to guarantee her good behaviour for a year against a bond of \$200. The rest of the 58 arrested were workers. The judge quickly disposed of their cases as they had no lawyer to represent them in the court.

The colonial secretary was not satisfied with the punishment meted out to the students above 16 years of age and issued a warrant for them to be banished from the colony. The Chinese consul-general intervened, pleading in private with the protector of Chinese not to have them deported. The protector's advice was to get the school's management committee to send a petition to the British government. The consul-general followed his advice, and subsequent to that the colonial secretary revoked his order to deport the 12 students.

After this incident, the entire teaching staff of the school resigned, taking the blame for the trouble caused. The management committee also ordered all the school's boarders to leave and suspended the school until new teachers could be found. The Xing Zhou Ri Bao commented on this in its 27 December edition. It states that many students of the school never took their studies seriously. Instead, they concentrated on politics. They questioned their teachers about politics even when the subjects taught were non-political. Teachers were humiliated for their ignorance and, because of this, many of the staff left the school.

However, the government was still not satisfied with the action it had taken against the Hua Zhong. Thus, a meeting in the colonial secretary's office on 20 February 1933 discussed the dissolution of the school. This disturbed the school's management committee when it got wind of it. On their behalf, the consul-general met the governor, asking him not to proceed with the intended closure of the school and promising that the school would be properly run. The governor acceded to the consul-general's request, but the government still required the school's reorganisation plans and the appointment of the headmaster and teachers to be submitted to the Chinese protectorate as well as the education department for consideration, and be subject to approval by the governor-in-council. Later, it was made known to the management committee that the protectorate

would approve of the new principal if he were a man recommended by Dr. Lin Wen Qing. The other staff members must be selected by the principal with the management committee and seconded by Dr. Lin. The school was not reopened until February 1934. The new principal was Lin Yao Xiang. Only two of the former teachers were retained. But no former students from the East Indies were re-admitted. Neither would new students from Indonesia be welcomed. The school reopened with only one standard, Junior Middle I.

There were incidents at other Malayan schools, too, though none as spectacular. In the whole year, there were seven prosecutions in the Straits Settlements under the Schools Registration Ordinance, six in Singapore and one in Penang. Those in Singapore included two persons teaching without registration, three teaching with prohibited textbooks, and one school for teaching after registration has been refused. The school in Penang was prosecuted for operating after registration was denied⁵⁵⁹. In addition to all the prosecutions, one school in Singapore was declared unlawful for reasons unstated⁵⁶⁰

In the Federated Malay States, four headmasters and one woman teacher were banished (one of the headmasters and the woman were most probably from Kuantan, Pahang), and two teachers deprived of their registration because of political activities. Four non-registered teachers were also banished for the same reason and two teachers were refused registration. The grants to four schools in Selangor and one in Pahang (probably the one in Kuantan) were stopped for political reasons, and those for one school in Perak and Selangor each were suspended for failure to comply with regulations⁵⁶¹.

In November that year, the Malayan governments produced another list of banned books⁵⁶². More volumes of some existing series were named. The series were:

The Xin Xue Zhi Shi Yong Xin Xiao Xue Jiao Ke Shu,

The Xin Zhong Xue Jiao Ke Shu and the Xin Zhong Hua Jiao Ke Shu of the Zhong Hua Shu Ju, and

The Xin Xue Zhi Jiao Ke Shu of the Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan.

To these were added the productions of some new publishing companies which, like earlier, were from Shanghai:

- The Da Dong [Great East],
- The Wen Ming [Civilised],
- The Ya Xi Ya [Asia],
- The Le Hua [Happy China], and

5, The Nan Qiang [Strong South].

While details are not uniformly available about the other books that were banned, the following are known:

- The Er Tong Shu Ju [Children's Book Company], Shanghai, volumes from the Xin Er Tong Jiao Ke Shu [New Children's Textbooks], as well as from the Xian Dai Jiao Ke Shu [Modern Textbooks], and the Xin Zhuan Jiao Ke Shu [Newly Compiled Textbooks];
- 2. The Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan, one specific title; and
- The Shi Jie Shu Ju, two titles.

It must be noted that despite the continued listing of banned book, the year 1932 saw a change in the situation. The Straits Settlements Annual Education Report of that year says that

...in 1932, the two principal firms in Shanghai publishing such textbooks—the Commercial Press and the Chung Hua—each brought out a series specially written for Chinese education overseas and in this country. These books have been passed as suitable by the Government and are now in use in the majority of Chinese schools, either as an entire series, or to supplement those volumes in other series which were found unobjectionable.

The article in the Xing Zhou Ri Bao on the history of Chinese textbooks which we noted earlier also says that, after 1931, the textbooks became calmer in tone, although the language readers among them still paid considerable attention to China's salvation and matters of her national humiliation⁵⁶⁴. The next year, the Chinese government promulgated the Zheng Shi Xiao Xue Ke Cheng Biao Zhun [Standard Curriculum for Primary Schools] to replace the temporary curriculum⁵⁶⁵.

The years 1931 and 1932 were of greatest communist activity in Chinese schools during this period of Malayan history. From 1932 till about 1935, they quietened down. The revolutionary fervour did not again arise until a full-scale Japanese invasion of China became imminent. The dormancy was probably due to the success of police action. From the start of his tenure, Sir Cecil Clementi ruled with an iron hand and he was governor until the end of 1934⁵⁶⁶. An event in 1931 served to illustrate the effectiveness of the governor's machinery. The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat of the Profintern had controlled the Malayan General Labour Union. An agent of the secretariat, a man named Lefranc, was discovered and arrested by the police in Singapore that year. The Singapore police relayed crucial information to Jiang Jie Shi who was then able to break up the Far Eastern headquarters of the Comintern in Shanghai. It was a crippling blow to the communists⁵⁶⁷.

Only one school-related incident was reported by the Xing Zhou Ri Bao in 1933. On 12 January at 5.00 a.m., the Yu Cai [Xue Xiao] in Ipoh was raided by the protector of Chinese and police. Teachers and students were detained although no incriminating evidence was discovered. After this, the police visited a house in town where certain students of the school were boarders. All six were arrested. Later, seven of the detainees were released. Only one was detained and this student was implicated by certain communist documents that the police discovered in a raid on a communist cell in Penang 568. In the following year, a Penang schoolgirl was arrested for possession of letters and literature of a subversive nature, but she was later acquitted by a judge 569.

In the Straits Settlements in 1933, there were three cases of prosecution under the school laws. Separately, a school was declared unlawful⁵⁷⁰. In 1934, nine persons were prosecuted under the same laws, four for teaching without registration, three for acting as supervisors of unregistered schools and two for non-political reasons. In 1935, 1936, and 1937, there

were one⁵⁷¹, one, and three cases respectively⁵⁷².

The Federated Malay States, on the other hand, refused to register two teachers and also prosecuted six supervisors in 1933. Five of the latter were teachers as well and they had been running unregistered schools. In 1934, five other cases were prosecuted while five teachers were refused registration. In 1935, one application for registration to teach was denied. All these refusals had been for political reasons. In 1935 also, another teacher had his certificate to teach rescinded. Two schools in Negeri Sembilan had their grants terminated in 1933⁵⁷³. In this connection, it is interesting to note how the education department cooperated with the police and the Chinese protectorate in their work of registering Chinese school teachers. The Federated Malay States Annual Education Report of the Federation for 1936 reads on page 76:

Investigation connected with political activities are [sic] carried out in co-operation with the Chinese protectorate and the Police. References connected with applications from teachers for registration are made to the protector of Chinese, Johore and Kedah, to the assistant director of education (Chinese) Straits Settlements, and to the Director, Criminal Intelligence, Singapore, and the Director, Criminal Branch, Kuala Lumpur, before any new applicant is registered.

In 1933 and 1935, the governments continued to ban some textbooks⁵⁷⁴. In particular, more titles from the following old series were prohibited: From the Zhong Hua Shu Ju

- 1. The Xin Zhong Hua Jiao Ke Shu,
- 2. The Xin Zhong Xue Jiao Ke Shu, and
- 3. Some other specific titles;

From the Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan

- 1. The Xin Xue Zhi Jiao Ke Shu,
- 2. The Xin Zhuan Jiao Ke Shu, and
- Some other specific titles;

From the Er Tong Shu Ju

1. The Xin Er Tong Jiao Ke Shu.

Other companies that had been affected by the earlier ban were back on the lists also:

- 1. The Shi Jie Shu Ju,
- 2. The Da Dong Shu Ju,
- 3. The Nan Qiang Shu Ju,
- 4. The Guang Yi Shu Ju,
- 5. The Wen Ming Shu Ju, and
- The Ya Xi Ya Shu Iu.

New companies whose books came under the prohibition were

- 1. The San Min Shu Dian [Three Peoples' Book Company],
- The Xin Zhong Guo Shu Ju [New China Book Company],
- The Bei Xin Shu Ju [New North Book Company],
- The Hui Wen Tang Shu Ju [Converging-Letters Hall Book Company],
- The Shen He Ji Shu Ju [Chop Shen He Book Company],
- 6. The Da Zhong Shu Ju [Popular Book Company],
- 7. The Kai Ming Shu Ju [Enlightened Book Company],
- The Zhong Xue Sheng Shu Ju [Middle School Students' Book Company],
- 9. The Xin Ya Shu Ju [New Asia Book Company],
- 10. The Qi Zhi Shu Ju [Develop Intelligence Book Company],
- The Zhong Guo Tu Shu Gong Si, He Ji [Chop He, Chinese Picture and Book Company],
- The Wen Hua Mei Shu Tu Shu Gong Si [Letter-Flowers Art Books Company],
- 13. The Shi Jie Yu Di Xue She [World Geographical Society], and
- The Qing Nian Hui Quan Guo Xie Hui [All-Nation Association of the YMCA].

Again all were from Shanghai. But this time a company from Guangzhou, the Gong He Shu Ju [Republic Book Company], was also included. Apart from these, titles in certain new series from old companies were also found on the lists. They were:

 The Xin Ke Cheng Biao Zhun Tong Yong Ke Ben [New Curriculum Standard Textbooks for General Use] by the Zhong Hua Shu Ju,

The Fu Xing Jiao Ke Shu [Renaissance Textbooks] by the

Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan,

The Xin Ke Cheng Biao Zhun Jiao Ke Shu [New Curriculum Standard Textbooks] by the Shi Jie Shu Ju, and

4. The Xin Sheng Huo Jiao Ke Shu [New Life Textbooks] by the Da Dong Shu Ju.

When Sir Cecil left Malaya for good in 1934, he was succeeded by Sir Shenton Thomas as Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner to the Federation. Sir Cecil was said to have been relieved of his office because of his education policy. This was borne out to a degree by Sir Shenton's rejection of his predecessor's policy of discriminating against the other vernacular school systems in favour of the Malay schools. However, it did not mean that the new governor was about to relax the government's control over political forces⁵⁷⁵.

Implementation of educational plans

As we have stated very early on, the Guomindang used school textbooks as a very potent means for spreading the party's philosophy among students. Other methods were also sought to direct and promote overseas education, and these, we have seen, were embodied in plans drawn up in 1929 and 1930. We now examine how the Chinese government attempted to put these schemes into action. Generally, not much was done before 1934. It was only after the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui was reorganised in 1932 that serious efforts were expended on overseas education. This came after it had taken over most of the important functions on overseas education from the Jiao Yu Bu.

In 1930, the Hua Qiao Jiao Yu She Ji Wei Yuan Hui [Overseas Chinese Education Planning Committee] immediately began operations in earnest after its formation. Most of its members were from the Ji Nan Da Xue and the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui. Three meetings of this planning committee were noted by the press. The meetings were preoccupied with making resolutions to request either the Guomindang or the government to put into operation the plans which had been drawn up⁵⁷⁶. Most of its requests were agreed to.

The most obvious first step was to establish the real conditions of overseas education. This was set in motion with forms being sent at various times to the various consuls to pass on to schools for feedback. This work lasted from 1930 till 1936. It must not be taken, however, that the work was carried out continuously or frequently. It was not. At times also, the schools were not very cooperative in filling the feedback forms⁵⁷⁷.

Then in June 1930, the Guomindang passed regulations for the organisation of Hua Qiao Quan Xue Wei Yuan Hui [Overseas Chinese Education Promotion Committees] as stipulated in No. 4 of Section III of

the 1930 plan578.

At the end of that year, the Chinese consul-general in Singapore received instructions from the Chinese government calling for a meeting of educationists to decide on the means to implement the policies made by China. Accordingly, the heads of the more important schools in the island met in the consulate on 19 November. The preliminary meeting unanimously agreed that some machinery which could work for the unification of the schools was most needed. It was decided that a Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Tong Yi Wei Yuan Hui [Overseas Chinese Education Unification Committee] be formed, or an educational officer appointed in the consulate. It was considered that all other problems could be easily solved once this fundamental measure was taken. However, no further meeting was called after this and, like so many times before, nothing came out of the resolutions⁵⁷⁹.

On 16 January 1931, the Jiao Yu Bu promulgated the Qiao Min Zhong Xiao Xue Gui Cheng [Regulations for Overseas Nationals' Middle and Primary Schools], making provisions for the organisation of these schools. It was a very comprehensive document, but mainly concerned education and was not manifestly political. Only the first article is of relevance to our study. This states that overseas schools should conform to the aims and methodology embodied in China's educational policy. Commensurate with the special environment overseas and with the students' body and mind, it should develop the national consciousness of the students and their powers to manage their own affairs and organisation, and impart to them knowledge and ability for raising their standard of living and developing their productivity within the community's economy.

The principle eminently satisfied the requirements of the Chinese overseas. The other provisions of the regulations dealt with school finance, infrastructure and equipment, curriculum, discipline, management committees, teaching staff, students, holidays, and study societies⁵⁰⁰. Moreover, the regulations fulfilled the following stipulations of the 1930 plan, either

in full or in part:

- No. 3 of Section IV,
- · The first No. 3 of Section V,

- (i) of the second No. 1 of Section V,
- · (ii) of the second No. 2 of Section V,
- (ii) & (iv) of the second No. 3 of Section V,
- (i) & (iv) of the second No. 4 of Section V,
- (v)-(vii) of the second No. 5 of Section V,
- (i) of the second No. 6 of Section V,
- (ii) of the second No. 7 of Section V, and
- No. 1 (i) of Section VI.

The new order revoked the Hua Qiao Xiao Xue Zan Xing Tiao Li of the Da Xue Yuan.

The next month, the Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Zan Xing Gui Cheng [Temporary Regulations for Overseas Chinese Educational Associations] were issued. This was a significant step forward in accordance with No. 3 of Section III of the 1930 Plan. The associations were an important mechanism for putting into effect all educational plans and policies. Working under the supervision and direction of the Guomindang and the government, they were intended as a link to the overseas Chinese. Unfortunately, up till September 1941, none of the associations was established due to various difficulties. In July 1937, new regulations were drawn up which were amended in 1941⁵⁸¹.

During the rest of 1931, more decrees were announced. These included the Hua Qiao Zhong Xiao Xue Xiao Dong Hui Zu Zhi Gui Cheng [Regulations for the Organisation of Management Committees of Overseas Chinese Middle and Primary Schools]; the Xiu Zheng Hua Qiao Zi Di Hui Guo Jiu Xue Ban Fa [Amended Measures Pertaining to Overseas Chinese Students Returning to China for Studies]; provisions for the collection and administration of a foundation fund for overseas education; and regulations for a system of rewards and encouragement for subscribers⁵⁸². These provisions satisfied the following items in the 1930 Plan:

- · (iii) of the second No. 1 of Section V,
- (i) of the second No. 2 of Section V.
- (ii) of the second No. 6 of Section V, and
- No. 2 of Section IV.

Early in 1932, an event of some significance occurred—the reorganisation of government machinery dealing with Chinese affairs overseas. Earlier, we saw that the new government in Nanjing formed the Qiao Wu Ju in 1928. This bureau was dissolved at the end of the year to be replaced by a Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui. The commission was, at first, part of the government, but its control was soon transferred to the Guomindang. Then

in April 1932, it was reorganised and returned to the government body. It had three sections, one of which was in charge of overseas education. This enabled it to take over all the important functions concerning overseas education from the Jiao Yu Bu and its planning committee⁵⁸³. Unlike the Jiao Yu Bu, the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui could concentrate on education issues affecting the Chinese living abroad. Although more was done in this area after this pivotal reorganisation, it was not until 1934 that bigger strides were taken.

The Chinese consul in Penang at that time, Xie Xiang, was notably enthusiastic about his work⁵⁸⁴. He had ambitious ideas of putting into operation China's plans for overseas education. Thus, in June 1932, he called a conference of all educationists in Penang, and there presented a scheme for improving the local Chinese schools. To him the greatest obstacle in the way of Chinese education was the lack of unity. He, therefore, proposed that the schools should be unified in stages until they came under the control of a single authority, the management committee of an educational association. This would work for efficiency and economy. Xie was persuasive and his scheme was adopted by the assembly. Resolutions were then made on questions of school financing, standardisation of textbooks, employment opportunities for teachers, introduction of practical subjects into the curriculum, standardisation of holidays, teachers' associations, discipline of students, and others. The consul stressed the aims for overseas education contained in the first article of the Qiao Min Zhong Xiao Xue Gui Cheng promulgated in China. Having established this consensus, he convened a social gathering of Chinese teachers in Penang in October the same year, during which they decided on a number of measures for implementing his plan.

Xie also entertained the idea of calling similar conferences in the other areas under his charge: Kedah, Perak, and Selangor in the peninsula. However, these conferences did not materialise. He was only able to pay visits to Kedah and Perak. In any case, the Chinese foreign ministry relieved him of his office the following December. We do not know how much of his grand scheme was realised although we can be certain that it was only partially effected. The reason he lost his office was never disclosed by the foreign ministry either.

Sometime in 1932, the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui issued regulations to define how it would assist students returning to China for their studies. These covered looking after their welfare and securing places for them in schools or universities⁵⁸⁵. This set of regulations were the Qiao Wei Hui Bao Song Ji Jie Shao Qiao Sheng Sheng Xue Gui Cheng [Regulations Governing the Sending and the Placement for Higher Studies of Overseas

Students by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission].

And early the next year, the Chinese government decided on a Qiao Min Jiao Yu Shi Shi Gang Yao [Summary Principles Governing the Implementation of Education for Overseas Nationals] which repeated all

former plans and policies586.

The years 1932 and 1933 were notable for the reorganisation of the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui and the activities of Consul Xie. During the second half of 1934, the Chinese consulates in Malaya made an attempt to enforce certain provisions of the Qiao Min Zhong Xiao Xue Gui Cheng. The prime mover, the consul-general in Singapore, Diao Zuo Qian, called several meetings of the island's educationists. They decided to form the Zhong Hua Jiao Yu Yan Jiu Hui [Chinese Educational Research Society] for the reform and improvement of schools under the supervision and direction of the consul-general. A constitution was adopted and office-bearers elected, but the whole project was later abandoned for undisclosed reasons. It is our conjecture that it did not receive the British government's approval—probably the same reason why Consul Xie's plans failed in Penang.

Diao also saw the assistant director of education about the issue of textbooks and had ideas of beginning inter-school examinations and inter-school sports. Lest it be said that the British were against all plans put forward by the Chinese community, we have evidence that they encouraged non-political initiatives. Diao's proposals for the examinations and sports did receive British support. Thus, inter-school examinations were set in both the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States in 1935, and, thereafter, became an annual affair. Inter-school sports, too, became a regular feature. The Chinese consulates and the British authori-

ties cooperated harmoniously in these enterprises587.

Diao's achievement was emulated by Kuala Lumpur and Penang by their respective consuls. In Kuala Lumpur, Consul Lu Zi Qin organised a committee of educationists under his office to decide on the unified use of textbooks, subjects taught, teaching hours, and school holidays. But the committee's decisions were not accepted by all the schools because of differences in their circumstances. Lu also tried introducing an inter-school examination but few of the schools responded probably due to the lack of groundwork because the idea was put together in a hurry. After Lu's failure, it was reported in 1936 that there was a certain organisation which passed certain resolutions on school textbooks and holidays⁵⁸⁸.

In Penang, the proposal to form a Bin Ji Zhong Hua Jiao Yu Yan Jiu Hui [Penang and Kedah Chinese Educational Research Society] was not approved by the British government. However, the island's educationists passed certain resolutions on textbooks, school holidays, teaching hours,

and inter-school examinations, and the consul carried out an investigation into Penang and Kedah schools589.

1934 saw many of the decrees governing overseas education amended to accommodate the newly acquired powers of the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui. There was otherwise no substantial change in them. The amendments resulted in:

 The Xiu Zheng Qiao Min Zhong Xiao Xue Gui Cheng [Amended Regulations for Overseas Nationals' Secondary and Primary Schools],

 The Xiu Zheng Qiao Min Xue Xiao Li An Gui Cheng [Amended Regulations for the Registration of Overseas Nationals'

Schools],

 The Xiu Zheng Qiao Min Zhong Xiao Xue Xiao Dong Hui Zu Zhi Gui Cheng [Amended Regulations for the Organisation of Management Committees of Overseas Nationals' Secondary and Primary Schools], and

 The Xiu Zheng Ling Shi Jing Li Qiao Min Jiao Yu Xing Zheng Gui Cheng [Amended Regulations for the Administration

of Overseas Nationals' Education by Consuls]590.

The 1930 Plan had stipulated that the Chinese government should every year set apart \$500,000 to aid overseas education. A decision to implement this idea was not taken until 1933. Aid was to begin in March of that year and up to the following December, a total sum of \$47,132 was earmarked for the purpose. However, the money was not actually paid out until May 1934. After July 1935, the aid was to increase to an annual budget of \$200,000. It is plainly seen that the actual allocations fell far short of the proposed amount. Moreover, only registered schools were entitled to such aid and, in early 1935, only four middle and 22 primary schools in Malaya received the benefits. The aid was meant for three purposes: firstly, direct assistance to the budgets of the schools; secondly, bursaries for poor but bright students to return to China for studies; and, thirdly, awards for students who excelled in inter-school examinations. For helping students to return for studies in China, the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui drew up a set of regulations known as the Bu Zhu Qing Pin Qiao Sheng Hui Guo Sheng Xue Gui Cheng [Regulations on Financial Aid for Poor Overseas Students to Return to China for Further Studies]. Later the Chinese government also sent aid in the form of school equipment⁵⁹¹. In 1936, classes were organised to coach returning students.

The Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui also made a small attempt at training teachers for overseas schools. In August 1934, it opened a training class which took only 50 trainees. Half the recruits came from overseas, to join their China counterparts. Malaya sent only one student. It was a short course lasting only a year. In 1936, the enterprise was taken over by the Ji Nan Da Xue⁵⁹².

In April 1937, the commission organised lecture meetings for overseas Chinese teachers over durations of two or three weeks. Eleven people from Malaya attended these lectures, most of them being school principals. The lectures were more political indoctrination than anything else even though purely educational matters were discussed. The project was staged only once⁵⁹³.

The rest of the work of the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui on the matter of overseas education during this period can be mentioned in brief. In December 1935, it set up a committee to attempt a compilation of textbooks designed for overseas use⁵⁹⁴. The next year in June, it published its instructions on the question of teaching hours for both middle and primary schools⁵⁹⁵. The first act was in conformity with (iii) of the second No. 4 of Section V of the 1930 Plan. And in accordance with (iii) of the second No. 7 of Section V, in September 1936, it sent Pang Wei and Li Po Sheng to inspect overseas schools. Fang and Lee's four lasted five months, and included Malaya in its ambit⁵⁹⁶.

Overseas education engaged not only the interests of the Chinese central government, but other authorities as well. Even before the inspection mission was sent by the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui, the Guangdong government had already despatched its educational chief, Huang Lin Shu, to survey the education scene in the Nanyang. After the visit, Huang presented a long memorandum to his government, making his recommendations for the improvement of overseas education. He proposed that the provincial government should extend financial aid to overseas schools because of their lack of funds; draw up regulations for improving the then backward infrastructure; give the schools the criteria for planning their curriculum and compiling their textbooks; train teachers for them; render assistance to students hoping to return to China for studies; and to take charge of their administration⁵⁹⁷. The document focused purely on education. There is no evidence that its recommendations were implemented.

In the middle of the following year, the president of Guo Min University, Wu Ding Xin, and a certain professor from the Ji Nan Da Xue visited Malaya and inspected the schools⁵⁹⁸.

One would expect that during the three years' lull in communist activity in the schools, the Guomindang would have created considerable rapport with the students through their implementation of San Min Zhu Yi education. It did assert its influence, and to a respectable extent,

too, but the power of the communists was not obliterated. Incidents after 1936 revealed the hold the communists still had over the schools. This recrudescence of communist activism in the schools owed much to yet another Japanese advance on China. The resurgence began in 1935 and reached its height during the Sino-Japanese War which came two years later. We will deal fully with this event in the next chapter. For the present, it is sufficient to take note of one leftist-inspired incident.

On 6 February 1936, the Chinese language teachers of Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao] in Penang decided that each student should memorise 15 Wen-Yan [old formal language] lessons every term to improve their command of the language. It was felt that this would reverse the students' poor performance in the inter-school examination the previous year. The students, however, resented this instruction. They presented their case in a letter to the dean of studies to show that the order had no merit. It is remarkable that the terminology and mode of reasoning in the letter was obviously leftist. Their case was that it was wrong to study for the sake of examinations, that education should have practical value needed by society, that they would be willing to memorise facts of science and mathematics but not archaic literature which was no longer relevant to society and which transmitted corrupt thoughts. Then they made reference to the Bai Hua and the romanisation movements in China. Illiteracy was acute in China, they wrote, and Wen-Yan being outmoded, was an obstacle to progress. Moreover, memorising the old texts was a burden that would prejudice their learning of other subjects, which were already heavy, as well as their health. They believed instead that reading widely outside the scope of their lessons would improve their standard of language. But what injured the dean most of all was that the students demanded that he gave them a reply within three hours. They also demanded to send representatives to the meetings of the language teachers.

When the dean received the letter, he was furious. Even so, he offered the students some concessions. The original order was to stand for the Higher Elementary and Junior Middle I classes. The imposition for each student in the higher standards was to be left to the discretion of the teachers. The students considered the reply unsatisfactory. They started a parade around the school compound, singing and declaiming. Their representatives met the dean to tell him of their dissatisfaction. Seeing that the students were getting out of hand, the dean reported the matter to the school's management committee. Committee members arrived, but failed to persuade the students to back down. Thereupon, the management committee and the teachers decided to begin the spring holidays forthwith and ordered all boarders to leave the school. This was a mas-

ter-stroke, depriving the students of the opportunity to assemble, and it broke their resistance. The school decided to expel 17 of the culprits and black-marked another 17. Those who were expelled recanted and wrote letters asking for pardon. However, the school rejected their pleas. When the school reopened in April, attendance was higher than 90%. The students were conquered⁵⁹⁹.

The British stepped up control

As expected, both political and educational motives promoted remarkable growth in the Chinese schools during this period. In 1928, the year the Northern Expedition ended, the number of modern day, night, and private schools in the Straits Settlements was 247. In the Federated Malay States, there were 238. By 1936, the number in the Straits Settlements had swelled to 350 and in the Federation to 338, although the number of night schools had decreased in both territories due to the success of the police crackdown600 However, the actual increase was more than these figures show as schools with less than 15 students were not registered, nor reflected in these numbers. This was exactly the problem. Because they were not registered they could not be controlled, and they grew mushroom fashion. Under such circumstances, they made powerful political weapons. By 1937, the British had become very much perturbed about them and amendments were accordingly introduced into the Schools Registration Ordinance to meet the situation. However, before 1937, several changes had already been made to the regulations albeit not with political intent. Such was the amendment to the Federation enactment in 1931601, and the re-legislation of this law by the various state councils in 1934 and 1935 as a decentralisation measure. In 1932, too, a new regulation No. 45 was added to the General Regulations of the Straits Settlements, which, although political in character, was not an innovation. It was introduced in conformity with an amendment made to the Registration Ordinance in September 1925 and under the name of section 27 of the 1926 legislation.

The first 1937 amendment was a redefinition of the term "school". In the original document a school was only recognised as such if it had 15 students or more. The government now lowered that limit to ten students. As we have seen, schools had deliberately kept their enrolments small to avoid the requirements of the school law.

A second means of control was sought by requiring every new school which wanted to be registered to deposit a sum of money or enter into a bond of such a sum with the government before registration would be granted. And the government could refuse to grant registration if it considered the new school unnecessary and prejudicial to the interest of

the colony or of the public. This provision was made in Clause 3(c) of the amendment law.

The amendment in Clause 4 gave power to the director of education to refuse to register not only a teacher, which was already provided in the original law, but also any supervisor or management committee member if he thought that the registration of such would be against the interest of the colony, the public or the students themselves. The director could also refuse to register any of them if they had worked before in a school which had been struck off the register for not complying with the general regulations.

In conformity with all the aforesaid changes in the ordinance, amendments were also made in the general regulations.

Guo Yu, Bai Hua and Confucianism

Before bringing this discussion of Chinese nationalism and communism in Malayan schools to a close, we must take note of two important factors that had a bearing on the developments. These were the progressive spread of Guo Yu and Bai Hua on the one hand, and the lingering influence of Confucianism on the other. Both the Guomindang and the communists supported the campaign to spread the use of Guo Yu and Bai Hua begun in 1920 and 1919 respectively. The campaign made great progress in getting the change accepted in schools. But when the Guomindang fell out with the communists, the movement suffered a temporary reversal. A certain writer complained in the Le Bao of 12 July 1927 that certain schools were reverting to the dialects as media of instruction and the classical style of the language. Apparently, these schools associated Guo Yu and Bai Hua with the communist revolution and, being pro-Guomindang, they rejected the new medium and style of language. But very soon they found that the Guomindang was also in favour of the change. In both 1929 and 1930, the consuls were instructed by the Jiao Yu Bu in China to encourage the overseas Chinese to make the transition, adding that the use of dialects as well as textbooks written in the classical style would no longer be permitted. In 1930, a Guo Yu expert, Ke Wen Da, came to Singapore and initiated an enthusiastic movement for the spread of Guo Yu. He was given full support by the consul-general and the educationists. A Zhong Hua Guo Yu Xue Xiao [Chinese National Language School] was formed. The movement quickly spread to other parts of Malaya. Besides getting the schools to introduce it as medium of instruction, the movement held inter-school and internal elocution contests and debates in Guo Yu to promote its use. These were frequent events. Besides the Zhong Hua Guo Yu Xue Xiao in Singapore, there was a Zhong Hua Guo Yu Tong Yi Cu Jin Hui [Society

to Promote the Unification of the Chinese National Language] for the promotion of Guo Yu. A Guo Yu Zhou [National Language Week] was declared in April 1930 to coincide with the same event in China. Ke Wen Da remained in Singapore for three years before moving on to Penang to join the Ming Xin She [Bright New Society]. He once claimed to have influenced the formation of more than 300 night institutes in Singapore to teach Guo Yu. However, there is no evidence in the Straits Settlements Annual Education Reports that there had, at any time, been such a great number of night schools in Singapore. In Penang, he was forced to resign from the Ming Xin She because the government became suspicious of his intentions and kept him under surveillance⁶⁰². In 1929, the education reports said that a fair number of schools still taught through dialects although many schools used Guo Yu⁶⁰³. The 1932 report says that

Since the National Language movement in 1920, the movement is now gaining strength and the number of old time schools [i.e. schools teaching the old classics in the vernacular of the pupils] is tending to diminish⁶⁰⁴.

By 1935, great advance had been made. The Federation report of the year reads Kuo Yue is almost the universal language of instruction in the Chinese schools⁸⁰⁵.

The quotation from 1932 points out that, by then, the Confucian classics were becoming, or had become unpopular with the schools. However, it does not mean that reverence for Confucius had totally died out, except perhaps among the hardest-core communist students. The letter addressed to the dean of studies by the Zhong Ling students in the 1936 disturbance was evidence of their lack of interest in traditional literature and culture, besides disrespect for authority and seniority taught by Confucius. But Confucianism was very much alive among the pro-Guomindang people. The sage's birthday was celebrated by most Chinese in Malaya, particularly the schools, right from 1927, and this tradition did not stop even in 1936. The Kong Jiao Hui (Confucius Society) survived in Malaya still. Among all the schools, the most conservative seemed to have been the Zhong Hua of Penang and the Duan Meng of Singapore, both of which were founded during the Manchu Dynasty and, therefore, had strong Confucian roots606. In this context, it might be noted that the subject of ethics was no more taught in schools. Instead, there was now civics, and the other subjects were Chinese, English, arithmetic, general knowledge, history, geography, nature study, and hygiene in the elementary schools607. In the middle schools, there were variations in the subjects taught. The scope was as follows: the subjects already taught in elementary schools, subjects of the fine arts, manual work, physical training, mathematics, science, and educational and commercial subjects⁶⁰⁸.

Marginal schools

Given the gigantic leap achieved by schools of the modern type run by the Chinese themselves, the institutions maintained by the British government and the Christian missions as well as the old-style schools run by the Chinese settlers had little to show. The school which the Selangor government ran in Kuala Lumpur was kept going, and in 1929 a new one was opened in Sentul. The Selangor government also maintained a teachers' training class, but discontinued it in 1932 as students from this class could not compete with teachers trained in China. The manifest purpose of the class was to turn out teachers who would be politically safe⁶⁰⁹.

In 1927, there were 33 mission Chinese schools and 189 private oldstyle schools in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States altogether. By 1936, the figures had become 35 and 137 respectively⁶¹⁰.

We conclude the chapter summing up the period as one of intense competition among various political forces seeking influence and control over the Chinese schools in Malaya and their students.

By its victory in the Northern Expedition, the Guomindang dominated the schools in 1928 and 1929. But from 1930 to 1932, the hold passed over to the communists who reorganised themselves after their setback in 1927. As we have said, Sir Cecil Clement took a tough approach against the Guomindang and made it a policy not to support Chinese education. The colonial police decimated the communists in 1933. After the years of greatest communist activity in 1931 and 1932, relative calm prevailed. Two or three years later, however, the Chinese schools plunged into frenetic activity again. This time it was sparked off by further Japanese incursions into China. The Japanese were to launch an all-out invasion of China in 1937.

VIII

Education during the Anti-Japanese War

The anti-Japanese movement of 1931–1932 reached a climax after 1937. It came as no surprise that, after taking Manchuria, the Japanese would direct their attention to the west and the south of the northeastern provinces, to Inner Mongolia, and to northern China. This further push began in 1933 and, by 1935, it had gone beyond what the Chinese could endure. Infuriated, the intellectuals, especially students, in Beijing and other cities embarked on a campaign to arouse the Chinese government and people to face the Japanese in a war. The situation worsened until in July 1937, Japan launched an all-out offensive on the country and war broke out⁶¹¹.

As before, the invasion of the home country had its repercussions among the Chinese in Malaya. After the 1933–1934 hiatus, political activities again stirred in the schools. We earlier noted the Zhong Ling incident of 1936. Even earlier than that, in 1935, following the lead of the students in China in agitating against the Japanese, the schools in Malaya had begun to engage the attention of the British government again although no particular incident was reported. In April 1935, a warning came from the assistant director of education of the Federated Malay States. He pointed out to the Chinese school principals that a lack of control had allowed the students' unions to indulge in activities infringing the law. The unions had caused a rift between teachers and students. The director instructed that thereafter the headmasters were to be solely responsible for the conduct of their students' unions and other such student organisations. To properly control and direct the unions, their constitutions and all their publications were to be submitted to the education department for vetting⁶¹².

Yet again, the Japanese invasion of China provided the motivation for the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party to temporarily put aside their differences and unite against the common enemy in early 1937⁶¹³. The truce was followed in Malaya, and the rival forces combined into an anti-Japanese front.

It can be safely assumed that the increased political activity of the student organisations in 1935 was due to leftist influence. In fact, when a general war with Japan seemed inevitable, the intellectuals in Malaya came increasingly under communist persuasion. This can be observed in

an incident in 1937. Early that year, the cultural workers in northern and central Malaya and Johor held a memorial service for Lu Xun, the leading leftist writer well known for his combative spirit⁶¹⁴. The Penang comrades were the first to do this. Singapore followed Penang's example later that year⁶¹⁵. In 1938 and 1939, northern Malaya repeated the commemoration, paying respects to the departed writer⁶¹⁶. The shift in the leadership came about when the Guomindang, for various reasons, followed a policy of compromise with and tolerance vis-à-vis the Japanese⁶¹⁷. The communists, on the other hand, took up the challenge and championed the resistance against the invaders. This earned them much prestige in the eyes of many Chinese, including those in Malaya.

Despite trying to avoid an all-out war with Japan, the Guomindang was not totally unprepared for the eventuality. Early in 1936, there was already talk of fomenting Guo Fang Jiao Yu [National Defence Education]618. The Jiao Yu Bu announced that its policy was to train the mind and body of youths, and to impart to them knowledge and ability useful in a war⁶¹⁹. Mental training was later given definite formulation as character development. This was crucial as the ministry saw that only the finest spirit could sustain the resistance against the determined and well trained Japanese troops⁶²⁰. The value of physical strength was very obvious in a war. We deduce that the third aim was to match the Japanese in strategy, equipment, and technology. According to Fang Wei and Li Po Sheng, this required imparting to students the knowledge of National Defence relevant to the anti-Japanese war, and the production of the strategic materials rubber and tin621. The reader may recall that the duo of Fang and Li had come to the Nanyang to inspect Chinese schools for the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui in 1936. In accordance with the new policy, the Zheng Shi Zhong Xiao Xue Ke Cheng Biao Zhun [Standard Curricula for Middle and Primary Schools] was amended in the same year, requiring all schoolwork thereafter to pursue an aim of arousing the national consciousness of the students⁶²². Textbooks were to be compiled anew according to the new currcula and, at the end of 1937, the Jiao Yu Bu ordered that, by July 1938, no textbook published earlier than 1936 would be allowed for use⁶²³.

To develop the moral strength of the Chinese people, Jiang Jie Shi had, in 1934, founded the Xin Sheng Huo Yun Dong [New Life Movement] which, however, did not spread to the Nanyang until the beginning of 1937. The movement assumed a new importance as war approached. As teachers and students were usually the only educated people in Malaya, the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui intended that the schools should lead the movement. Those responsible for overseas education were instructed to set an example by living a life of virtue, observing rules of proper conduct,

righteousness, purity, and honour.

Teachers and students were also urged to explain to the populace the true meaning of the movement, the circumstances the nation was in and what their responsibilities should be transplant.

what their responsibilities should be towards the country.

Schools were instructed to organise the community to work for the advancement of the movement and the survival of the republic. Reportedly, this fired the fervour of many schools like the Zhong Ling in Penang and the Yang Zheng in Singapore. Zhong Ling set up a committee for the purpose. In a pendulum swing, the Xin Sheng Huo Yun Dong would bring the Nanyang Chinese and their schools back into the sphere of the Guomindang under Jiang Jie Shi⁶²⁴.

To the aid of the fatherland

When the war eventually broke out, the major contribution the overseas Chinese made to the resistance effort was to send their money as they did in the 1931–1932 incident. The campaign to collect donations had already started in 1936 before the full-scale Japanese invasion. In the later part of that year, Japan and Chinese collaborators attacked Suiyuan Province. The Chinese managed to beat them off, but the attack left a trail of suffering among the local people. The Chinese in Malaya were immediate in their response. A Malaya-wide campaign was launched to raise relief funds for the victims. Once again, teachers sacrificed part of their salaries and students their pocket money. Big individual donations were also encouraged⁶²⁵. This contribution was to continue for some time as, in early 1937, a disastrous drought hit a large part of China causing widespread famine. The hardest-hit province was Sichuan. Relief contributions in Malaya were thereafter directed to the sufferers in that province626. Finally, in July 1937, the Japanese embarked upon their major offensive against a China still recovering from the natural disaster.

Swiftly, all relief donations were diverted to support the war effort. Relief fund committees sprang up everywhere in the Nanyang. The first Malayan donation seemed to have come from a group of biscuit factory workers in Taiping, Perak. Others quickly followed their lead. In the bigger towns, like Penang, the movement was led by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, but, in smaller towns, it was the schools that filled the role, as they had done in 1931–1932. For a year, each locality in the Nanyang conducted its own campaign for the war effort. Then, in the later half of 1938, Chen Jia Geng used all his influence and persuasive powers to get all these disparate efforts unified. Under his leadership, a Nan Yang Hua Qiao Chou Zhen Zu Guo Nan Min Zong Hui [Nanyang Overseas Chinese

General Association for the Relief of Refugees in the Fatherland] (the Chou Zhen Zong Hui, for short) was set up in Singapore. He also established a communications organisation to maintain liaison among the various relief committees in Malaya⁶²⁷.

For several months, too, the efforts of the schools were uncoordinated. Each school or a group of schools in a town would have its own relief fund committee, the Hua Zhong committee being a notable example. Towards the end of 1937, an attempt was made to coordinate the school contributions. In each state or settlement, the schools banded together and formed a "Union of Schools Branch" [?]. The branch was made a part of and subordinate to a relief fund committee of the whole Chinese community of the particular territory. The branches were organised with the students led by teachers. Every branch comprised sections, each with a defined function. For instance, the branch in Selangor had a propaganda section, a collection section and a service section. The propaganda section comprised a number of units, one in charge of general propaganda work, another drama, and so on. The Perak branch seemed to be the most complete in its organisation of the propaganda section, it had a unit responsible for staging concerts and sports, another for written propaganda, a third for oral propaganda, and even one for artistic propaganda that organised art and handicraft exhibitions. The collection section of a branch was responsible for gathering money, clothing, medicine and other necessities. This, too, was organised into units. The service section sent students for various duties, such as assisting at concerts or exhibitions628.

At the apex of the territories' organisation for war relief, each capital of the state or settlement had its central "Union of Schools Branch". Under this scheme, the subordinate towns had subsidiary unions. The Perak organisation had its headquarters in Ipoh, but the town had also a subsidiary branch under it which paralleled those in Pusing, Sungei Siput, Telok Anson, and Taiping⁶²⁹.

Apart from these union branches, some schools had other organisations for the relief effort. The Zhong Ling in Penang and the Xing Zhong in Sungei Siput had their individual drama teams. Drama and choral singing became popular among the schools after the arrival of the Wu Han He Chang Tuan [Wuhan Choir] in 1938⁶³⁰.

The teachers, too, put in some extra effort. Early in 1938, cultural associations and leagues, among whose members were teachers, sprang up in Malaya, for example in Selangor, Melaka, and Negeri Sembilan. These organisations were very active. In 1938, the Penang organisation staged a National Defence play while Singapore sent its drama team on a tour of Malaya⁶³¹. Associations purely for teachers followed in the wake. The

Liu Liu She [Six-Six Society] in Singapore was the most active among all the teachers' unions⁶³². From 1938 to 1940, it was reported that these teachers-only associations were being enthusiastically established in the various states and towns.

All the bodies that have been described were legal organisations that were permitted by the British authorities to exist and function, no matter what political or non-political forces were responsible for their formation. Next to them, there was another set of organisations spawned by the Malayan Communist Party but which were not tolerated by the colonial government. These, therefore, remained secret and underground. The relationship between the two groups of organisations was such that the latter could have members who infiltrated the former, and manipulated and exploited them for the communists' own purposes. It was the policy of the Malayan Communist Party to promote as broad as possible a united front of all patriotic forces against the Japanese. Known entities among such clandestine bodies were a National Salvation Association and a Proletarian Writers' Association. The former was probably synonymous with an Overseas Chinese Anti-Enemy Back-up Society in the sense that the back-up society was its legal facade. There was also a Students' Anti-Enemy Back-up Society which was most likely to be a subordinate arm of the larger body. Besides the foregoing, a certain police document discloses that, from 1939 to 1941, the communists also expended great efforts in promoting all kinds of student organisations, for example those for art and music, and for sports like football. By December 1941, when the Japanese invaded Malaya, the underground communist anti-Japanese movement came to be placed under the direction of an Overseas Chinese Anti-Japanese Mobilisation Federation. This was reported to have controlled a total of 30 sub-committees in all Malaya and enjoyed a membership of more than 20,000 persons633.

We now come to the various kinds of support that the Malayan Chinese sent home to China. As in the last chapter, we can classify the contributions as financial and material support, political or moral support, military support, and economic support. The first category was again the most important.

Money was raised through the well-tested methods. The most direct and major source was monetary contributions from individuals and organisations. Some of the donors were so committed that they made monthly contributions regularly. Others gave on special occasions organised during the drive. Teachers and students from the schools were in both these. On a regular basis, they made personal sacrifices from their salaries or pocket money. On special occasions, as for instance in 1941, the

fourth year of the anti-Japanese War, they, parted generously with their cash. Apart from these, students were encouraged as well to go out of their way to contribute extra for the war effort by depositing their notes and coins into relief fund boxes left at public places.

Other than digging into their own pockets, the schools helped vigorously to raise money from the public for the war effort, and they resorted to various means to try to achieve the purpose. As before, in most towns, concerts or dramas were staged, and sports events like basketball and football tournaments were held. The proceeds from selling the tickets went to the relief fund. Students would also sell merchandise at the performances and games to raise additional money. They sold flowers mostly, but also sweets, nuts, pendants of Jiang Jie Shi, and embroidery. Occasionally, these same items were peddled throughout the town as on the anniversary of Sun Yi Xian's death. They held exhibitions of their own handicraft, paintings, or embroidered works and sold the exhibits for extra cash. In 1937, the Chinese government floated a bond. While helping to sell these bonds, the school themselves subscribed to them as well. In Singapore primary schools, every teacher and student (presumably with money from his/her parents) subscribed five dollars, and in middle schools, ten dollars. In 1941, a special collection was made for the purchase of aeroplanes for the war.

Then, there was contribution of materials. Businessmen contributed their commodities, and hawkers their wares. Students knitted and sewed, and schools organised collections of old clothing and winter wear for the soldiers and victims of the war. On one occasion, raincoats and rubber shoes were presented to the Chinese army. Medicines, cotton wool, and bandages were collected. According to Chen Jia Geng, altogether Malaya remitted 98,430,000 Chinese dollars to China⁶³⁴.

The political or moral support rendered to China by the Malayan Chinese was of immense significance, although secondary to money, goods and materials. It was the work of the propaganda sections of the "Union of Schools Branches". The branches kept up the spirit of the relief movement with their messages delivered through drama, songs, lectures, publications, art, and whatever other media at hand.

Early in 1938, an international meeting was convoked in London to condemn the Japanese aggression. This excited the Chinese in Malaya and they sent cables to London wishing the meeting success. The students plunged into action, making speeches to people in the streets, theatres, restaurants, and other public places. They also put drama, pictures, and literature to good use⁶³⁵.

Wounded warriors received comfort from Malayan students. Start-

ing a Shang Bing Zhi You [Friends of Wounded Soldiers] movement, the students wrote hundreds of letters to the soldiers to prop up their spirit. The Zhong Ling alone posted 861 letters in 1938⁶³⁶.

On another front, Chen Jia Geng organised a Hui Guo Wei Lao Shi Cha Tuan [Returning-Home Consolation and Inspection Team], a deputation of overseas Chinese to return to China in 1940 to encourage the people and troops in their titanic struggle against the Japanese. The team had 45 members drawn from cultural workers or professionals, many of them teachers. The deputation was welcomed with great excitement in China, and did much to boost morale for the war effort⁶³⁷.

Later that year, more than 300 teachers in Penang sent a cable to the President of the Chinese Republic, Lin Sen, to Jiang Jie Shi, to the Chinese people in Japanese-occupied areas, and to the resistance army promising them support to the bitter end⁶³⁸.

So far as military aid went, the Malayan Chinese contributed more in this war than before. While foot soldiers were not needed from the Nanyang as there were enough able bodied men to spare in China, young men with middle school education were urgently required to serve as military officers. As early as October 1937, six young men and women, some of them ex-students, had returned to China to enlist in the army. From 1938 till 1940, military officers were recruited in Malaya for the Fourth Branch of the Zhong Yang Lu Jun Jun Guan Xue Xiao [Central Army Officer School]. Altogether 119 youths from the Nanyang were enlisted for the 1938 intake. Many of them came from Malaya, for example students of Yu Ying [Xue Xiao] of Singapore and the Yu Cai in Ipoh. For the 1940 intake, 42 of the students selected came from Kuala Lumpur, 65 from Penang, and a few from Taiping. The next year, pilots were recruited in Malaya, but only a few were chosen⁶³⁹.

It was natural that part of the war effort took the form of a boycott of Japanese goods. The overseas Chinese whipped up this boycott from the very beginning of the war. The movement was the most vigorous in Malaya. Students had a large part in this and, very soon, conflict with the British government over this matter broke out again⁶⁴⁰. We will describe this conflict in the pages following.

From the foregoing, the significant role of the schools in the anti-Japanese war is readily seen. In fact, it can be argued that their role was the very backbone of the movement in Malaya. This was the opinion of the teaching profession itself. On 27 December 1939, a passage in the evening edition of the Xing Zhou Ri Bao read:

As regards the students, their increased national consciousness and their determination to support the fatherland in the war are the greatest harvests of overseas education this year. This success must be attributed to the great effort of the teachers. All students, no matter boys or girls, did all they could and exhausted all they had for the progress of the relief movement. Some of them even visited every family to arouse the people [to the cause]. On all festive occasions they laboured all day, selling flowers [to raise money for the effort] and yet never showed the slightest sign of exhaustion. The results hitherto achieved were most comforting. The results this year are extremely satisfactory, too. The former Assistant Director of Education... and the Inspector of Schools... have both voiced their praise of the students.

British reaction

This quotation showed that the educational authorities were not altogether ill disposed towards the great patriotic zeal among the Chinese students. In fact, the government took a somewhat sympathetic attitude, to the extent that relief fund committees were not even required to register with the authorities⁶⁴¹. On the other hand, this sufferance was also motivated by British interests. The British saw Chinese resistance to the Japanese as a check against an impending Japanese advance into Southeast Asia. Japan's ambitions towards the Nanyang had been only too apparent.

To bolster their position after the First World War, the British had begun building their naval base in Singapore. By 1937, it was near completion.

But the latitude granted to the Chinese patriots in Malaya was on one condition—that the movement would not disturb the peace and order of the country, and would not develop into an open conflict with the Japanese, a number of whom were also resident in Malaya. The later condition became more stringent when war broke out between Britain and Germany. Being committed in Europe, the British government preferred not to tangle with the Japanese in the East, too. Therefore, in 1940, student participation in the relief movement was curbed. The British position, however, shifted again when the Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia seemed inevitable. In an about-face, the colonial government began enlisting the support of the Chinese schools against the Japanese.

Prior to this, when the Sino-Japanese War erupted, the colonial secretary had notified the Chinese and Japanese settlers, on 24 July 1937, that they should live in peace and harmony with each other, obeying the laws of the land⁶⁴². On the basis of this directive, on 21 August, the assistant director of education in the Straits Settlements, and the chief inspector of Chinese schools in the Federated Malay States, issued the following order to the Chinese and Japanese schools:

The principals and teachers of Chinese and Japanese schools must prohibit in all subjects taught to the students, in the essays the students write, in speeches or in debates, etc., any material that would arouse the passion of the students and

incite them against any other race in Malaya. Any teacher who disobeyed would be severely punished. Any organised effort to collect money to be remitted to China or Japan for military purposes is also prohibited. But collection will be allowed if the money is used for other purposes. Whether any student or teacher would make any contribution or not must be left to the person himself, and those in charge of a school or the teachers therein must impose no restrictions on the students⁸⁴³.

In November that year, the education authorities issued further instructions to the Chinese schools. They noted that the schools had been teaching their students patriotic songs that incited them against the Japanese. As this prejudiced the order and peace of the country, the schools were ordered to stop the practice. The schools were to consult school inspectors on whether any song was banned. It repeated the threat that any disobedience would be severely punished⁶⁴⁴. To further clarify the order, a list of prohibited songs was issued the following January⁶⁴⁵.

But it was only a matter of time before the extreme agitation among the Chinese, particularly the workers and students, created a series of disturbances, and moved the British to adopt harsher measures against the Chinese schools. On 9 January and 26 June 1938, massive demonstrations were staged in Singapore against the Japanese. The first one drew not only the Chinese supporters but also sympathetic Indians and even some conscientious Japanese. The march caused some altercations before Government House. More than a hundred demonstrators were arrested. The Chinese consul-general, and even the Xing Hua Ge Jie Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui [Singapore Chinese All-Groups Anti-Enemy Back-up Society], had to come out to appeal to the Chinese for peace. In comparison, the June incident was smaller-scale. However, both occasions involved Chinese school students, and the British government paid attention to this fact⁶⁴⁶.

In July, the spotlight shifted to northern Malaya. For a number of years, due to the boycott of Japanese goods, Japanese white peas had not been imported into Malaya. But in July 1938, it was discovered that many Chinese grocers had been secretly going against the boycott. Shops in Penang, Taiping, Sungei Siput, and Ipoh were implicated. The white peas grown in Japanese-occupied Manchuria were being imported through Hong Kong under the guise of a Tianjin produce. When word of this got out, crowds of Chinese in Penang, including students, stormed the suspects' shops and destroyed the goods on 4 July. One shop, Jie Mao, lost in the altercation all 4,000 bags of peas that it had imported. The signboards of certain shops were painted black. The president of the Bin Hua Chou Zhen Hui [Penang Chinese Relief Fund Committee], Wang Jing Cheng, was also implicated. Rioters pulled down the signboard of the committee and raided Wang's home. And the search for offending goods continued until the next day

when the Chinese consul intervened. Finally, it was agreed that all the white peas would be dumped into the sea. Acting with haste, the British government sent both police and Volunteers into action. However, this did not stop the disturbance totally. When on one occasion, the police were too weak to control a certain crowd, some persons managed to take away the goods belonging to a shop to burn them in a suburb. Clashes between the demonstrators and the police were unavoidable and some men were hurt. The police and the Volunteers finally restored order and the town began to quieten down again on 6 July⁶⁴⁷.

The trouble was not limited to Penang. It was infectious. On 7 July, some Chinese patriots in Taiping also tried to enforce the boycott with violence. A policeman was injured in the struggle and later died of his injuries. The anger raged on but dissipated quickly after the intervention of certain Chinese towkays who subsequently received awards from the British government for their service. The tide swept to Sungei Siput and Ipoh, too. In the former, students, in the shop-to-shop search for Japanese goods, stoned the shops that stocked the enemy's wares. In Ipoh, no great disturbance developed as the shopkeepers guilty of not complying with the boycott owned up to it, and were spared⁶⁴⁸.

In all these incidents, many people were arrested, among them a good number of students. However, although the outbreaks were successfully suppressed by the police, the feelings of the militants did not seem to have subsided. This was aggravated by some businessmen who continued to deal in Japanese goods. In a related incident, a certain Li Yi Su in Penang had his ear cut off by rampaging students. Twenty-three pupils from the Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao] were arrested by the police for the violent attack⁶⁴⁹.

The colonial government was clearly annoyed by these incidents and demonstrations in Singapore. On 12 July, the colonial secretary summoned certain Chinese leaders to a meeting and reiterated the order he had made the previous year to maintain peace and harmony among the settlers. He also instructed the education department to warn the Chinese schools again about creating unrest. Consequently, on the 15 July, the assistant director of education sent a circular to the schools noting that they had ignored his previous orders by indulging in seditious activities for the whole of the past term. He repeated his warning to school supervisors, management committee members, headmasters, and teachers to prohibit such activities and again threatened harsh punishment for their failure in this⁶⁵⁰. The chief inspector of Chinese schools issued a similar order the next month to his schools in the Federated Malay States. Perak state seemed to be especially severe in clamping down on the Chinese schools.

On 22 July, the inspector of schools there, on instruction from the protector of Chinese, had issued his own circular to schools, instructing them to discipline their students⁶⁵¹.

Not satisfied with what he had done, the assistant director of education called 40 to 50 school principals in Singapore to a meeting on 23 July to add his personal warning. He reiterated the contents of his circular and then enumerated the punishments that would be meted out to truculent schools. They could face the loss of their grants-in-aid, deregistration of guilty teachers, or outright dissolution of the school if the crime were serious and most of the school members participated in it. The official ended by stipulating that in any incident, if most of the participants were from a certain school, that school would have to bear the responsibility for it⁶⁵². On his instruction, this stern warning was repeated to educationists in Penang and Province Wellesley by the inspector of Chinese schools in these two places a few days thereafter⁶⁵³.

Some schools, including the Zhong Ling in Penang, seemed to have heeded the warning. A dean of the Zhong Ling gave repeated instructions to his students about abiding by the law after the briefing by the inspector. But in October, it was reported that certain schools in Perak lost 50 per cent of their grants-in-aid either because they had incited the Chinese against the Japanese or made inaccurate returns of students' attendance. The schools also received the warning that if they continued to disobey the order, their grants would be withdrawn entirely, and their principals and teachers punished. 654.

However, the spirit of the intellectuals did not seem to have been curbed much. On 17 August 1938, a very well known resistance worker, Wang Yan Zhi, was arrested in Singapore by the police. He was the editor of a newspaper in Ipoh, and had come to Singapore to run a new paper. Another man was arrested along with him. The incident attracted much attention throughout Malaya. In Singapore, hundreds of youths collected outside the Chinese consulate everyday to appeal for the consul-general's intercession for the release of the two men. There were parallel incidents in Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, and Johor. On 22 August, a number of youths forged an order from the Chinese government calling on the Chinese to stop all trade and commerce-an action called a hartal. Sixteen youths were arrested, presumably as a result of the disruption. Two of them appeared to have been women teachers. In Ipoh, on the night of 24 August, a crowd gathered in the Old Town to discuss a demonstration. More than a hundred students attended the meeting. The police swooped on them once again, but the marching crowd did not disperse until the Chinese leader, Liang Shen Nan (Leong Sin Nam), had agreed to intercede with

the government on their behalf. The youths arrested in Singapore were variously punished and the editor of the newspaper was detained 655.

Events took a new turn in 1939 when the political situation in Europe began to deteriorate. Whereas the government had up till then not interfered with the Malayan Chinese contributing to China's war effort, in March 1939, an order came that all relief fund committees had to register with the government. Clearly, this was to give the government control over them. Then the following month, when the Chinese government initiated the people's Jing Shen Zong Dong Yuan [Total Spiritual Mobilisation], the colonial government prohibited Chinese schools in Malaya from participating. The prohibition broke the back of the movement here⁶⁵⁶.

In September of the same year, war broke out between Germany and Britain. Britain poured its resources into Poland. In Malaya, the wife of Governor Shenton Thomas began a Patriotic Fund for the Empire. The Chinese in Malaya responded generously to Lady Thomas's call. Organisations were set up to collect donations for the fund. The Chinese schools not only subscribed with their own money, but also helped raise money from other people as they had done for their own war relief⁶⁵⁷. The Chinese and the British became allies.

Although the Chinese schools supported Britain against Germany, it did not change the colonial government's position on the anti-Japanese stance of the students. As was previously stated, while she was engaged with the Germans in Europe, Britain was afraid of antagonising the Japanese. To appease the Japanese, the British government in Malaya viewed Chinese patriotic activities with greater disfavour than before. At the beginning of February 1940, some Chinese activists who distributed anti-Japanese leaflets in Perai were arrested. This provoked a demonstration in front of a police station by the Chinese in Penang, many of whom were students. In a rapid response, the British government sent the assistant director of education to Penang from Singapore to investigate the matter. This resulted in the director declaring that he would impose stricter control over the Chinese schools and eliminate undesirable elements among them⁶⁵⁸.

A month later, the government struck. The education authorities in the Federated Malay States ordered all schools to sever connections with the relief fund committees and desist from participating in their activities. This drastic move was to kill the spirit of the relief movement. Two reasons were offered for this order. One was that the government did not want to see students wasting their time over anything other than studying. The other reason was that participation in the movement would inevitably involve the students in political propaganda in school. This was probably

the real reason. By blocking the Chinese schools' participation in the relief fund, the British hoped to gain the friendship of the Japanese. The order of the chief inspector of schools in the Federated Malay States read:

- We have been paying great attention to the participation of teachers and stu-dents of the Chinese schools in the work of the Relief Fund Committees. Teachers are often appointed officers in the propaganda departments or in the concert units to conduct drama, singing, public collection of money, selling flowers and so on. To carry out the above-mentioned work, meetings have often been called in the schools.
- 2. We consider that the school is not only an educational organisation, but that education too is its only work. We therefore consider that the result of the participation of teachers and students in the various activities stated above is to seriously affect the schools. Such activities are therefore improper, as for instance, their inevitable effect on the schools have recently given rise to all kinds of disorderly and unlawful conduct.
- 3. We greatly hope to notify all branches of the Relief Fund Committees that they must stop all teachers from participating in any activity, that all teachers must not assume any office in the organisations or to sponsor singing or to stage plays, and that all schools must not participate in meetings called by the Relief Fund Committees, for instance, welcome meetings or great assemblies. Every school must stop all kinds of war propaganda, and we warn too that all teachers must not conduct political teaching in their lessons.

The inspector sent notifications of this order to the management committees of the various schools and the various relief fund committees. Subsequently, the [Union of School Branches] of the relief fund committees were dissolved. However, the inspector did allow collection boxes to be placed in the classrooms for the relief fund, with the condition that no student was to be coerced into contributing, especially not by teachers. He stipulated that the contributions from the schools must be sent directly to the relief fund committees⁶⁶⁰.

In May that year, the same policy was put in place for the Straits Settlements. A notice was sent to the relief fund committees and the school management committees. To be fair, the government also prohibited the collection of money for the British war against the Germans. Despite this, the Singapore Chinese requested the government's permission to have collection boxes in schools, to allow teachers to join in relief fund work, and to allow the sale of flowers as part of the relief. All these requests were categorically rejected. The government stated that it would permit students to contribute money on an individual basis, but not in the name of an organisation or school. It also declared that, after school hours, teachers, and students could do anything they liked, within the law⁶⁶¹.

The government's intervention did not end here. A circular was issued by the Straits Settlements Education Department to the Chinese schools in June reminding them of the 1935 order on student organisations requiring their constitutions and publications to be submitted to the department for vetting⁶⁶².

In January 1940, the police in Ipoh conducted a large-scale swoop on various places, including schools, in and around the town. Communist literature, propaganda leaflets of the Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui [Anti-Enemy Back-up Society] and the Chu Jian Tuan [Eliminate-Traitors Team], and printing machines were discovered. They jailed a large number of people, including teachers and students. Thereafter, they arrested, in June, six members of the Xue Sheng Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui [Students' Anti-Enemy Back-up Society], and, in August, a leader of the society who was a student of the Hua Zhong. What followed the arrests is unknown. And in 1941, a woman teacher was also arrested and jailed.

Conflicts between students and school authorities took place in this period as they did in the former periods of our study, except, perhaps, less frequently. They seemed to be apolitical in character. In 1938, disputes broke out in the Zhen Dan Gong Xue [Zhen Dan Public School] and the Hua Zhong in Singapore; and, in 1940, in the Nan Hua [Nu Xue] again in Singapore and the Zun Kong [Xue Xiao] in Kuala Lumpur. All these incidents did not involve the police⁶⁶⁴.

In 1937 and 1940, the colonial government continued with its policy of prohibiting the use of certain textbooks under the normal operation of the school laws⁶⁶⁵.

The blacklist in both these years included volumes from

- The Xin Ke Cheng Biao Zhun Shi Yong Ke Ben [Textbooks Suited For The New Standard Curriculum], as well as
- The Xiu Zheng Ke Cheng Biao Zhun Shi Yong Ke Ben [Textbooks Suited For The Amended Standard Curriculum] of the Zhong Hua Shu Ju, and
- The Fu Xing Jiao Ke Shu [Renaissance Textbooks] of the Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan.

Certain other titles from these two Shanghai companies were also banned. The other companies from Shanghai which had their textbooks banned in both years were:

- 1. The Shi Jie Shu Ju,
- The Er Tong Shu Ju,
- 3. The Da Zhong Shu Ju,
- 4. The Bei Xin Shu Ju,
- 5. The Jing Wei Shu Ju [Longitude and Latitude Book Company], and
- The San Min Tu Shu Gong Si [Three People's Picture and Book Company].

The following companies from Shanghai had their books in the 1937 list alone:

1. The Guang Yi Shu Ju,

2. The Da Hua Shu Ju [Great China Book Company],

- The Er Tong Chu Ban He Zuo She [Children's Cooperative Publications Society],
- 4. The Guang Qi She [Brightness Unfolds Society],

5. The Jiao Yu Shu Dian [Education Book Shop],

- The Chun Jiang Shu Ju [Spring River Book Company],
- The Zhong Yang Shu Ju [Central Book Company],
- 8. The Xin Min Shu Ju [New People Book Company],
- The Yuan Xin Shu Ju [First New Book Company],

10. The Jing Wei Shu Ju,

 The Da Da Tu Shu Gong Ying She [Great Achievement Picture and Book Supply Company],

12. The Shi Jie Yu Di Xue She, and

The Xin Ya Yu Di Xue She [New Asia Geographical Society].

And from Nanjing, the governmental institute Guo Li Bian Yi Guan [National Compilation and Translation Bureau].

Similarly, those appearing in the 1940 list included the following Shanghai companies:

- 1. The Zhong Xing Shu Ju [Masses Arise Book Company],
- The Wen Guang Shu Ju [Letter's Brightness Book Company].
- 3. The Chun Ming Shu Ju [Spring Brightness Book Company].

The Sheng Huo Shu Dian [Life Book Shop],

- 5. The Fang Gu Shu Dian [Emulate-the-Ancients Book Shop],
- 6. The Nan Xing Shu Dian [Southern Star Book Shop],

7. The Da Fang Shu Ju [Gracious Book Company],

- 8. The Xing Hua Shu Ju [Rebuild China Book Company],
- 9. The Wen Xing Shu Ju [The Letters Prosper Book Company],
- 10. The Chen Zhong Shu Ju [Morning Bell Book Company],

11. The Jing Wei Shu Ju, and

 The Zhan Shi Er Tong Jiao Yu She [Wartime Children's Education Society].

And the Xin Zhi Shu Dian [New Knowledge Book Shop] of Hankou and Ya Dong Tu Shu Guan [Asia East Library] of Guangzhou.

At the beginning of 1940, the British colonial government imposed a

total prohibition on the import of books from many companies. Petitions for the easing of the control were to no avail.

Under the normal operation of the school laws, too, in 1937, there were three prosecutions in Singapore and one in Penang. The next year saw five more in Singapore and another in Penang. The 1937 amendment was applied to refuse one school's application for registration in 1938.

Chinese government's intense efforts to develop overseas Chinese education

From 1940 onwards, the Chinese government began planning intensively to promote and reform overseas Chinese education. Prior to that, the third Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi was called 667. This conference passed a few uncoordinated resolutions on overseas matters. Some of these resolutions were incorporated the following year into a comprehensive plan passed by the Guomindang 668. This comprehensive plan was largely educational in its scope, and only a very small part of it was ever put into operation in Malaya because of the outbreak of the Pacific War. Consisting of six sections, it was, in fact, a raft of detailed measures for carrying out the 1930 proposals. It covered:

- 1. General education
- 2. Normal education
- 3. Professional education
- 4. Social education
- Cultural activities.
- 6. Educational administration, and other matters.

The section on general education dealt with measures for increasing the number of schools and students, for improving the infrastructure and equipment for overseas schools, for raising the standard of students, and measures for innovating the curriculum providing teaching materials.

Other than the comprehensive plan, certain other educational measures taken by the government also had a bearing on Malaya. These were the re-establishment of the Qiao Min Jiao Yu She Ji Wei Yuan Hui [Overseas Nationals' Education Planning Committee], the promulgation of regulations governing awards to overseas education, investigation into overseas education, the encouragement of overseas schools to register themselves with the Chinese government, the continuation of aid to overseas schools, the encouragement of overseas students to return to China for further studies, devising means for sending education officers overseas, compilation of textbooks, encouraging professional and social education, and the

inspection of overseas schools by the head of the education section of the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui, Yu Jun Xian, in late 1941669.

Among all these considerations, the one item of overriding political significance was the provision of teachers correctly educated in politics to lead students on to the right path. This ingredient was incorporated in the continuation of the teachers' training class in China, the introduction of training for teachers by correspondence, and the production of new teachers by the "Overseas Chinese Normal School"[?] in Chongqing⁶⁷⁰. As the head of the education section of the Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui, Yu Jun Xian, himself said the highest aim of the commission was the training of teachers. We have seen in the last chapter that the most important part of a teacher's education in this training programme was political indoctrination. This applies to correspondence training and to the normal schools as well.

As the war proceeded, the consolidation of faith in the San Min Zhu Yi and in the Guomindang became ever more necessary. According to Chen Jia Geng⁶⁷¹, after the visit to Malaya by the head of the Hai Wai Bu [Overseas Department] of the Guomindang, Wu Tie Cheng, in 1940, the desire to "partyise" education in Malaya was intensified. For this purpose, more and more political-educational workers were needed in the Nanyang. Hence, in 1941, more than 20 such workers were seconded to Malaya. The project, however, failed due to the swift response against it from the Malayan education authorities⁶⁷².

The importance attached to the matter of correct teacher training was apparent from a project undertaken by Chen Jia Geng in early 1941. That year, he proposed to the Chinese government that a normal training school be established in Singapore to produce teachers for the Nanyang. The Chinese government promptly rejected his request, however. In turning him down, it was pointed out that the training of teachers was to be the prerogative of the Chinese government solely. Chen, however, ignored the rebuff and opened his school in 1941. It is noted that Chen had earlier visited communist-occupied areas in China during his consolation tour and was very much taken up with Mao Zedong.

In comparison, the teachers who obtained political education through correspondence were already well entrenched in schools. By 1941, they numbered more than 1,300 throughout Malaya⁶⁷³.

British measures

The British government, on its part, was also paying more attention to Chinese education. The change seemed to have come about in 1935 with

the introduction of the inter-school examinations, an innovation which we have already noted in the previous chapter. Before that year, the British had been passive in its attitude towards Chinese education. The reason for this change of policy is difficult to deduce, but it might have been a political one. We note once more that the schools' anti-Japanese sentiments could very well have compelled the colonial government to take more interest. The inter-school examinations were continued right up till the arrival of the Pacific War⁶⁷⁴.

In 1937, the British began to impose regulations regarding the school calendar⁶⁷⁵. The next year, regulations concerning school staff were sent by the Perak Education Department to schools in the state⁶⁷⁶, and Singapore was reported to be interested in improving teaching in the old-style schools677, as well as the formation of a general association for Chinese education in all Malaya678. Of the greatest importance was an educational conference convened in Kuala Lumpur in August 1939 by the education authorities⁶⁷⁹. The conference dealt with all the different streams of education: English, Malay, Chinese, and Indian. Meadmasters of important Chinese schools participated in it. Among the resolutions made on Chinese education, the most important were the recommendations on the primary school curriculum. They were put forward by a committee of the conference the next year. The conference reviewed other matters such as teachers' training and remuneration, and the powers of management committees. In 1941, Negeri Sembilan drew up a school constitution and sent it to all the Chinese schools in the state for their reference680.

We stated that when the Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia seemed inevitable, the British government attempted to rally the schools around its war effort. The Chinese schools were included in this move that contradicted its earlier policy towards their efforts for the relief fund. The argument that students should not waste their time raising funds for such a cause was forgotten. Even as early as July 1940, not long after the ban on Chinese school participation in relief fund work, the educational authorities had requested all schools regardless of stream to help in the propaganda against price speculation which was threatening the economy: Teachers were told to hold meetings for older students to tell them of the real prices of commodities. The authorities pointed out that such work would indirectly help the British fight the war⁶⁸¹. They persuaded students to help maintain the peace by joining scouting and guiding troops, the St. John's Ambulance Brigade, and cadet corps. Girls were encouraged to make uniforms for the soldiers and all students were asked to grow vegetables in their school gardens to supplement food supplies. In Kuala Lumpur, it was reported that many Chinese school students joined the St. John's Ambulance Brigade, and, by August 1941, 89 students from the Nan Yang Nu Zhong in Singapore were known to have joined the nursing service. In the later part of 1941, teachers and students were mobilised to help in the evacuation of refugees. Altogether 248 Chinese school teachers and students helped in this work in Singapore. Chinese schools also played a part in the scavenging campaign, collecting materials like old bottles, tin cans, mosquito nets, rags, and waste paper⁶⁸².

At the end of 1941, the British government requested Chen Jia Geng to totally mobilise the Chinese to help fight the war. A Xin Jia Po Hua Qiao Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui [Singapore Overseas Chinese Anti-Enemy Back-up Society] was consequently formed. The society organised a volunteer police force, a labour service team, and a propaganda unit. It is safe to assume that the Chinese schools were required to help in the propaganda organisation. The British also released communist prisoners, many of whom became guerillas or joined the Min Zhong Wu Zhuang [Peoples' Armed Forces] in the defence of Singapore. It is very probable that this force included Chinese school teachers and students. However, the organisation was annihilated by the Japanese in their attack on Singapore in February 1942⁶⁸³.

Our narrative so far has concerned only the mainstream of Chinese education, that is, only the modern public schools. The annual education reports for 1939 to 1941 are unavailable, and we, therefore, know nothing about the other types of schools. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that the old-style and mission schools continued although we cannot be so certain about the government ones.

This period of the history of the Chinese schools was marked by one dominant feature—the relief fund movement for the anti-Japanese War in China. The British tolerated this so long as their colonial interests were not jeopardised which was not always the case. Another feature was that after 1940, both the Chinese and British governments began to pay great attention to overseas Chinese education. A further important development was when the Pacific War broke out in 1941, the British government mobilised Chinese school students and teachers to help in the defence of Malaya. The invasion of the Japanese closed an era of the history of Malaya as well as Malayan Chinese education.

to the Manchu emperor.

IX

Summary and Conclusion

When the British first acquired Malaya, Chinese schools followed in the wake and came into existence. In spite of this, there was actually no Chinese education to speak of until the beginning of the 20th century. Chinese individuals or communities ran schools which taught the Confucian books, and the various Christians missionaries taught Chinese children for a religious purpose. There was also Chinese education of a sort in the English Free Schools which served the needs of colonial administration. Chinese education during those early days had no conscious political bias although the students of the old-style schools were inevitably loyal

The foreign invasions of China, first the Opium Wars and then the Sino-Japanese conflict, aroused the Chinese to the weakness of their country. Thereafter, the Chinese embarked on an effort to modernise their county on lines of the Japanese Meiji Restoration. Education became one of the instruments of national policy and was a means to save the nation. At the turn of the 20th century, the new system of schools spread to Malaya. Various forces were responsible for this spread, the most important of which being the patriotism of the overseas Chinese themselves. Secondly, it was due to the effort of the Manchu government, then to the influence of Kang You Wei and his party, and finally to Sun Yi Xian and his followers. Those which were susceptible to the influences of the first two parties conformed to the educational aims of the Manchu government which was in essence "Chinese learning for foundation, and Western learning for application." Education was highly Confucian and taught loyalty to the emperor and had a military character. Schools under the influence of the revolutionaries, most importantly those founded by You Lie, had anti-Manchu aims. The governments of Malaya maintained an attitude of neutrality towards the rivalry of the political forces in the Chinese schools. In fact, it adopted an indifferent attitude towards Chinese education altogether as the Chinese were aliens in Malaya. With the introduction of the modern system of schools, real Chinese education began. The schools were founded as instruments of national policy or politics and were no more than a branch of the educational system in China.

A new era dawned in the history of China and in Chinese education when, in 1911, Sun Yi Xian and his revolutionaries overthrew the Manchu

regime and established the Chinese republic. Following this, the hold of the Manchu government and of Kang You Wei was removed from the Chinese schools in Malaya which, on the whole, became loyal supporters of the new order. The Guomindang opened branches in Malaya and, like the Manchu government, also utilised the schools as instruments for national policies. The Guomindang similarly deployed reading rooms which maintained an intimate relationship with the schools. However, post-revolution China was soon split by the conflict between the party and the first president of the republic, Yuan Shi Kai, who had aspired to be the new emperor of China. As in all other political developments, this situation in China had its repercussions among the Malayan Chinese. Overall, however, the Chinese schools in Malaya supported the Guomindang.

The Yuan government and the governments which followed did very little for overseas Chinese education. Notwithstanding this, a beginning was made with secondary education and educational associations formed by the Malayan Chinese themselves. In broad terms, the Malayan Chinese schools conformed to the educational aims of the Yuan government which were, in essence, to teach loyalty to Yuan Shi Kai through love for the country and adherence to Confucianism, among others. After his death,

Yuan's influence faded away.

In 1919, the settlement of Japanese claims on China in the Paris Peace Conference opened a new period in the history of Chinese education. The Chinese, led by the intelligentsia, protested against the settlement. The movement spread to Malaya. Workers and students initiated a boycott of Japanese goods by violent action. The British government had been prepared to adopt an indifferent attitude towards the Chinese schools only if they did not disturb the peace and order of the land. The boycott and violence infringed this condition. For that reason and for the reason that the Chinese schools refused to celebrate the peace accord, the British introduced the Schools Registration Ordinance and the Schools Registration Enactment in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States respectively to control the Chinese schools. The Chinese protested vigorously against the legislation but to no avail. The Chinese government was too weak to take any effective action against the legislation. Actually, the Chinese government could do, and did, very little for overseas education during this period in history even though it managed to reorganise the education system to follow the American model, discarding the Japanese one. The reorganisation spelt the end of the military character of the schools, as well.

The introduction of the school laws, however, did not prevent the Chinese schools from participating in politics. In fact, from 1925 onwards, the

schools became more and more active. In 1924, the reorganisation of the Guomindang in preparation for the Northern Expedition and the admittance of individual communists into the party had aroused tremendous enthusiasm in China itself and among the overseas Chinese, as well. Leftist influence had spread to Malaya as early as about 1914 and, in 1919, it was the radicals who largely led the anti-Japanese boycott. From 1926 to 1928, the communists in Malaya, as members of the Guomindang, carried out a good deal of anti-British activities in the night schools. Their activities culminated in the Kreta Ayer incident of early 1927, when a public rally was held in Singapore, celebrating the death anniversary of Sun Yi Xian. Many students were killed in a clash with the police during the march that followed. After that incident, the British used the school laws freely against Malayan Chinese schools, dissolving many of them. The school laws were also twice amended to give greater powers to the government to deal with the serious situation until, finally, a totally new set of laws was enacted to replace the 1920 legislation. After 1928, there was a cessation of anti-British activities, attributable not so much to the success of police action as to the falling out between the Guomindang and the communists early in that year. In the same year, too, during its northward march, the Chinese expeditionary army ran into a bitter campaign against Japanese troops in Shandong Province. The conflict plunged the Malayan Chinese into a feverish patriotic movement of raising funds to aid the wounded soldiers and victims of the campaign. The Chinese schools were actively involved in the movement.

The Northern Expedition was victorious and it established the Guomindang as the dominant political force in China. The leadership of the party was accepted very early on by many Chinese schools in Malaya. The Guomindang itself was extremely interested in the education of the overseas Chinese and overseas Chinese education became one of the pillars of proposed national reconstruction. It was only after the Northern Expedition that China ever had a separate and definite policy for overseas Chinese schools. The Ji Nan Xue Tang in China was upgraded to a university to take charge of education, particularly at the tertiary level, for the overseas Chinese. Especially, too, it was to be responsible for the cultural expansion of the Chinese overseas.

The university called an overseas Chinese educational conference in mid-1929 and made a number of resolutions on overseas Chinese education. Another conference was convened later that year by the Guomindang. This latter conference made a very important declaration which stated that the Chinese must expand overseas and that the vanguard of that expansion were the overseas Chinese themselves. To foster this expansion, the

conference asserted that the enhancement of the power of the overseas Chinese could only come from their education. Prior to these two conferences, however, the Chinese government had already convoked a Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi in 1928, in which it was decided that the San Min Zhu Yi was to be the guiding principle for Chinese education thereafter. Overseas Chinese education, deemed a part of education in China itself, also came under the purview of this guiding principle. In 1930, a second Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi produced a concrete and comprehensive plan for the improvement and expansion of overseas Chinese education, and, in 1931, the principles for enforcing a San Min Zhu Yi education among the overseas Chinese were decided on.

After the Northern Expedition, the Guomindang became more active than ever in Malaya. In 1928-1929, it had a dominant influence in the Chinese schools there. However, when Sir Cecil Clementi arrived in 1930 as the new Governor and High Commissioner in Malaya, he suppressed the Guomindang and dealt a serious blow to its influence in the schools. Beginning from his time, too, the Malayan governments began to check the use of school textbooks that taught patriotism to China. However, the suppression of the Guomindang cleared the way for the communists among the schools. The Malayan Communist Party was organised in 1930 and, for two or three years, the Chinese schools attracted much attention when they were embroiled in a great deal of trouble. Their students held strikes and some denounced their teachers and drove them away. In response, the police came down hard on the Chinese schools and, by about 1933, they seemed to have been able to put a successful check against the communist activities. The schools, too, increased greatly in number during this time so that by 1937 the British had to amend the school laws to meet the situation.

The ties between the Nanyang Chinese and the fatherland remained strong throughout. The years 1931 and 1932 witnessed also a mammoth drive to collect funds for China in her resistance against the Japanese who had split Manchuria from her in 1931. As usual, the Malayan Chinese schools joined in the patriotic movement. Even during the quiet years of 1932 to 1936, the Chinese government proceeded with attempts to put into operation its plans for education for the overseas Chinese.

Meanwhile, after forming Manchukuo out of Manchuria, the Japanese began to turn their attention to China proper. Their action culminated in an all-out offensive against China in July 1937. Again, this development had its reaction in Malaya. Even as early as 1935, both the communists and the Guomindang had been preparing the Chinese schools for eventual patriotic action against the Japanese. In the face of a common enemy, the opposing

parties were again united. The 1937 Japanese invasion was followed by a massive campaign among all overseas Chinese, especially those in the Nanyang, to collect donations to support the Chinese forces. The schools had a very important role in this movement. In Malaya, their "Union of Schools Branches" were responsible for many aspects of the drive. At first, the British government allowed the Chinese schools to participate in the movement on the condition that there would be no disturbance to peace and order. However, very soon an anti-Japanese boycott was called which was enforced by the students and workers through violent action. This drew serious warnings to the Chinese schools. Eventually, war broke out between Britain and Germany in Europe, and, in order not to antagonise the Japanese in the East, the British government in 1940 prohibited the Chinese schools from having anything more to do with the relief fund movement. The prohibition dealt the movement a severe blow.

From about 1940 onwards, too, the Chinese government tried actively to effect it schemes for overseas Chinese education. Its most important aim was the political indoctrination of the overseas schools. By 1941, war between Britain and Japan seemed inevitable. In an about-face, the British reached out to the Malayan Chinese for support against the Japanese advance. The Malayan Chinese schools did come forward with their help. At the end of the year, Japan invaded Southeast Asia and all Malaya fell to the invader by early 1942. An era in the history of Chinese education in Malaya was brought to a close.

Concluding, it is of primary importance to note that modern Chinese education was founded as one of the means of saving the Chinese nation. In other words, education was seen to be an instrument of national policies and, as such, it was always closely connected with political developments in the fatherland. As overseas Chinese education was but a branch of education in China itself, the rationale applied equally for the overseas Chinese. In retrospect, the most important political forces in the history of Malayan Chinese schools had been the Guomindang and the communists.

Endnotes

Abbreviations used

[ar/CS/FMS] [Administrative report of the Chief Secretary of the

Federated Malay States]

[ar/Malacca] [Administrative report of Malacca]

[ar/ Negri Sembilan] [Administrative report of Negri Sembilan]

[ar/Pahang] [Administrative report of Pahang]
[ar/Perak] [Administrative report of Perak]

[ar/R-G/FMS] [Administrative report of the Resident-General of the

Federated Malay States]

[ar/Selangor] [Administrative report of Selangor]

[car/FMS] [Chinese affairs report of the Federated Malay States]

[car/Perak] [Chinese affairs report of Perak]
[car/Selangor] [Chinese affairs report of Selangor]

[car/SS] [Chinese affairs report of the Straits Settlements]

FMS Federated Malay States

FMSAER Federated Malay States Annual Education Report
FMSGG Federated Malay States Government Gazette

LB Le Bao

MRCA Monthly Review of Chinese Affairs

NYQB [Ji Nan Da Xue [Jinan University]], Nan Yang Qing Bao, di

yi juan(?), di er zhi di shi qi(?) [Nanyang Information, vol.

1(?), nos. 2-10(?)]. ([Shanghai] n.d.)

[p/FC/FMS] [Proceedings of the Federal Council of the Federated Malay

States]

[p/LC/SS] [Proceedings of the Legslative Council of the Straits

Settlements]

[pr/FMS] [Police report of the Federated Malay States]

[pr/SS] [Police report of the Straits Settlements]

SS Straits Settlements

SSAER Straits Settlements Annual Education Report

SSGG Straits Settlements Government Gazette

XBGB [Xue Bu [Ministry of Education]], Xue Bu Guan Bao

[Official Report of the Ministry of Education] (n.p.,

various years)

XZRB Xing Zhou Ri Bao

Notes

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- 6 Qian He et al. (ed.), Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Lun Wen Ji ([Shanghai], 1929), pp. 191-193.
- 7 Purcell, Victor, The Chinese in Malaya (Oxford, 1948), p. 9.
- 8 Ibid., pp. 224-225.
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- 14 Milne, William, op. cit., pp. 137-138.
- 15 Ibid., p. 138.
- 16 Ibid., p. 141.
- 17 Ibid., pp. 146-152 & 295.
- 18 Chelliah, D.D., op. cit., pp. 85-87.
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- 20 Milne, William, op. cit., pp. 146-152.
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- 23 Chelliah, D.D., op. cit., pp. 85-87.
- 24 Milne, William, op. cit., appendix 7.

- 25 Lovett, Richard, op. cit., pp. 437-439. Chelliah, D.D., op. cit., pp. 85-87.
- 26 Pereira, E.M., op. cit., pp. 38, 40, 41, 43 & 44.
- 27 Ibid., p. 48. Chelliah, D.D., op. cit., p. 87.
- 28 SSAER, 1874,1884 & 1886.
- 29 Ibid., 1893 & 1899.
- 30 Chelliah, D.D., op. cit., pp. 40-47.
- 31 Ibid., pp. 26-27.
- 32 Song Wang Xiang, op. cit., pp. 275-276.
- 33 See chapter 4.
- 34 Pereira, E.M., op. cit., pp. 71-72, quoting the Pinang Gazette of 30.8.1851. Song Wang Xiang, op. cit., p. 134. Chelliah, D.D., op. cit., pp. 43-44.
- 35 SSAER, 1891. Chelliah, D.D., op. cit., pp. 52-53.
- 36 Song Yun Bin, Zhong Guo Jin Bai Nian Shi (Hongkong, 1948), pp. 69-76.
- 37 Ibid., pp. 76-82 & 93-104. [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1934), first section, p. 23.
- 38 Chang, C.T., "The Education of Overseas Chinese: A Comparative Study of Hong Kong, Singapore and the East Indies", unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of London, London, 1949, p. 60.
- 39 LB, 24.3.1900.
- 40 Song Wang Xiang, op. cit., pp 235-236.
- 41 Wang Geng Wu, "Chinese Reformists and Revolutionaries in the Straits Settlements, 1900-1911", unpublished B.A.Hons. academic exercise, University of Malaya, Singapore, 1953, appendix B.
- 42 LB, 24.3.1900.
- 43 Song Wang Xiang, op. cit., p. 193.
- 44 LB, 22. 9. 1909. The names of the schools were Dao Nan, Zhong Zheng, Duan Meng, Qi Fa, Ying Xin and Yang Zheng.
- 45 [car/SS] for 1906, pp. 16-17.
- 46 Song Wang Xiang, op. cit., p. 193. LB, 19.10.1908.
- 47 Song Wang Xiang, op. cit., pp. 305-306.
- 48 Chang, C.T., op. cit., p. 178.
- 49 XBGB, no. 9.
- 50 A copy of its draft constitution in the possession of Mr. Chen Yu Song (Tan Yeok Seong) shows this.
- 51 Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao], "[Cultural Odds and Ends of Pulau Pinang]", Zhong Zhong Xiao Kan ([Penang], 1938).
- 52 Ding Zhi Pin, Zhong Guo Jin Qi Shi Nian Lai Jiao Yu Ji Shi (Shanghai, 1935), p. 17. This book mistakes the Khoo family school to be the first Chinese school established in Penang.

- 53 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Er Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1948), p. 29.
- 54 LB, 20.5.1908.
- 55 XBGB, nos. 11 & 23.
- 56 LB, 7.8.1908 & 5.5.1911.
- 57 LB, 28.3.1911.
- 58 LB, 3.3.1905, 1.4.1908, 23.5.1908, 6.4.1909, 31.7.1909, 3.9.1909 & 13.3.1911. XBGB, no. 23.
- 59 Chang, C.T., op. cit., p. 170.
- 60 Purcell, Victor, op. cit., p. 9.
- 61 See later pages.
- 62 A Society for the Promotion of Industries was established for the purpose of enlisting the support of the overseas Chinese in industrialisation. See LB, 8.6.1909.
- 63 XBGB, no. 9.
- 64 XBGB, no. 15.
- 65 XBGB, no. 12. LB, 18.4.1910.
- 66 XBGB, no. 52.
- 67 LB, 3.3.1905. XBGB, no. 9.
- 68 LB, 1.4.1908.
- 69 Report of Yang Shi Qi to his government on his visit to Malaya in LB of 25.4.1908.
- 70 LB, 9.1.1909.
- 71 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1934), first section, pp. 1-4.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 LB, 17.11.1908, 20.11.1908, 30.11.1908 & 3.12.1908.
- 74 [car/SS] for 1908, p. 121.
- 75 See next chapter.
- 76 LB, 25.9.1909.
- 77 See next chapter.
- 78 XBGB, nos. 3 & 21.
- 79 Liu Shi Ji carried out the 1905 mission, and Qian Xun and Dong Hong Yi carried out the 1906 one. See XBGB, nos. 9 & 12.
- 80 [Duan Meng Xue Xiao], Xin Jia Po Duan Meng Xue Xiao San Shi Zhou Nian Ji Nian Ce ([Singapore], 1936), p. 11. The magazine says that the mission was despatched by Governor Zhang Ren Jun. This is a mistake. The governor

- of Guangdong at this time was not Zhang but Cen Chun Xuan. This can be verified in the XBGB, no 12.
- 81 This mission was carried out by Sa Jun Lu and Zheng Guo Tang. See LB, 24.1.1910.
- 82 XBGB, no. 23 which contains a report by the consul-general. The consul-general said that he used to tour the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States once a year. He encouraged the Chinese everywhere to promote education. He presided over the meetings when the Zhong Hua Nu Xue in Singapore opened on 30 March, 1911 and headed the list of subscriptions with a donation of \$500. See also Song Wang Xiang, op. cit., pp. 460-461. The LB of 25.10.1910 says that the Penang consul and his son both aided the Qi Fa Xue Xiao of Singapore with money.
- 83 Yang's report to his government on his visit to the Nanyang. See LB, 25.4.1908.
- 84 LB, 3.3.1905.
- 85 XBGB, no. 106.
- 86 XBGB, no. 12.
- 87 XBGB, nos. 25 & 60.
- 88 The LB has reports of students from Malaya going to the Ji Nan to further their studies. A batch from the Yang Zheng in Singapore was reported on 11.4.1910 to be going, a batch from the Yu Cai in Ipoh was reported on 3.12.1910 to be also going, and then another batch from Singapore (name of school not specified) was reported on 14.2.1911 to be going as well.
- 89 XBGB, no. 9.
- 90 The registrations of the Ying Xin and the Dao Nan of Singapore are cited in the XBGB, nos. 9 and 105 respectively.
- 91 XBGB, no. 66.
- 92 The Liu Hai hairstyle featured short hair with a fringe over the brow. This was the prevalent fashion after 1911.
- 93 The Three Obediences are obedience to one's father when still a girl, obedience to one's husband when married and obedience to one's son when widowed. The Four Virtures were the virtue of faithfulness and obedience, the virtue of speech, the virtue of gentleness and the virtue of the ability to spin silk and hemp.
- 94 The meaning of the original in Chinese which was 女学程度,当注重家庭教育 is obscure. The author has given it the most sensible translation he can.
- 95 See page 14.
- 96 Wang Geng Wu, op. cit., appendix B. LB, 12.7.1900 & 17.10.1908.
- 97 Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao], op. cit.
- 98 He also complained of the bad financial management of the school.

- 99 LB, 13.7.1900.
- 100 Sun, wishing to ally with Kang You Wei, sent two Japanese friends of Kang as emissaries. Suspecting an assassination attempt from the Empress Dowager Ci Xi, Kang informed the local police who had the two arrested and deported. When Sun himself arrived in Singapore, he was also arrested and deported. The British Government had taken upon itself the responsibility to protect Kang from assassins. See LB, 12-14.7.1900 and MRCA, May 1934.
- 101 A detailed account of Sun's visits to Malaya is found in Zhang Yong Fu, Nan Yang Yu Chuang Li Min Guo (Shanghai, 1933).
- 102 LB, 12.11.1910, 26.11.1910 & 30.12.1910.
- 103 Zhang Yong Fu, op. cit.
- 104 [Guomindang], Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi Bao Gao Shu (n.p., 1929).
- 105 [car/Selangor], 1911, p. 9.
- 106 "Historical notes on Chinese political societies", MRCA, May 1934. Zhang Yong Fu, op. cit. Wang Geng Wu, op. cit., chapters 2 & 3. LB, 26.3.1909.
- 107 [ar/CS/FMS], 1911, p. 7.
- 108 [ar/Selangor], 1895, p. 389.
- 109 [ar/Selangor], 1898, p. 38.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 [ar/Selangor], 1899, p. 34.
- 112 [ar/Selangor], 1914, p. 17.
- 113 SSAER, 1895-1902.
- 114 SSAER, 1898, p. 88.
- 115 SSAER, 1910.
- 116 SSAER, 1903 & 1906, p. 76.
- 117 [ar/R-G/FMS], 1905, p. 16 & 1906, p. 22. FMSAER, 1906, p. 3.
- 118 LB, 20.2.1908.
- 119 LB, 9.2.1909 & 10.2.1909.
- 120 p. 3.
- 121 LB, 9.11.1911.
- 122 LB, November & December, 1911.
- 123 LB, 11.11.1911.
- 124 LB, 18.12.1911.
- 125 LB, 21.6.1912.
- 126 LB, 6, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21 & 24 of June, and 1, 5, 8, 11, 17 & 19 of July, 1912.
- 127 LB, 30.12.1911.
- 128 [ar/CS/FMS], 1912, p. 13.
- 129 LB, 3.11.1911.
- 130 MRCA, May 1934.

- 131 LB, 19.12.1911.
- 132 LB, 10.3.1913.
- 133 LB, 5, 9 & 30 of April, and 1 & 7 of May, 1912.
- 134 Ibid.
- 135 LB, 22,5,1912.
- 136 LB, 15.10.1915.
- 137 LB, 27.5.1912, 13.8.1912 & 12.12.1912.
- 138 LB, 13.2.1914.
- 139 LB, 30.9.1915.
- 140 LB, 19.4.1917.
- 141 LB, 14.4.1913.
- 142 LB, 19.4.1917.
- 143 LB, 30.7.1912, 9.8.1912, 12.9.1912 & 24.9.1912.
- 144 LB, 29.3.1915.
- 145 Ibid.
- 146 LB, 5.1.1914.
- 147 LB, 14.7.1914 & 22.8.1914.
- 148 LB, 25.12.1915.
- 149 LB, 10.6.1914, 14.2.1916 & 25.10.1917
- 150 LB, 14.2.1916.
- 151 LB, 11.3.1914.
- 152 LB, 24.4.1913.
- 153 LB, 15.5.1913 & 4.4.1919.
- 154 LB, 5.11.1912.
- 155 LB, 27.9.1912 & 15.11.1912.
- 156 LB, 2.1.1913.
- 157 LB, 25.7.1918.
- 158 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., chapter 6.
- 159 LB, 30.7.1912, 14.8.1912, 21.5.1914, 26.10.1915, 10.12.1915 & 8.1.1916.
- 160 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., pp. 132-133.
- 161 The great powers were trying to take advantage of the disunity of China to further their interests in the country. See Song Yun Bin, op. cit., chapter 6.
- 162 LB, 19.5.1914 & 18.11.1914.
- 163 LB, 1.5.1912.
- 164 Ibid.
- 165 MRCA, May 1934.
- 166 LB, 1.6.1912.

- 167 LB, 7.1.1913.
- 168 LB, 18.3.1913, 26.4.1913, 3.9.1913, 22.10.1913, 30.3.1916 & 16.8.1918.
- 169 Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao], op. cit., section on the history of the school.
- 170 Zheng Hong Nian's speech to the Nan Yang Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi of May 1929. Zheng was the president of the Ji Nan Da Xue. See [Ji Nan Da Xue], Nan Yang Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi Bao Gao (Shanghai, 1930).
- 171 *LB*, 30.5.1917, 2.6.1917, 6.6.1917, 30.11.1917, 26.1.1918, 28.1.1918, 29.1.1918, 17.4.1918, 16.7.1918, 8.2.1919, 14.2.1919, 17.2.1919, 15.4.1919, 19.4.1919, 23.4.1919, 24.4.1919 & 27.5.1919.
- 172 LB, 19.5.1913.
- 173 LB, 23.6.1913.
- 174 LB, 22.8.1914.
- 175 LB, 11.17.1917.
- 176 LB, 8.6.1918, 18.6.1918, 15.7.1918, 27.8.1918, 8.2.1919, 20.2.1919, 17.3.1919, 19.3.1919 & 8.4.1919. Chen Jia Geng. Nan Qiao Hui Yi Lu (Singapore, 1946), vol. 1, section 36.
- 177 LB, 17.5.1918 & 18.7.1918.
- 178 LB, 21.7.1917, 25.7.1917 & 7.8.1917
- 179 [car/Perak], 1914, pp. 20-21.
- 180 LB, 26.12.1912, 24.7.1913, 19.2.1916 & 13.4.1918.
- 181 LB, 26.12.1912 & 24.7.1913.
- 182 LB, 9.7.1917.
- 183 LB, 17.10.1913.
- 184 LB, 30.4.1913.
- 185 LB, 6.3.1913. [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1934), fifth Section, p. 136.
- 186 LB, 22.8.1914.
- 187 SSAER, 1918, p. 593.
- 188 LB, 24.2.1914.
- 189 LB, 18.9.1912, 21.9.1917 & 18.1.1918.
- 190 LB, 22-28.11.1912.
- 191 Later it was changed to Nan Yang Ying Shu Hua Qiao Xue Wu Zong Hui [Overseas Chinese General Educational Association, British Territories, South Seas]. See LB, 2.10.1917.
- 192 See later pages.
- 193 LB, 5-7.12.1912.
- 194 LB, 14.5.1915 & 7.6.1916.
- 195 LB, 14.5.1915, 3-4.8.1915 & 6.8.1915.

- 196 LB, 3.7.1915.
- 197 LB, 7.6.1916.
- 198 LB, 4.3.1918 & 9.11.1919.
- 199 LB, 2.10.1917 & 20.11.1917.
- 200 LB, 9.4.1919.
- 201 LB, 21.9.1917 & 18.1.1918.
- 202 LB, 31.1.1913 & 14.2.1913.
- 203 LB, 31.12.1917.
- 204 LB, 6.6.1912.
- 205 LB. 24.4.1916, 16.5.1916 & 24.5.1916.
- 206 MRCA, May 1934.
- 207 LB, 10.5.1917.
- 208 LB, 1.4.1913.
- 209 LB, 30.11.1912, 3.12.1912, 9.12.1912 & 25.2.1913.
- 210 LB,12.8.1915 & 13.8.1915.
- 211 LB, 23.9.1912, 16.5.1913, 8.10.1917, 10.10.1917, 13.9.1918, 28.10.1918 & 30.4.1919.
- 212 LB, 5.10.1912.
- 213 LB, 6.10.1914, 9.9.1915, 24.9.1915, 14.10.1915 & 9.12.1918.
- 214 LB, 15.10.1915 & 16.10.1915.
- 215 LB, 26.12.1918.
- 216 LB, 21.4.1913. Song Yun Bin, op. cit., p. 130.
- 217 LB, 2.10.1915 & 9.11.1915.
- 218 LB, 30.6.1917.
- 219 LB, 6.10.1917.
- 220 LB, 2.7.1917.
- 221 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1934), first section, pp. 4-8.
- 222 Ibid, p. 5.
- 223 LB, 19.2.1914.
- 224 LB, 20.1.1913, 22.1.1913, 24.1.1913, 7.1.1916 & 4.6.1917.
- 225 LB, 23.9.1912, 8.10.1912, 29.9.1913, 19.10.1914, 22.9.1915, 2.10.1917, 13.9.1918, 30.9.1918, 2.10.1918 & 15.10.1918.
- 226 LB, 6.8.1912, 18.8.1914, 20.1.1919 & 19.3.1919.
- 227 LB,13.10.1914 & 26.12.1914.
- 228 LB, 7.9.1914 & 10.9.1914.
- 229 See p. 33.

- 230 LB, 20.6.1912. Zhuang Yu & He Sheng Ding, Zui Jin San Shi Wu Nian Zhi Zhong Guo Jiao Yu (Shanghai, 1940), pp. 15-16.
- 231 LB, 30.7.1912.
- 232 LB, 25.7.1912.
- 233 LB, 31.8.1912.
- 234 Zhuang Yu & He Sheng Ding, op. cit., pp. 17-19.
- 235 One of the schools which still taught the classics was the Gong Min Xue Xiao [Gong Min School] of Singapore. See LB, 21.3.1918.
- 236 LB, 19.4.1912.
- 237 LB, 4.12.1918.
- 238 LB, 7.5.1912.
- 239 LB, 22.10.1913.
- 240 [ar/Negri Sembilan], 1916, pp. 15-16.
- 241 LB, 22.1.1913, 24.1.1913, 7.1.1916 & 4.6.1917.
- 242 LB, 9.7.1917.
- 243 LB, 7.1.1916, 4.6.1917, 21.3.1918 & 4.6.1918.
- 244 LB, 22.7.1914.
- 245 LB, 10.3.1914 & 12.5.1914.
- 246 LB, 5.5.1915.
- 247 LB, 3.4.1917.
- 248 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., p. 151.
- 249 SSAER, 1916, p. 249.
- 250 SSAER, 1916-1919.
- 251 [ar/R-G/FMS], 1916, p. 24.
- 252 [ar/Perak], 1916, p. 13.
- 253 [ar/R-G/FMS], 1917, p. 17.
- 254 SSAER, 1915, p. 171.
- 255 [ar/ Perak], 1917, p. 13. [ar/Pahang], 1918, p. 26. [ar/ Negri Sembilan], 1914, 15 pp.
- 256 SSAER, 1918, p. 593.
- 257 SSAER, 1915-1918.
- 258 [ar/Perak], 1916, p. 13.
- 259 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., chapter 7.
- 260 LB, 4.6.1919.
- 261 LB, 24.5.1919.
- 262 LB, 5.6.1919.
- 263 Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Pei Gao, Nan Yang Ying Shu Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Zhi Wei Ji ([Singapore], 1921), Duo Gong's preface.

- 264 LB, 20, 21, 23, 26 & 28 of June, 1919.
- 265 LB, 24, 26, 27 & 30 of June and 2, 4, 5, 8 & 9 of July, 1919. [pr/SS], 1919, p. 211.
- 266 LB, 7, 8 & 10 of July, 1919.
- 267 [ar/CS/FMS], 1919.
- 268 LB, 2.5.1919.
- 269 [pr/SS], 1919, p. 210.
- 270 [ar/Selangor], 1919, p. 11.
- 271 Ibid., p. 12.
- 272 [pr/SS], 1919, p. 210.
- 273 LB, 23.7.1919, 7.8.1919 & 11.12.1919.
- 274 LB, 20.8.1919 & 24.9.1919.
- 275 LB, 20.8.1919, 24.9.1919 & 28.10.1919.
- 276 LB, 24.9.1919.
- 277 LB, 16.7.1919 & 25/7.1919.
- 278 LB, 31 of July; 1, 2, 4, 7, 11, 15, 18, 22, 23, 25, 29 & 30 of August; 29 of September; and 27 of October, 1919.
- 279 LB, 5.8.1919.
- 280 LB, 15.8.1919, 18.8 1919, & 24-25.9.1919.
- 281 LB, 25.7.1919.
- 282 LB, 27.10.1919 & 17.11.1919.
- 283 LB, 6.12.1919.
- 284 LB, 8.8.1919, 9.9.19\9 & 17.9.1919
- 285 LB, 7.5.1919.
- 286 LB, 20.5.1919 & 18.6.1919.
- 287 LB, 17.7.1919.
- 288 LB, 28.7.1919.
- 289 Ibid.
- 290 LB, 1-2.8.1919.
- 291 Purcell, Victor, op. cit., p. 85.
- 292 [p/LC/SS], 1920, pp. B 78-79.
- 293 Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Pei Gao, op. cit., section on petitioning in the SS.
- 294 Ibid.
- 295 Ibid.
- 296 Ibid.
- 297 Ibid.
- 298 Ibid., section on the records of the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu.
- 299 Ibid., sections on petitioning in the SS and the FMS.

- 300 Ibid., section on the records of the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu. [car/SS], 1920, pp. 135-136.
- 301 Ibid., section on petitioning in the SS.
- 302 [p/LC/SS], 1920, pp. B 88-100.
- 303 Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Pei Gao, op. cit., section on the records of the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu and section 9.
- 304 Ibid.
- 305 Ibid., section on the ordinance.
- 306 Ibid., section on the records of the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu.
- 307 Ibid.
- 308 LB, 29.7.1920. Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Pei Gao, op. cit., sections on petitioning in the SS and the FMS.
- 309 Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Pei Gao, op. cit., section 9.
- 310 LB, 24.7.1920.
- 311 Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Pei Gao, op. cit., sections on petitioning in the SS and the FMS.
- 312 Ibid.
- 313 Ibid.
- 314 LB, 31.7.1920 & \$1.8.1920.
- 315 LB, 29.7.1920.
- 316 The FMS draft bill is found in the Supplement of FMSGG of 16.7.1920.
- 317 LB, 10.8.1920.
- 318 LB, 31.7.1920.
- 319 [p/LC/SS], 1920, pp. B 101-102.
- 320 Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Pei Gao, op. cit., section on the records of the Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu.
- 321 LB, 31.8.20.
- 322 [p/LC/SS], 1920, pp. B 111 & B 133-135.
- 323 Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Pei Gao, op. cit., sections on petitioning in the SS and the FMS.
- 324 Ibid., section on the reasons of protest.
- 325 [p/LC/SS], 1920, pp. B 138 & B 148.
- 326 Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Pei Gao, op. cit., section on the arrest of representatives.
- 327 LB, 23.9.1920.
- 328 LB, 10.12.1920.
- 329 Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Pei Gao, op. cit., Zhou's preface.
- 330 Ibid., section on international negotiations.

- 331 Ibid.
- 332 LB, 16.2.1921.
- 333 Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Pei Gao, op. cit., section on international negotiations.
- 334 LB, 3.5.1921 & 17.6.1921.
- 335 LB, 27.8.1921.
- 336 LB, 27.4.1921 & 30.4.1921.
- 337 Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Pei Gao, op. cit., section on international negotiations.
- 338 LB, 16.12.1920.
- 339 LB, 27.12.1920.
- 340 LB, 28.4.1921 & 25.6.1921.
- 341 LB, 28.7.1921.
- 342 LB, 25-28.7.1921, 12.9.1921, 7.12.1921 & 7.1.1922.
- 343 LB, 20.8.1921.
- 344 LB, 26.8.1921.
- 345 LB, 7.1.1922.
- 346 LB, 8.10.1921 & 13.10.1921.
- 347 LB, 30.12.1921 & 4.2.1922.
- 348 Zhuang Xi Quan & Yu Rei Gao, op. cit., section on reports.
- 349 Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao], op. cit. LB, 3.8.1921.
- 350 LB, 6.10.1921.
- 351 LB 26.9.1921.
- 352 LB, 5.6.1919, 21.6.1919, 27.6.1919, 27.9.1919, 11.10.1919, 26.12.1919, 7.1.1920, 24.2.1920, 22.4.1920, 23.4.1920, 20.5.1920, 21.6.1920, 18.9.1920, 25.9.1920, 28.9.1920, 9.10.1920, 1.11.1920, 24.11.1920, 8.12.1920, 28.12.1920, 19.3.1921, 26.9.1921 & 8.10.1921.
- 353 LB, 6.2.1922.
- 354 LB, 11.11.1921.
- 355 SSAER, 1923, pp. 120-121. Also FMSAER, 1923, p. 15.
- 356 SSAER, 1923, p. 120.
- 357 FMSAER, 1923, p. 15.
- 358 SSAER, 1926, p. 300.
- 359 FMSAER, 1924, p. 18.
- 360 FMSAER, 1923, p. 15.
- 361 SSAER, 1924, p. 1.
- 362 SSAER, 1927, p. 175.
- 363 SSAER, 1924, p. 192. FMSAER, 1924, p. 18.
- 364 FMSAER, 1927, p. 18.

- 365 SSGG, 11.12.1925, no. 2235.
- 366 SSAER, 1923, p. 121.
- 367 LB, 20.3.1936.
- 368 SSAER, 1927, p. 176.
- 369 SSAER, 1928, pp. 239-240.
- 370 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., chapter 8. LB, 30.11.1921.
- 371 LB, 22.11.1919 & 25.4.1922.
- 372 LB, 21.12.1919 & 31.12.1921.
- 373 LB, 21.1.1922.
- 374 LB, 6.1.1920 & 2.11.1920.
- 375 LB, 25.9.1922, 29.9.1922, 12.2.1927, 15.2.1927, 16.2.1927, 14.4.1927, 4.6.1927 & 20.7.1927.
- 376 Chen Jia Geng, op. cit., vol 1, p. 13. LB, 15.8.1919.
- 377 LB, 12.9.1927.
- 378 LB, 7.7.1919, 14.7.1919, 2.2.1922, 9.4.1922 & 4.5.1922.
- 379 LB, 11.10.1921.
- 380 LB, 7.4.1920.
- 381 LB, 19.5.1922 & 11.11.1926.
- 382 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1934), fifth section, pp. 159, 160 & 163.
- 383 Ibid., pp. 164 & 171.
- 384 [Guomindang], op. cit., pp. 23-26.
- 385 LB, 10.3.1920, 12.3.1920, 20.4.1920, 7.5.1920, 21.5.1920, 29.7.1920, 14.9.1920, 9.11.1920, 13.12.1920, 26.3.1921, 16.4.1921, 3.6.1921, 29.6.1921, 7.9.1921, 24.11.1921, 29.12.1921, 1.3.1922, 4.3.1922, 7.6.1922, 2.8.1922, 7.5.1923, 7.6.1923, 13.8.1926, 11.2.1927 & 12.7.1927; SSAER, 1935.
- 386 SSAER, 1932, pp. 763-764.
- 387 LB, 19.11.1920.
- 388 LB, 15.7.1920, 19.11.1920 & 30.9.1922.
- 389 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., pp. 196-197.
- 390 LB, 24.7.1922, 1.5.1923, 2.5.1923, 7.6.1923, 27.6.1923 & 25.2.1926.
- 391 LB, 4.3.1925.
- 392 LB, 12.10.1920.
- 393 LB, 15.9.1919, 21.10.1919, 31.10.1919, 14.9.1920, 9.10.1920, 5.10.1926, 8.10.1926 & 23.9.1927.
- 394 LB, 7.1.1927 & 11.1.1927.
- 395 LB, 2-3.5.1923, 18.4.1925 & 14.6.1927.
- 396 LB, 15.5.1922.

- 397 LB, 1.5.1923.
- 398 LB, 26.6.1926.
- 399 SSAER, 1926, pp. 300-301.
- 400 LB, 21.4.1925, 4.8.1925, 8.8.1925, 11-12.8.1925, 17.8.1925, 19.8.1925, 21.8.1925, 31.8.1925, 4.9.1925, 7.9.1925, 19.10.1925, 21.10.1925, 19.11.1925, 26.4.1926 & 3.5.1926.
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- 402 [car/SS], 1922, p. 20.
- 403 [ar/Malacca], 1923, p. 243.
- 404 [car/SS], 1923, p. 27.
- 405 MRCA, August, 1934.
- 406 Ibid.
- 407 Ibid.
- 408 Ibid.
- 409 For reasons of security, the authority for this statement cannot be cited.
- 410 MRCA, August, 1934.
- 411 Ibid.
- 412 Zhang Yong Fu, op. cit., pp. 25-26.
- 413 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., pp. 221-227.
- 414 Ibid., p. 236.
- 415 Ibid., p. 214.
- 416 Ibid., p. 240.
- 417 Ibid., p. 257.
- 418 MRCA, August, 1934.
- 419 LB, 16.5.1922.
- 420 LB, 5.7.1922.
- 421 LB, 5.8.1922 & 10.8.1922.
- 422 LB, 6.1.1925, 2.9.1926 & 3.9.1926.
- 423 SSAER, 1923, p. 27.
- 424 SSGG, 20.3.1925. Supplement to SSGG, 9.4.1925.
- 425 Supplements to SSGG, 31.7.1925. and 18.9.1925. SSGG, 11.9.1925.
- 426 FMSGG, 30.4.1926.
- 427 SSGG, 26.3.1925 & 20.11.1925.
- 428 LB, 28.1.1926, 2.3.1926 & 10.3.1926.
- 429 LB, 10-12.3.1926, 15.3.1926 & 3.5.1926.
- 430 LB, 29.3.1926, 31.3.1926, 1.4.1926, 3.4.1926 & 9.4.1926. SSGG, 1.4.1926 & 9.4.1926.

- 431 LB, 9.4.1926.
- 432 SSGG, 9.4.1926, 30.4.1926 & 14.5.1926.
- 433 SSGG, 14.5.1926 & 28.5.1926. Supplement to SSGG, 11.6.1926. FMSGG, 9.7.1926.
- 434 SSGG, 11.6.1926, 25.6.1926, 9.7.1926 & 16.7.1926.
- 435 SSAER, 1926, p. 300.
- 436 FMSAER, 1926, p. 20.
- 437 SSGG, 16.7.1926. [p/LC/SS], 1926. [p/FC/FMS], 1927, pp. B89-B90.
- 438 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., p. 236.
- 439 Supplement to FMSGG of 28.2.1935.
- 440 SSGG, 18.3.1927.
- 441 Ibid., 4.1.1929.
- 442 SSGG, 28.1.1927, 11.2.1927 & 18.2.1927.
- 443 The sources of information for this whole incident are *LB*, 14.3.1927, 16-19.3.1927, 28-31.3.1927, 1-2.4.1927, 5-7.4.1927, 9.4.1927, 11-13.4.1927, 29.4.1927, 3.5.1927, 13.5.1927 & 13.3.1928.
- 444 MRCA, August, 1934. [car/FMS], 1927, p. 5.18, 8.5.1928.
- 445 LB, 29.4.1927 & 3.5.1927.
- 446 LB, 29.4.1927.
- 447 LB, 13.5.1927.
- 448 SSAER, 1927, pp. 175-176.
- 449 MRCA, August, 1984. FMSAER, 1927, p. 18.
- 450 LB, 23.6.1928 & 9.7.1928.
- 451 LB, 20.8.1928.
- 452 Song Yun Bin, op. cit.
- 453 LB, 17.9.1928.
- 454 LB, 5.12.1928, 6.12.1928 & 19.12.1928.
- 455 LB, 13.12.1928.
- 456 SSAER, 1928, p. 239. SSGG, 16.3.1928, 25.5.1928, 13.7.1928, 17.8.1928, 24.8.1928, 7.9.1928, 14.9.1928, 28.9.1928, 26.10.1928 & 28.12.1928.
- 457 FMSAER, 1928, p. 20. Supplements to FMSGG of 7.5.1928, 14.9.1928 & 28.9.1928.
- 458 SSGG, 1.2.1929.
- 459 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., pp. 256-257. Chen Jia Geng, op. cit., section 39. LB, May-September, 1928.
- 460 See the education reports of this period.
- 461 FMSAER, 1920, 1926 & 1927. [car/ FMS], 1928.
- 462 SSAER, 1921, pp. 213-214; & 1928.

- 463 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., pp. 207-209.
- 464 Ibid.
- 465 Ibid.
- 466 LB, 11.7.1927.
- 467 LB, 17.10.1927.
- 468 LB, 30.5.1928 & 5.6.1928.
- 469 LB, 14.6.1928, 3.7.1928, 8.8.1928 & 4.9.1928.
- 470 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1934), first section, p. 45.
- 471 Qian He.et al. (ed.), op. cit., pp. 392ff.
- 472 Huang Jing Wan, Hua Qiao Dui Zu Guo De Gong Xian (Shanghai, 1940), chapter 3, part 2. LB, 6.2.1928 & 2.5.1928.
- 473 Same as for note 470.
- 474 [Ji Nan Da Xue], Nan Yang Yan Jiu, di yi juan (?), di er qi (?), ([Shanghai], n.d.).
- 475 [Ji Nan Da Xue], Nan Yang Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi Bao Gao (Shanghai, 1930), fifth section, pp. 363-365.
- 476 Ibid., pp. 365-366.
- 477 Ibid., pp. 366-367.
- 478 Ibid., pp. 371-374. The respective regulations were Zhu Wai Hua Qiao Quan Xue Yuan Zhang Cheng and Hua Qiao Shi Xue Yuan Zhang Cheng
- 479 Ibid., third section, pp. 307-311, Zheng Hong Nian's speech at the conference.
- 480 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Er Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1948), p. 608.
- 481 Same as for note 479.
- 482 See publications of the bureau.
- 483 Same as for note 474.
- 484 Qian He et al., op. cit., from the cover of the book.
- 485 [Da Xue Yuan [Ministry of Education]], Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi Bao Gao (Shanghai, 1928).
- 486 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1934), first section, p. 10.
- 487 Ibid., p. 8.
- 488 Same as for note 485.
- 489 Ibid., pp. 291, 292 & 596.
- 490 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1934), first section, p. 45.
- 491 Ibid., second section, pp. 25-26. Juan Zi Xing Xue Bao Jiang Tiao Li.

- 492 Ibid., second section, pp. 21-22. Ling Shi Jing Li Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Xing Zheng Gui Cheng.
- 493 [Ji Nan Da Xue], Nan Yang Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi Bao Gao (Shanghai, 1930).
- 494 The original declaration is not divided into paragraphs.
- 495 The telegram read: "The Rt. Honourable Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister, London. The Educational Conference for Overseas Chinese held at Chinan University, Shanghai, on June 6, resolved that the prevailing Registration of Schools Ordinance in British Malaya and Borneo, enforced since Oct. 1920, is obstructive to possible development of Chinese education there and that Your Excellency be requested to propose abolition to the betterment of Sino-British friendship. Cheng Hung Nien, Chairman of the Conference and President of Chi Nan University."
- 496 [Ji Nan Da Xue], Nan Yang Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi Bao Gao (Shanghai, 1930), fifth section, pp. 367-368. XZRB, 6.12.1929.
- 497 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi Bao Gao Shu (n.p., 1929), pp. 13-17.
- 498 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi Bao Gao Shu (n.p., 1929).
- 499 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1934), second section, pp. 6-7.
- 500 Miu Ren Yan (ed.), Di Er Ci Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi Shi Mo Ji (Shanghai, 1930).
- 501 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Jiao Yu Fa Ling Hui Bian (Shanghai, 1930), vol. 1, p. 19. XZRB, 25.5.1931.
- 502 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shánghai,1934), first section, p. 22.
- 503 LB, 9.7.1928, 8.9.1928, 10.9.1928, 19.9.1928, 24.9.1928, 27-28.9.1928, 17.12.1928 & 19.12.1928. XZRB, 8.9.1929.
- 504 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., p. 267. May, June, August & September issues of XZRB of 1929.
- 505 XZRB, 4, 6, 11, 13, 16, 20, 23 & 27 of September 1929, and 10.11.1929.
- 506 Ibid., 27.11.1929.
- 507 SSAER, 1929, p. 910. FMSAER, 1929, pp. 13-14.
- 508 MRCA, August 1934. XZRB, 5.2.1930, 31.10.1930, 5.1.1931, 13.3.1931, 12.5.1931, 21.11.1931, 7.12.1933, 19.12.1933, 6.2.1934, 13-14.2.1934 & 15-16.6.1934.
- 509 XZRB, 16.6.1934.
- 510 [p/LC/SS], 26.1.1931.
- 511 [p/LC/SS], 25.10.1933. SSAER, 1932, p. 756. FMSAER, 1932, p. 26.
- 512 See SSAER and FMSAER.
- 513 SSAER, 1925, pp. 763-764.

ENDNOTES 179

- 514 SSAER, 1928, pp. 239-240. FMSAER, 1928, p. 20.
- 515 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], You Zhi Yun Xiao Xue Ke Cheng Zan Xing Biao Zhun (Shanghai, 1930). XZRB, 10.11.1937.
- 516 SSAER, 1930, p. 752. FMSAER, 1930, p. 18.
- 517 For political reasons, the authority for this statement cannot be cited.
- 518 MRCA, August 1934
- 519 NYQB, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 147-148.
- 520 [car/FMS], 1930, pp 9-10.
- 521 For political reasons, the authority for this statement cannot be cited.
- 522 As for note 521.
- 523 As for note 521.
- 524 SSAER, 1931, pp. 844-845.
- 525 SSAER, 1933, p. 659.
- 526 SSAER, 1930, pp. 759 & 767. FMSAER, 1930, p. 19.
- 527 XZRB, 7.4.1930.
- 528 XZRB, 2.8.1930, 4.8.1930 & 7.8.1930.
- 529 XZRB, 8.10.1930
- 530 FMSAER, 1930, p. 17.
- 531 XZRB, 26.1.1931 & 19-20.3.1931.
- 532 January-March and November issues of LB of 1926. And LB, 3.1.1927 & 14.3.1927.
- 533 For political reasons, the authority for this statement cannot be cited.
- 534 SSAER, 1927, p. 176.
- 535 LB, 17.11.1927.
- 536 LB, 22.3.1929.
- 537 XZRB, 3-7, 11, 15, 17, 20, 28 & 31 of March; 22 & 26 of Aprl; and 7 of May, 1930. 8 & 26 of January, and 1 of March, 1934.
- 538 The following are the sources of information for the whole Hua Zhong incident: XZRB, 9, 11, 12, 20, 22, 28, 29 & 31 of January; 2, 4 & 23 of February; and 2, 14 & 31 of March, 1931.
- 539 XZRB, 31 of January; 3, 4, 5, 6 & 11 of February; and 9, 11 & 13 of March, 1931.
- 540 XZRB, 29.4.1931 & 2.5.1931.
- 541 XZRB, 10, 14, 15 & 28 of April; 26 of May; 5, 15 & 20 of June; and 3, 15, 23 & 30 of July, 1931.
- 542 XZRB, 18.3.1931.
- 543 These two names may refer to the same person. The XZRB might have confused the transliteration of the names.
- 544 XZRB, 20.4.1931, 25.4.1931, 12.5.1931 & 20.5.1931.

- 545 NYQB, vol. 1, no. 8, p. 305
- 546 ZXRB, 11.4.1931.
- 547 XZRB, 17.4.1931.
- 548 XZRB, 29.4.1931.
- 549 For details, see XZRB, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16 & 18 of May; 5 & 16 of June; 3 of July; and 3 of August, 1931. NYQB, vol. 1, no. 8, p. 195. SSAER, 1931, pp. 822 & 829. [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Jiao Yu Fa Ling Hui Bian (Shanghai, 1936), vol. 1, pp. 70-72.
- 550 XZRB, 29.7.1931.
- 551 XZRB, 31.5.1932.
- 552 SSGG, 8.5.1931, 5.6.1931, 19.6.1931, 17.7.1931, 21.8.1931, 23.10.1931 & 30.10.1931.
- 553 XZRB, 13.1.1932 & 14.1.1932. SSGG, 6.5.1932.
- 554 Evidence for the story are: XZRB from September to December 1931; January to June, & October to December 1932; and January to July 1933. [car/SS], 1931, pp. 30-31 & 432. [car/FMS], 1932, p. 9. NYQB, vol. 1, no. 5, p. 194 & no. 10, p. 406. Song Yun Bin, op. cit, pp. 283-292. Chen Jia Geng, vol. 1, p. 31. Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao], op. cit., section on "Important Events of the Past Seven Years".
- 555 XZRB, 29.1.1932, 5.2.1932 & 24.2.1932,
- 556 XZRB, 25.3.1932.
- 557 XZRB, 11.6.1932.
- 558 This story is based on the following pieces of evidence: *XZRB*, December 1932; 9.1.1933, 20.2.1933, 23.2.1933, 3.3.1933, 16.6.1933, 26.7.1933, 27.7.1933, 16.8.1933, 12.12.1933, 20.12.1933, 30.12.1933, 27.1.1934 & 22.10.1934. *NYQB*, vol. 1, no. 4, p. 158; no. 5, p. 200; no. 6, pp. 234 & 238; and no. 8, pp. 295-296 & 332. *SSAER*, 1932, p. 783 and 1934, p. 789.
- 559 SSAER, 1932, p. 783.
- 560 SSGG, 1.4.1932.
- 561 FMSAER, 1932, pp. 29-30.
- 562 SSGG, 25.11.1932. FMSGG, 18.11.1932.
- 563 SSAER, 1932, pp. 763-764.
- 564 XZRB, June 1936.
- 565 XZRB, 10.11.1937.
- 566 XZRB, 15.6.1934.
- 567 [car/SS], 1931, p. 431. And another document which cannot be quoted for security reasons.
- 568 XZRB, 18.1.1935. NYQB, vol. 1, no. 7, p. 285.
- 569 XZRB, 6.3.1934, 8.3.1934, 16.4.1934 & 4.5.1934.
- 570 SSGG, 19.5.1933.

- 571 SSAER, 1933, p. 631; 1934, p. 779; and 1935, p. 309.
- 572 SSAER, 1936, p. 230; and 1937, p. 181.
- 573 FMSAER, 1933, pp. 29-30; 1934, p. 26; and 1935, p. 34.
- 574 SSGG, 13.10.1933,15.12.1933 & 2.8.1935. FMSGG, 25.8.1933, 1.12.1933 & 23.8.1935.
- 575 FMSAER, 1935, p. 33; and 1936, appendix 25. SSAER, 1936, appendix 25. XZRB, 16.6.1934.
- 576 XZRB, 9.5.1930, 9.7.1930, 14.7.1930, 15.8.1930, 14.10.1930 & 17.11.1930.
- 577 XZRB, 10.5.1930, 11.1.1933, 12.1.1933, 9.6.1934 & 25.4.1936.
- 578 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai,1934), second section, p. 22. The set of regulations concerned were the Hua Qiao Quan Xue Wei Yuan Hui Zu Zhi Gui Cheng [Regulations for the Organisation of Overseas Chinese Education Promotion Committees].
- 579 XZRB, 17.11.1930 & 20.11.1930.
- 580 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nan Jian (Shanghai, 1934), second section, pp. 68-71.
- 581 Ibid., second section, pp. 122-124. [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Er Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1948), pp. 1260-1261.
- [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1934), second section, p. 71; and Jiao Yu Fa Ling Hui Bian (Shanghai, 1930), vol. 1, p. 342. XZRB, 18.11.1931. The provisions were the Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Mu Ji Ji Jin Ban Fa [Methods to Raise Funds for Overseas Chinese Education], the Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Ji Jin Guan Li Wei Yuan Hui Zu Zhi Tiao Li [Rules Governing the Organisation of Management Committees of Overseas Chinese Education Funds] and the Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Ji Jin Juan Mu Jiang Li Ban Fa [Measures to Encourage Donations to Overseas Chinese Education Funds].
- 583 A letter from the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commisson to the Overseas Chinese in XZRB, 13.7.1932. Huang Jing Wan, op. cit., chapter 3, part 2.
- 584 XZRB, 26.8.1931. 17, 22 & 28 of June; 3, 9, 14, 15,16 & 18 of July; 29 of August; 21 & 26 of October; and 5 & 11 of November, 1932. 10 of January and 21 of November, 1933. NYQB, vol.1, no. 2, p. 59.
- 585 XZRB, 14.9.1932.
- 586 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Jiao Yu Fa Ling Hui Bian (Shanghai, 1930), vol. 1, pp. 325-326. XZRB, 13.7.1933.
- 587 XZRB, 24 & 25 of May; 15, 22, 25, 26 & 30 of June; 10, 19, 23 & 27 of July; 3 of August; 15 of September; and 1 & 3 of October, 1934. 8 of April; 31 of August; 16 of October; 22 & 23 of November; and 2, 3, 4, & 9 of December, 1935. 20 & 24 of January; 7, 10 & 14 of March; 16 of April; 2 of May; 30 of October; and 2 of December, 1936. 28 of April and 2 of July, 1937. SSAER and FMSAER from 1935 onwards.
- 588 XZRB, 14 of June; 6, 10 & 25 of July; 31 of August; 24 & 25 of September; 15, 25,

- 27 & 29 of October; 3 & 5 of November; and 7,11,18, & 27 of December, 1934. 3.6.1936. 7 & 8 of June, 1937.
- 589 XZRB, 31 of July; 1, 8, 10, 16, 21 & 28 of August; 24 of September; 1 of October; 6 & 19 of November; and 21 of December, 1934. 12 & 13 of April, 1935. 26.9.1936.
- 590 Huang Jing Wan, op. cit., chapter 3, part 2. [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Jiao Yu Fa Ling Hui Bian (Shanghai, 1930), vol. 1, pp. 326-341.
- 591 XZRB, 31 of July; 21,23 & 28 of August; 1, 6 & 8 of September; and 9 of November; 1934. 19 of March; 15 & 26 of June; 19 of July; 29 & 30 of October; and 20 of December, 1935. 3.3.1936, 27.6.1936; 30.12.1936; 5.2.1937, 2.3.1937, 11.6.1937 & 24.7.1937.
- 592 XZRB, 20.8.1934, 28.8.1934, 5.9.1934, 13.9.1934, 7.5.1935, 18.7.1935 & 11.5.1936.
- 593 XZRB, 23, 25 & 28 of January; 12, 25 & 27 of February; 3 & 4 of March; 4 & 26 of April; and 2 & 6 of June, 1937.
- 594 XZRB, 12.12.1936.
- 595 XZRB, 13.6.1936.
- 596 XZRB, 29 of September; 9, 13, 17 & 30 of October; and 9, 10 & 16 of November, 1936. 25.1.1937.
- 597 XZRB, 27.7.1935, 29.7.1935, 3.8.1935, 1.10.1935, 29.10.1935 & 30.10.1935.
- 598 XZRB, 17 of March; 10, 12, 15, 20, 26, 30 & 31 of May; and 13 of October, 1936.
- 599 XZRB, 22, 23 & 30 of March; and 3 of April, 1936.
- 600 SSAER, 1928 & 1936, appendices 20 & 18 respectively. FMSAER, 1928 & 1936, appendices 20 & 18 respectively. The figures include a few Japanese schools, and those for Singapore include also the schools in Labuan.
- 601 FMSGG, 19.6.1931.
- 602 LB, 12.7.1927, 28.10.1927, 29.10.1927, 1.11.1927, 3.11.1927, 12.5.1928 & 9.8.1928.
 XZRB, 16.1.1929, 23.1.1929, 11.4.1929, 7.10.1929, 8.11.1929, 12.12.1929, 4.1.1930, 1.4.1930, 10.4.1930, 12.4.1930, 18.4.1930, 21.4.1930, 25.4.1930, 26.4.1930, 28.4.1930, 7.5.1930, 12.5.1930, 14.5.1930, 23.5.1930, 26.5.1930, 28.5.1930, 12.6.1930, 2.7.1930, 8.7.1930, 10.7.1930, 26.7.1930, 13.8.1930, 10.9.1930, 23.9.1930, 17.10.1930, 20.3.1931, 21.4.1931, 23.5.1931, 31.8.1931, 13.12.1932, 16.12.1932, 24.1.1933, 10.2.1933, 8.4.1933, 24.4.1933, 1.11.1933, 13.3.1934, 17.3.1934, 21.4.1934, 25.5.1934, 16.6.1934, 13.8.1934, 16.8.1934, 17.9.1934, 29.9.1934, 3.10.1934, 13.10.1934, 14.1935, 11.4.1936, 14.4.1936, 23.5.1936, 22.6.1936, 18.10.1936, 2.3.1937, 27.4.1937, 19.5.1937, 20.5.1937, 24.5.1937 & 15.6.1937. SSAER, 1930, p. 775.
- 603 SSAER, 1929, p. 910. FMSAER, 1929, p. 14.
- 604 SSAER, 1932, pp. 763-764.
- 605 FMSAER, 1935, p. 34.
- 606 XZRB, 23.9.1927, 30.1.1928, 31.1.1928, 14.2.1928, 3.3.1928, 27.8.1929, 28.8.1929,

- 31.1.1930, 27.8.1930, 21.6.1932, 29.8.1933, 17.10.1933, 19.10.1933, 19.12.1933, 3.3.1934, 28.8.1934, 4.10.1934, 28.8.1935, 30.8.1935, 25.9.1935, 26.3.1936, 30.3.1936, 21.4.1936, 6.5.1936 & 8.5.1936.
- 607 XZRB, 14.6.1934. SSAER, 1932, pp. 763-764.
- 608 FMSAER, 1935, pp. 50-51.
- 609 FMSAER, 1927, p. 18; 1929, pp. 13-14; & 1932, p. 30.
- 610 SSAER, 1927 & 1936, appendices 21 & 18 respectively. FMSAER, 1927 & 1936, appendices 20 & 18 respectively.
- 611 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., pp. 293-316.
- 612 XZRB, 2.5.1935.
- 613 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., pp. 311-315.
- 614 XZRB, 9.1.1937, 14.1.1937, 23.4.1937, 6.5.1937 & 8.6.1937.
- 615 XZRB, 17, 18, 19 & 22 of October, 1937.
- 616 XZRB, 18, 19 & 21 of October, 1938. 21.10.1939.
- 617 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., pp. 307-311 & 317-319.
- 618 XZRB, 4.2.1936, 10.2.1936, 2.3.1936, 21.3.1936 & 16.11.1936.
- 619 XZRB, 2.3.1936.
- 620 See later pages.
- 621 XZRB, 16.11.1936.
- 622 XZRB, 2, 4 & 5 of March, 1936. [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Er Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1948), p. 209.
- 623 XZRB, 10.11.1937.
- 624 XZRB, 29.4.1936, 23.1.1937,11.2.1937, 12.2.1937, 20.2.1937, 26.3.1937, 30.4.1937 & 11.6.1937. SSAER, 1937, p. 218. FMSAER, 1937, p. 62. Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao], op. cit., section on "Important Events of the Past Seven Years".
- 625 Song Yun Bin, op. cit., pp. 315-316. XZRB, November & December, 1936. 29.1.1937, 3.2.1937, 19.4.1937 & 23.4.1937.Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao], op. cit., section on "Important Events of the Past Seven Years".
- 626 XZRB, 9, 16, 20, 25 & 29 of May; 17 of June; and 2, 15 & 29 of July, 1937.
- 627 XZRB, July & August, 1937. Chen Jia Geng, op. cit., sections 69, 70, 73, 77, 78, 82 & 91.
- 628 XZRB, October & November, 1937.
- 629 Ibid.
- 630 Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao], op.cit., section on "Important Events of the Past Seven Years". XZRB, 22.3.1938, 30.3.1938 & 25.7.1940. Chen Jia Geng, op. cit., section 84.
- 631 XZRB, 19 & 24 of January; 8 & 10 of February; 1, 2, 7, 9, 14 & 16 of March; 27 of May; and 28 of June, 1938.
- 632 XZRB, 14.3.1938, 14.6.1938, 10.2.1939, 14.8.1939, 2.10.1939, 29.1.1940 & 7.3.1940.

- 633 [pr/SS], 1936, pp. 859-860. XZRB, 14.8.1940. And certain other documents which, for political reasons, cannot be cited.
- 634 XZRB, July 1937 to June 1940. 18.1.1941, 30.4.1941 & 19.8.1941. Chen Jia Geng, op. cit., sections 71, 73, 75, 78, 91, 148, 451, 485 & 494.
- 635 XZRB, 7-12, 15-16 & 28 of February, 1938.
- 636 Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao], op. cit., section on "Important Events of the Past Seven Years".
- 637 Chen Jia Geng, op. cit., sections 100, 103, 104, 135, 144 & 150.
- 638 XZRB, 4.9.1940.
- 639 XZRB, 15.9.1937, 3.10.1937, 10.2.1938, 12.2.1938, 14.2.1938, 17.12.1938, 26.8.1939, 15.3.1940, 22.3.1940, 2.4.1940, 3.4.1940, 5.4.1940, 24.4.1940, 13.8.1940, 22.4.1941 & 15.5.1941.
- 640 XZRB, 11.8.1937, 26.8.1937, 17.10.1937, 27.10.1937, 19.12.1937, 3.11.1938 & 5.12.1938. [pr/FMS], 1937, p. 18. [car/SS], 1937, p. 422.
- 641 XZRB, 20.8.1937 & 19.10.1937.
- 642 XZRB, 25.7.1937 & 26.7.1937.
- 643 XZRB, 14.8.1937 & 20.8.1938.
- 644 XZRB, 17.11.1937 & 20.8.1938.
- 645 XZRB, 28.1 1938.
- 646 XZRB, 10.1.1938, 11.1.1938, 13.7.1938 & 26.7.1938.
- 647 XZRB, 3-8, 10-11 & 16 of July, 1938.
- 648 XZRB, 8, 9, 25, 28, 30 & 31 of July; and 2 of August, 1938.
- 649 XZRB, 26.7.1938, 13.9.1938, 14.9.1938 & 27.10.1938.
- 650 XZRB, 25-26.7.1938.
- 651 XZRB, 25.7.1938 & 20.8.1938.
- 652 XZRB, 22-23.7.1938.
- 653 XZRB, 28-29.7.1938. Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao], op. cit., section on "Important Events of the Past Seven Years".
- 654 XZRB, 22.10.1938. Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao], op. cit., section on "Important Events of the Past Seven Years".
- 655 XZRB, 20, 22-26 & 31 of August, 1938.
- 656 XZRB, 22 of March and 3, 26, 28 & 29 of April, 1939.
- 657 XZRB, September, October & November, 1939. Chen Jia Geng, op. cit., section 95.
- 658 XZRB, 28.2.1940.
- 659 XZRB, 9.3.1940.
- 660 XZRB, 15, 20 & 21 of March, and 3, 6 & 27 of April, 1940.
- 661 XZRB, 8, 11, 23 & 29 of May; 6 of June; and 31 of August, 1940.
- 662 XZRB, 20.6 1940.

- 663 XZRB, 27.1.1940, 9.6.1940,14.8.1940 & 4.3.1941.
- 664 XZRB, 14.5.1938, & 15.9.1938. 3 of May; 6, 7, 11, 27 & 29 of June; and 8 of August,1940.
- 665 SSGG, 19.11.1937 & 26.1.1940. FMSGG, 29.10.1937 & no. 2942 of 1940. XZRB, 30.4.1940,18.5.1940 & 27.6.1940.
- 666 SSAER, 1937, p. 181 & 1938, p. 44. FMSAER, 1938, p. 44.
- 667 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Er Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1948), pp. 69-85. XZRB, 24.3.1939, 2.4.1939, 7.4.1939 & 13.5.1939.
- 668 [Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Er Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1948), pp. 1261-1268. XZRB, 19 & 21-23 of September, 1941.
- 669 XZRB, 8.6.1941: Chen Shu Ren, [Work on Overseas Chinese Affairs during the War]. Also 24.3.1939, 19.1.1940, 2.7.1941, 9.8.1941, 11.9.1941 & 18.9.1941.
- 670 XZRB, 21.1.1940, 27.2.1940, 29.2.1940, 9.5.1940, 15.5.1940, 15.6.1940, 29-30.10.1940, 18.1.1941, 8.4.1941, 17.5.1941, 8.6.1941 & 14.7.1941.
- 671 Chen Jia Geng, op. cit., section 469. XZRB, 8, 14 & 27 of November; and 1, 3 & 12 of December, 1940. Also 8,1.1941.
- 672 Chen Jia Geng, op. cit., section 469.
- 673 Chen Jia Geng, op. cit., sections 193, 198, 200, 201, 205, 445, 447 & 475. XZRB, 13 of February; and 14, 24, 26 & 30 of July, 1941.
- 674 SSAER and FMSAER from 1935 onwards. XZRB, 11.8 1937, 16.9.1937, 2.12.1937, 4.2.1938, 13.3.1938, 11.3.1939, 16.4.1939, 1.12.1939, 10.3.1940, 3.4.1940, 29.4.1940, 17.5.1940, 2.12.1940, 22.2.1941, 27.2.1941 & 19.6.1941.
- 675 XZRB, 15.12.1937, 8.1.1938, 28.1.1938, 1.2.1938, 3.2.1938, 7.2.1938, 9.2.1938, 16.11.1939, 24.11.1939, 17.7.1941 & 19.7.1941.
- 676 XZRB, 21.7.1938.
- 677 XZRB, 9.8.1938.
- 678 XZRB, 10.8.1938.
- 679 XZRB, 13 of April; 17 & 31 of May; 3, 11, 14 & 22 of June; 13 of July; and 8, 9, 11, 12, & 15 of August, 1939. 8, 10 & 23 of May; 6, 7, 18 & 25 of June; 31 of July; 8 & 10 of September; and 29 of October, 1940. Also 20.1.1941.
- 680 XZRB, 28.5.1941.
- 681 XZRB, 15.7.1940.
- 682 XZRB, 15.7.1940, 12.2.1941, 6.3.1941, 28.4.1941, 28.7.1941, 10.8.1941, 12.8.1941 & 9.9.1941.
- 683 Chen Jia Geng, op. cit., sections 479-484.

Appendix I1

A BILL INTITULED

An Ordinance to provide for grants-in-aid to certain schools, and for the registration of schools and of their managers and teachers.

It is hereby enacted by the Governor of the Straits Settlements with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof as follows:-

Short title

This Ordinance may be cited as the Education Ordinance, 1920.

Definitiions

2. For the purposes of this Ordinance -

"Assistant Director" means an Assistant Director of Education appointed under section 4 of this Ordinance.

"Committee of Management" means the person or persons who administer the revenues of any school other than a Government school.

"Director" means the Director of Education appointed under section 4 of this Ordinance.

"Existing School" means any school in existence at the date of the coming into operation of this Ordinance.

"Government School" means a school entirely controlled by the Government.

"Inspector" means an Inspector of Schools for any Settlement appointed under section 4 of this Ordinance.

"Manager" means any person taking part in the management of a school. In the case of a school of which no such manager can be found in the Colony then the master of the school or if there be more than one master the headmaster of the school or in any case of doubt such master as the Director may specify shall be deemed to be the manager.

"Medical Officer" means a Medical Officer appointed under section 4 of this Ordinance.

"Military School" means a school entirely maintained and controlled by the British Military Authorities.

"New School" means a school started after the date of the coming into operation of this Ordinance.

"Register" means the Register of the Schools kept under the provisions of section 18 of this Ordinance and "Registered" means entered upon the Register.

"Registered School" means a school registered in accordance with the provisions of this Ordinance.

"Regulations" means regulations made under this Ordinance.

"School" means a place where ten or more persons are being or are habitually taught whether in one or more classes.

"Teacher" means a person employed by the Government or by the manager or by the Committee of Management to teach the pupils in a school and includes the manager if the manager is the headmaster or the master in charge of the school.

Application

The provisions of this Ordinance shall apply to all schools except military schools and such other schools as the Governor in Council may at any time by notification published in the Gazette direct.

Appointment of Officers

 The Governor may appoint such persons as he may think fit to be Director of Education, Assistant Directors of Education, Inspectors of Schools, and Medical Officers respectively, for the purposes of this Ordinance.

Schools which must be registered

Every school whether it exists at the date of the coming into operation of this Ordinance or is a new school shall be registered under the provisions of this Ordinance and any school not so registered shall be deemed to be an unlawful school.

Penalty for unlawful schools

- 6. –(1)If any person acts as manager of an unlawful school he shall be guilty of an offence against the provisions of this Ordinance and shall be liable upon summary conviction to a fine not exceeding \$500.
 - (2) On the complaint of the Director or of an Assistant Director or of an Inspector, and on proof that a school is unlawful, a Magistrate may order such school to be closed, or may make such other order as he may deem fit.

Part II Registration of Schools

When registration necessary

7. After the first day of it shall not be lawful for any person to manage, teach in or maintain any existing school or to open, manage, teach in or maintain any new school in this Colony until such person shall have obtained a certificate of registration of such school in the manner hereinafter provided.

Forms of application for registration

- (1) Application for a certificate of registration referred to in section 7 of this
Ordinance shall in the case of an existing school be in Form 1 and in the case of
a new school in Form 3 of the Schedule of this Ordinance.

(2) In the case of an existing school such application shall be made to the Director or an Assistant Director by the manager or a member of the Committee of Management of such school within fourteen days of the coming into operation of this Ordinance and in the event of such application not being made within such period such school shall be deemed to be an unlawful school within the meaning of this Ordinance.

(3) In the case of a new school such application shall be made to the Director or an Assistant Director by the manager or a member of the Committee of Management of such school before such school is opened.

Certificate of registration and appeal against refusal

9. – (1) Upon an application for registration the Director if he thinks that the school ought to be registered shall register it and issue to the manager thereof a certificate of registration in Form 2 of the Schedule of this Ordinance and if he thinks that the school ought not to be registered shall refuse to register it and shall so inform the manager thereof in writing and shall also inform him that he has the right of appeal to the Governor in Council.

(2) If the manager shall not within a period of one month appeal to the Governor in Council or if on appeal to the Governor in Council the decision of the Director shall be upheld, such school shall become an unlawful school.

Part III Registration of Managers and Teachers

Registration of managers and teachers

- 10. (1) After the first day of no person shall manage any school or hold office as a member of the Committee of Management of any school, or teach in any school unless he has been duly registered and in the case of a teacher until he shall have obtained a certificate of registration in the manner hereinafter provided.
 - (2) Every manager and member of the Committee of Management shall in the case of an existing school within three months of the coming into operation of this Ordinance and in the case of a new school at the time when the school is opened apply to be registered. Such application shall be in the terms of Form 4 of the Schedule of this Ordinance.
 - (3) Every teacher of an existing school shall within three months from the coming into operation of this Ordinance and every teacher of a new school shall at the time when such school is opened apply to be registered.
 - (4) The application mentioned in subsection (3) hereof shall be in the terms of Form 5 and the certificate of registration shall be in the terms of Form 6 of the Schedule to this Ordinance.
 - (5) Any person who supplies faisely or does not supply in full the information prescribed by subsections (2) and (4) thereof or who otherwise contravenes any of the terms of subsections (1), (2) or (3) of this section shall be liable upon summary conviction before a Magistrate to a fine not exceeding \$250 for the first offence or \$500 for a second or subsequent offence.

Part IV Control and Supervision of Schools

Inspection of Schools

11. It shall be the duty of the Director to inspect personally or cause to be inspected by an Assistant Director or Inspector at least once in every year every registered school for the purpose of ascertaining if all the regulations made under the provisions of this Ordinance are being complied with and if such school is being properly carried on and if such school is necessary for educational purposes. 190

APPENDIX I

Entry for Inspection

12. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Ordinance it shall be lawful for the Director or an Assistant Director or Inspector to visit and enter any school at any reasonable time.

Conduct of School against regulations

13. If it shall appear to the Director that any regulation made under this Ordinance has not been complied with or that a registered school is not being properly carried on he may by notice in writing to the manager of such school call upon such manager to comply with any such regulation which is not being complied with at such school before the expiration of such period not being less than one month as may be stated in such notice by the Director and if at the expiration of such period so stated such manager has failed to comply with any requisition made in such notice it shall be lawful for the Director to strike such school off the register and such school shall forthwith be deemed to be an unlawful school.

Unnecessary School to be struck off register

14. If it shall appear to the Director that any registered school is not necessary for educational purposes he shall in writing notify such fact to the manager of such school and at the expiration of a period of three months or of such further period as the Director may allow from the date of such notification he shall strike such school off the register and in the event of such school continuing in existence after such date it shall be deemed to be an unlawful school.

Appeal against decision of Director of Education

15. If any person against whom any decision of the Director has been made under sections 9, 13, 14 is dissatisfied with such decision he may appeal to the Governor in Council whose ruling upon such matter shall be final provided that any such appeal shall be notified in writing to the Clerk of Councils within one month from the date of the communication of the decision of the Director.

Right of appeal to be mentioned in notice under section 13 or 14

16. Every notice given by the Director under section 13 or 14 shall contain a note to the effect that the manager of the school has a right of appeal to the Governor in Council from any decision of the Director within one month from the receipt of the notice.

Contents of appeal and notice of hearing

17. The grounds of every appeal shall be concisely stated in writing and delivered to the Clerk of Councils, who shall give the appellant fourteen days' notice of the hearing of the appeal. The appellant may, if he so desires, be present at the hearing of such appeal and be heard in support thereof.

Part V General

Register of Schools to be kept

18. The Director or an Assistant Director shall keep in each settlement a Register or Registers of Schools in which shall be entered the name of every registered and exempted school, and the name of the manager of the school, and the names of each member of the Committee of Management of the school, and in the case of registered schools the names of the teachers employed in the school, and such particulars in connection therewith as may from time to time be required for the purposes of carrying out the provisions of the Ordinance.

Change in teachers or in the Committee of Management to be reported

19. It shall be the duty of the manager to report to the Director or an Assistant Director any change in the teachers or in the Committee of Management of any registered school, and any manager who fails to report such change within one week from its taking place shall be guilty of an offence against the provisions to this Ordinance and shall be liable on summary conviction before a Magistrate to a fine not exceeding \$25.

Power of the Governor to declare certain Schools unlawful

- 20. (1) If it shall appear to the Governor that any school is being conducted in such a manner as to be prejudicial to the interests of the Colony or of the public or of the pupils of such school it shall be lawful for the Governor to declare such school to be an unlawful school: provided that before making such declaration the Governor shall cause notice to be given to the manager of the intention to make such declaration and calling upon the manager of such school to show cause why such declaration should not be made.
 - (2) If it shall appear to the Director that it is prejudicial to the interests of this Colony or of the public or of the pupils of any school that any person should be

employed in such school, it shall be lawful for the Director to cancel the certificate of registration issued to such teacher under Section 10 of this Ordinance.

Grants-in-aid

 Grants-in-aid may be made by the Governor in Council to such schools and upon such terms and in such amounts as may be prescribed in regulations made under this Ordinance.

Winding up of an unlawful school

- 22. Upon a school becoming unlawful under the provisions of this Ordinance the Director or an Assistant Director shall forthwith give notice thereof in writing to the Official Assignee in Bankruptcy and to the manager or if he cannot be found to a member of the Committee of Management of such school and the following consequences shall ensue:-
 - (a) The property of the school within the Colony shall forthwith vest in the Official Assignee in Bankruptcy.
 - (b) The Official Assignee in Bankruptcy shall proceed to wind up the affairs of such school and after satisfying and providing for all the debts and liabilities of the school and the costs of winding up, shall prepare and submit to a Judge of the Supreme Court for his approval a scheme for the application of the surplus assets, if any, to purposes for the benefit of that portion of the public to which the Committee of Management more particularly belonged or to the public generally.
 - (c) Such scheme when submitted for approval may be amended by the Judge in such a way as he shall think proper under the circumstances of the case.
 - (d) The approval of the Judge to such scheme or amended scheme shall be denoted by the endorsement thereon of a memorandum of such approval signed by the Judge, and by the same being sealed with the seal of the court, and upon this being done the surplus assets the subject of such scheme shall be held and applied by the Official Assignee or such other person as the Governor may nominate upon the terms and to the purposes thereby presented.
 - (e) For the purpose of the winding up the Official Assignee shall have all the powers which are vested in the Official Assignee by the Bankruptcy Ordinance, 1888, or any Ordinance amending or substituted for it for the purpose of the discovery of the property of a debtor and the realisation thereof, and also all such powers as are by the law relating to Joint Stock Companies vested in the Official Liquidator, and all the provisions of the bankruptcy law and of such law, so far as they relate to the discovery and realization of the property of a debtor and to the winding up of a company, shall mutatis

mutandis apply to the winding up of the affairs of a school under this Ordinance.

- 23 The Governor in Council may make regulations generally for all matters regarding the conduct and efficiency of schools and for carrying out the provisions of this Ordinance and without prejudice to such general power may make regulations providing for:-
 - (a) the hygienic character and the proper sanitation of schools or buildings;
 - (b) the methods of enforcing discipline in schools;
 - (c) the prohibition in registered schools of the use of any book, the use of which appears undesirable;
 - (d) the proper keeping of school registers and books of account at registered schools;
 - (e) the medical inspection of students in schools.

Publication in Gazette

24. All regulations made under the provisions of the preceding section shall be published in the Gazette and shall take effect from the date of such publication.

Schedule

Form 1

.....19

To the Director (or Assistant Director) of Education, Settlement of

Sir.

I have the honour to submit particulars as under of a school of which I am the Manager (or Member of the Committee of Management) at and to request you to issue a certificate of registration for the same as an existing school under the Education Ordinance, 1920.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant,

Manager

or

Member of the Committee of Management

- Name and address of school.
- 2. Whether for boys, girls or both.
- The dimensions of each Class room.
- 4. The average attendance for the past two months.
- 5. The syllabus of each Class or Standard.
- 6. The weekly time table of each Class or Standard.
- The times of roll-call.
- 8. The regular holidays.
- 9. The name, age, qualifications, experience and salary of each teacher.
- 10. The names and addresses of and office held by each member of the Committee of Management.
- 11. The fees and any remissions or reductions therefrom.
- 12. Any other sources of revenue -
 - (a) from Invested Funds or Landed Property;
 - (b) from Public Subscriptions:
 - (c) from Private Subscriptions.
- 13. The rent of the school premises.
- 14. Any debt or charge on the school.



This is to certify that school has been registered as an existing (new) school under the Education Ordinance, 1920.

Director of Education Settlement of

.....19

To the Director (or Assistant Director) of Education, Settlement of

Sir,

I have the honour to submit particulars as under of a school which it is proposed to open at and to request you to issue a certificate of registration of the same under the Education Ordinance, 1920.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant,

Manager

Member of the Committee of Management

- 1. Name and address of school.
- 2. Whether for boys, girls or both.
- 3. The dimensions of each Class room.
- 4. The syllabus of each Class or Standard.
- 5. The weekly time-table of each Class or Standard.
- 6. The times of roll-call.
- 7. The regular holidays.
- 8. The name, age, qualifications, experience and salary of each teacher.
- The names and addresses of and office held by each member of the Committee of Management.
- 10. The fees and any remissions or reductions therefrom.
- 11. Any other sources of revenue -
 - (a) from Invested Funds or Landed Property;
 - (b) from Public Subscriptions;
 - (c) from Private Subscriptions.
- 12. The rent of the school premises.
- 13. Any debt or charge on the school.

.....19

To the Director (or Assistant Director) of Education, Settlement of

Sir.

I have the honour to request you to register me as a manager or a member of the Committee of Management of the school at

My address is

Signed

Form 5

.....19

To the Director (or Assistant Director) of Education, Settlement of

Sir,

I have the honour to submit particulars of myself as under and to request you to issue me a certificate of registration as a teacher under the Education Ordinance, 1920.

My address is

Signed

- 1. Full name and surname.
- 2. Age and Place of Birth.
- 3. Where educated.
- 4. Qualifications.
- The names and addresses of all schools where previously employed, with period of service at each.
- Name and address of school where at present employed.
- Present place of residence.

This is to certify that at present employed as a teacher at school situated at has been registered as a teacher under the Education Ordinance, 1920.

Director of Education Settlement of19



Appendix II1

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

No. 21 of 1920 I assent,

L.S. L.N. Guillemard Governor & Commander-in-chief. 27th October, 1920.

An Ordinance to provide for the registration of schools and of their managers and teachers and for grants-in-aid to certain schools.

[29th October, 1920].

It is hereby enacted by the Governor of the Straits Settlements with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof as follows:-

Short title

1. This Ordinance may be cited as the Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1920.

Definitions

2. For the purposes of this Ordinance -

"Assistant Director" means an Assistant Director of Education appointed under section 4 of this Ordinance.

"Committee of Management" means the person or persons who administer the revenues of any school other than a Government school.

"Director" means Director of Education appointed under section 4 of this Ordinance.

"Existing School" means any school in existence at the date of the coming into operation of this Ordinance.

"Government School" means a school entirely controlled by the Government.

"Inspector" means an Inspector of Schools for any Settlement appointed under

^{1.} SSGG, 29.10.1920.

section 4 of this Ordinance.

"Manager" means any person taking part in the management of a school. In the case of a school of which no such manager can be found in the Colony then the master of the school or if there be more than one master the headmaster of the school or in any case of doubt such master as the Director may specify shall be deemed to be the manager.

"Medical Officer" means a Medical Officer appointed under section 4 of this Ordinance.

"Military School" means a school entirely maintained and controlled by the British Military Authorities.

"New School" means a school started after the date of the coming into operation of this Ordinance.

"Register" means the Register of Schools kept under the provisions of section 17 of this Ordinance and "Registered" means entered upon the Register.

"Registered School" means a school registered in accordance with the provisions of this Ordinance.

"Regulations" means regulations made under this Ordinance.

"School" means a place where fifteen or more persons are being or are habitually taught whether in one or more classes but shall not include places where the teaching is of a purely religious character.

"Teacher" means a person employed by the Government or by the manager or by the Committee of Management to teach the pupils in a school and includes the manager if the manager is the headmaster or the master in charge of the school.

Application

The provisions of this Ordinance shall apply to all schools except military schools.

Appointment of Officers

 The Governor may appoint such persons as he may think fit to be Director of Education, Assistant Directors of Education, Inspectors of Schools, and Medical Officers respectively, for the purposes of this Ordinance.

Schools which must be registered

Every school whether it exists at the date of the coming into operation of this Ordinance or is a new school shall be registered under the provisions of this Ordinance.

Penalty for unregistered schools

- 6. (1) If any person acts as manager of an unregistered school he shall be guilty of an offence against the provisions of this Ordinance and shall be liable upon smmary conviction to a fine not exceeding \$100 for the first offence and \$500 for a second or subsequent offence.
 - (2) On the complaint of the Director or of an Assistant Director or of an Inspector, and on proof that a school is unregistered, a Magistrate may order such school to be closed, or may make such other order as he may deem fit.

Part II Registration of Schools

When registration necessary

7. After the expiration of three months from the date upon which this Ordinance comes into force it shall not be lawful for any person to manage, teach in or maintain any existing school or to open, manage, teach in or maintain any new school in the Colony until a certificate of registration of such school shall have been obtained in the manner hereinafter provided.

Forms of application for registration

- (1) Applications for a certificate of registration referred to in section 7 of this
 Ordinance shall in the case of an existing school be in Form 1 and in the case of
 a new school in Form 3 of the Schedule of this Ordinance.
 - (2) In the case of an existing school such application shall be made to the Director or an Assistant Director by the manager or a member of the Committee of Management of such school within three months of the coming into operation of this Ordinance or within such period or extended period as the Governor in Council may for special reasons allow and in the event of such application not being made within such period such school shall be deemed to be an unregistered school within the meaning of this Ordinance.
 - (3) In the case of a new school such application shall be made to the Director or an Assistant Director by the manager or a member of the Committee of Management of such school before such school is opened.

Certificate of registration and appeal against refusal

 – (1) Upon an application for the registration of any school the Director shall register it and issue to the manager thereof a certificate of registration in Form 2 of the Schedule of this Ordinance provided that this Director may refuse to register any school if in his opinion the premises appear to be insanitary and in case of such refusal shall so inform the manager in writing and shall also inform him in writing that he has the right to appeal to the Governor in Council.

(2) If the manager shall not within a period of one month appeal to the Governor in Council or if on appeal to the Governor in Council the decision of the Director shall be upheld, such school shall become an unregistered school.

Part III Registration of Managers and Teachers

Registration of Managers and Teachers

- 10. (1) After the expiration of three months from the date upon which this Ordinance comes into force no person shall manage any school or hold office as a member of the Committee of Management of any school, or teach in any school unless he has been duly registered and in the case of a teacher until he shall have obtained in the manner hereinafter provided a certificate of registration in Form 6 of the Schedule of this Ordinance.
 - (2) Every manager and member of the Committee of Management shall in the case of an existing school within three months of the coming into operation of this Ordinance and in the case of a new school within one month from the time when the school is opened apply to be registered. Such application shall be in Form 4 of the Schedule of this Ordinance.
 - (3) Every teacher of an existing school shall within three months from the coming into operation of this Ordinance and every teacher of a new school shall within one month from the time when such school is opened apply to be registered.
 - (4) The application mentioned in subsection (3) hereof shall be in the terms of Form 5 and the certificate of regsitration shall be in the terms of Form 6 of the Schedule to this Ordinance.
 - (5) Any person who supplies falsely the information prescribed by subsections (2) and (4) hereof or who otherwise contravenes any of the terms of subsections (1), (2) or (3) of this section shall be liable upon summary conviction before a Magistrate to a fine not exceeding \$250 for the first offence or \$500 for a second or subsequent offence.
 - (6) Any person who does not supply in full the information prescribed by subsections (2) and (4) hereof shall be liable upon summary conviction before a Magistrate to a fine not exceeding \$100 for the first or \$200 for a second or subsequent offence.

Part IV Control and Supervision of Schools

Inspection of Schools

11. It shall be the duty of the Director to inspect personally or cause to be inspected by an Assistant Director or Inspector at least once in every year every registered school for the purpose of ascertaining if all the regulations made under the provisions of this Ordinance are being complied with.

Entry for Inspection

12. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Ordinance it shall be lawful for the Director or an Assistant Director or Inspector to visit and enter any school at any reasonable time.

Conduct of School against regulations

13 If it shall appear to the Director that any regulation made under this Ordinance has not been complied with in any registered school he may by notice in writing to the manager of such school call upon such manager to comply with any such regulation which is not being complied with at such school before the expiration of such period not being less than one month as may be stated in such notice by the Director and if at the expiration of such period so stated such manager has failed to comply with any requisition made in such notice it shall be lawful for the Director, if no appeal as provided under section 14 is then pending, to strike such school off the register and such school shall forthwith be deemed to be an unregistered school.

Appeal against decision of Director of Education

14. If any person against whom any decision of the Director has been made under sections 9, 13 or 19 subsection (2) is dissatisfied with such decision he may appeal to the Governor in Council whose ruling upon such matter shall be final provided that any such appeal shall be notified in writing to the Clerk of Councils within one month from the date of the communication of the decision of the Director.

Right of appeal to be mentioned in notice under section 13 or 19(2)

15. Every notice given by the Director under section 13 or 19 subsection (2) shall contain a note to the effect that the manager or teacher of the school has a right of appeal to the Governor in Council from any decision of the Director within one month from the receipt of the notice.

Contents of appeal and notice of hearing

16. The grounds of every appeal shall be concisely stated in writing and delivered to the Clerk of Councils who shall give the appellant fourteen days' notice of the hearing of the appeal. The appellant may, if he so desires, be present at the hearing of such appeal and be heard in support thereof, either in person or by his advocate.

Part V General

Register of schools to be kept

17. The Director or an Assistant Director shall keep in each settlement a Register or Registers of Schools in which shall be entered the name of every registered school, and the name of the manager of the school, and the names of each member of the Committee of Management of the school, and in the case of registered schools the names of the teachers employed in the school, and such particulars in connection therewith as may from time to time be required for the purposes of carrying out the provisions of the Ordinance.

Change in teachers or in Committee of Management to be reported

18. It shall be the duty of the manager to report to the Director or an Assistant Director any change in the teachers or in the Committee of Management of any registered school, and any manager who fails to report such change within one month from its taking place shall be guilty of an offence against the provisions of this Ordinance and shall be liable on summary conviction before a Magistrate to a fine not exceeding \$25.

Power of the Governor to declare certain schools unlawful

- 19. (1) If it shall appear to the Governor in Council that any school is being used for the purposes of political propaganda detrimental to the interests of the Colony or of the public it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council to declare such school to be an unlawful school: Provided that before such declaration is made notice shall have been given to the manager informing him of the intention to make such declaration and calling upon him to show cause why such declaration should not be made.
 - (2) If it shall appear to the Director that it is prejudicial to the interests of this Colony or of the public or of the pupils of any school that any person should be employed as teacher in such school it shall be lawful for the Director by notice in writing to cancel the certificate of registration issued to such teacher under section 10 of this Ordinance.
 - (3) If any person acts as manager or as a member of the Committee of Management of or as teacher in an unlawful school he shall be guilty of an offence against the provisions of this Ordinance and shall be liable upon summary conviction before a District Judge to a fine not exceeding \$500.

Grants-in-aid

 Grants-in-aid may be made by the Governor in Council to such schools and upon such terms and in such amounts as may be prescribed in regulations made under this Ordinance.

Regulations

- 21. (1) The Governor in Council may make regulations generally for all matters regarding the conduct and efficiency of schools and for carrying out the provisions of this Ordinance and without prejudice to such general power may make regulations providing for:-
 - (a) the hygienic character and the proper sanitation of schools or buildings;
 - (b) the methods of enforcing discipline in schools;
 - (c) the prohibition in registered schools of the use of any book, the use of which appears undesirable;
 - (d) the proper keeping of school registers and books of account at registered schools;
 - (e) the medical inspection of pupils in schools;
 - (f) distribution and management of grants-in-aid under section 20.

(2) Any person who shall fail to conform to any such regulation shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to any penalty which may be prescribed in such regulation.

Publication in Gazette

22. All regulations made under the provisions of the preceding section shall be published in the Gazette and shall take effect from the date of such publication.

Passed the 13th day of October, 1920.

A. Cavendish Clerk of Councils.

Schedule

Form 1

.....19

To The Director (or Assistant Director) of Education, Settlement of

Sir,

I have the honour to submit particulars as under of a school of which I am the Manager (or Member of the Committee of Management) at and to request you to issue a certificate of registration for the same as an existing school under the Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1920.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant,

Manager

or

Member of the Committee of Management

- 1. Name and address of school.
- 2. Whether for boys, girls or both.
- 3. The dimensions of each class room.
- 4. The average attendance for the past two months.
- 5. The syllabus of each Class or Standard.

- 6. The weekly time table of each Class or Standard.
- 7. The times of roll-call.
- 8. The regular holidays.
- 9. The name, age, qualifications, experience and salary of each teacher.
- The names and addresses of and office held by each member of the Committee of Management.
- 11. The fees and any remissions or reductions therefrom.
- 12. Any other sources of revenue -
 - (a) from Invested Funds or Landed Property;
 - (b) from Public Subscriptions;
 - (c) from Private Subscriptions.
- 13. The rent of the school premises.
- 14. Any debt or charge on the school.

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This is to certify that school has been registered as an existing (new) school under the Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1920.

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Sir,

I have the honour to submit particulars as under of a school which it is proposed to open at and to request you to issue a certificate of registration of the same under the Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1920.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant.

Manager

01

Member of the Committee of Management

- Name and address of school.
- 2. Whether for boys, girls or both.
- 3. The dimensions of each class room.
- 4. The syllabus of each Class or Standard.
- 5. The weekly time-table of each Class or Standard.
- 6. The times of roll-call.
- 7. The regular holidays.
- 8. The name, age, qualifications, experience and salary of each teacher.
- The names and addresses of and office held by each member of the Committee of Management.
- 10. The fees and any remissions or reductions therefrom.
- 11. Any other sources of revenue -
 - (a) from Invested Funds or Landed Property;
 - (b) from Public Subscriptions;
 - (c) from Private Subscriptions.
- 12. The rent of the school premises.
- 13. Any debt or charge on the school.

Form 4

.....19

To The Director (or Assistant Director) of Education, Settlement of

Sir,

I have the honour to request you to register me as a manager or a member of the Committee of Management of the school at

My address is

Signed

Form 5	
19	
To The Third Co. A. Co. A. Co. A. C. C.	1 11

To The Director (or Assistant Director) of Education, Settlement of

Sir,

I have the honour to submit particulars of myself as under and to request you to issue me a certificate of registration as a teacher under the Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1920.

My address is

Signed

- 1. Full name and surname.
- 2. Age and Place of Birth.
- 3. Where educated.
- 4. Qualifications.
- The names and addresses of all schools where previously employed, with period of service at each.
- 6. Name and address of school where at present employed.
- 7. Present place of residence.

Form 6

This is to certify that at present employed as a teacher at school situated at has been registered as a teacher under the Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1920.

Director of Education Settlement of19

Appendix III¹

General Regulations for Schools in the Straits Settlements made by the Governor in Council under the Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1920.

Contents

Regulations	1 -19 – Hygienic character and proper sanitation of schools and buildings.
"	20-24 – Methods of enforcing discipline.
"	25-27 – Proper keeping of school registers and books of ac -count.
"	28-30 – Managers and teachers; holidays and hours of teaching.
"	31-34 - Emergency Orill.
"	35-36 - Medical inspection of pupils.
n	37 – Prohibition of the use of undesirable books.
И	38 - Penalties.
	Appendices

- A. Form for Annual Summary of Revenue and Expenditure.
- B. Form for Annual Return of Committee of Management and Teachers.

General Regulations for Schools in the Straits Settlements.

37. No person shall use in a registered school any book the use whereof has been prohibited by the Governor in Council by notification in the Gazette. The manager of any registered school who shall permit or suffer the use of any book which has been prohibited as aforesaid shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding \$100 and such book may be destroyed or otherwise disposed of as the Court directs.

^{1.} SSGG 11.12.1925.

Appendix IV1

An Ordinance to repeal and re-enact with amendments the law relating to the Registration of Schools and of their Supervisors and Teachers.

It is hereby enacted by the Governor of the Straits Settlements with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof as follows:-

Preliminary

Short title

 This Ordinance may be cited as the "Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1926."

Interpretation

In this Ordinance unless there be something repugnant in the subject or context:-

"Assistant Director" meas an Assistant Director of Education appointed under section 4 of this Ordinance;

"Committee of Management" means the person or persons who actively administer the revenue of any school, other than a school entirely controlled by the Government;

"Director" means the Director of Education appointed under section 4 of this Ordinance;

"Inspector" means an Inspector of Schools for any Settlement appointed under section 4 of this Ordinance;

"Medical Officer" means a Medical Officer appointed under section 4 of this Ordinance;

"Register" means the register kept in accordance with section 17 of the Registra-

^{1.} The author has not been able to locate a copy of the final legislation in the official archives. The version reproduced here is from the draft bill which the author has modified according to the amendments made at the second reading of the bill. Consequently, this 'copy' of the law cites no headings whereas the other appendices do. The draft bill and the record of the readings are found in SSGG 16.7.1926, and in Proceedings of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council for the year 1926, July and September records, respectively.

tion of Schools Ordinance, 1920 or section 17 of Ordinance No. 180 (Registration of Schools), or to be kept in accordance with the provisions of this Ordinance, and

"registered" means entered upon such register;

"Supervisor" means any person exercising control in the management of a school;

"School" means, subject to the provisions of section 18(5), a place where fifteen or more persons are being or are habitually taught whether in one or more classes, but shall not include any place where the teaching is of a purely religious character;

"Teacher" means a person employed by the Government or by a supervisor or by a committee of management to teach pupils in a school and includes the supervisor if the supervisor is the head-master or the master in charge of the school.

Application

The provisions of this Ordinance shall apply to all schools except schools entirely maintained and controlled by the British Military Authorities.

Appointment of Officers

4. The Governor may appoint such persons as he may think fit to be Director of Education, Assistant Directors of Education, Inspectors of Schools, and Medical Officers respectively, for the purposes of this Ordinance.

Registration of Schools

Registration of Schools

– (1) Every school shall be registered.

(2) Any person who acts as supervisor or member of the committee of management of, or teacher in, a school which is not registered shall be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance.

Register of Schools

6. The Director or an Asst. Director shall keep a register or registers in which shall be entered the name of every registered school and the names of the supervisor and of every member of the committee of management thereof and of every teacher employed therein, and such other particulars as may from time to time be necessary for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Ordinance.

Application for registration

- -(1) An application for the registration of a school may be made to the Director or an Asst. Director by the supervisor or a member of the committee of management of such school.
 - (2) Such application shall be in the terms of Form 1 in the Schedule hereto.

Certificate of Registration

- -(1) Upon an application for the registration of any school, the Director or an Asst. Director shall, subject to the provisions of sub-section (2), register it and issue to the supervisor thereof a certificate of registration in the terms of Form 2 in the Schedule hereeto.
 - (2) If it shall appear to the Director that the school is insanitary or that it is likely to be used for the purpose of political propaganda detrimental to the interests of the Colony or of the public or for the purpose of instruction detrimental to the interests of the pupils or as the meeting place of an unlawful society, the Director may refuse to register the school, until the premises have been rendered sanitary or unless security is given to his satisfaction that it will not be used for any such purpose or as such meeting place as the case may be.
 - (3) In the case of refusal to register, the Director shall inform the applicant by notice in writing that his application is refused and that he has the right of appeal to the Governor in Council within fourteen days from the date of the service of the notice upon him.

Registration of Supervisors, Committees of Management and Teachers

Supervisors, etc., to be registered

- -(1) Every supervisor, every member of a committee of management and every teacher shall be registered.
 - (2) Any person not being registered who acts as a supervisor or as a member of a committee of management of, or as a teacher in a school shall be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance. Provided that where a supervisor or a member of the committee of management of a registered school retires from office and is succeeded by a new supervisor or member of the committee of management such new supervisor or member shall be deemed to have committed no offence under this section, if he is registered within twenty days from the day upon which he assumed office as such supervisor or member.

Application for registration

- 10. –(1)An application for registration as a supervisor or a member of a committee of management may be made to the Director or to an Asst. Director and shall be in terms of Form 3 in the Schedule hereto.
 - (2) An application for registration as a teacher may be made to the Director or to an Asst. Director and shall be in tems of Form 4 in the Schedule hereto.

Registration

- 11. When an application has been made under section 10 the Director or an Asst. Director shall register the applicant accordingly and, in the case of a teacher, shall issue to him a certificate in the terms of Form 5 in the Schedule hereto.
 - Provided that the Director may in his absolute discretion refuse to register the applicant, if the applicant –
 - (a) has been convicted before any court of competent jurisdiction in the Colony or elsewhere of an offence punishable with imprisonment, or
 - (b) shall have been a supervisor or a member of the committee of management of, or a teacher in, any school declared to be an unlawful school under the provisions of this Ordinance or of the Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1920, or of Ordinance No.180 (Registration of Schools) or of any law in force in any Malay State under British protection, at the time when such declaration is made, or
 - (c) is applying to be registered as a teacher and it appears to the Director that it will be prejudicial to the interests of the Colony or of the public or of the pupils of any school that the applicant shall be employed as a teacher.

Supervisor to report change in teachers, etc

- 12. (1) It shall be the duty of the supervisor of a registered school to report to the Director or to an Asst. Director any change in the teachers or in the committee of management of the school whereof he is supervisor.
 - (2) Any supervisor who fails to report any such change within twenty days from the day on which it occurred shall be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance.

Control and Supervision of Schools

Inspection of schools

13. It shall be the duty of the Director to inspect personally or cause to be inspected by an Asst. Director or Inspector at least once in every year every registered school for the purpose of ascertaining if all the regulations made under the provisions of this Ordinance are being complied with.

Entry for inspection

14. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Ordinance it shall be lawful for the Director or an Asst. Director or Inspector at any reasonable time to enter any registered school and to examine all books or other documents relating to the management of the school or to the instruction of the puplis and, if such book or document shall appear to him to contain or to be connected with political propaganda detrimental to the interests of the Colony or of the public, to remove the same for further examination.

Procedure if regulations not complied with

- 15. (1) If it shall appear to the Director that any regulation made under this Ordinance has not been complied with in any registered school, he may give notice in writing addressed to the supervisor of such school and direct the supervisor to take, within a time to be stated in the notice, such measures as are in the notice specified, in order that such regulation may be complied with and shall in the notice inform him that he has the right of appeal to the Governor in Council within fourteen days from the date of the service of the notice upon him, and if at the expiration of the time stated in the notice or of fourteen days from the date of the service of the notice, whichever is the later date, the measures directed by the Director to have been taken have not been taken and no appeal has been preferred to the Governor in Council, it shall be lawful for the Director to strike such school off the register and such school shall thereupon cease to be registered.
 - (2) If the supervisor cannot be found, such notice shall be deemed to be duly served upon him, if it is affixed to a conspicuous part of the school premises and is published in one issue of the Gazette.
 - (3) If upon an appeal under this section the Governor in Council shall order that the measures specified in the notice given by the Director or any other measures shall be taken by the supervisor of the school and the measures so ordered are not taken in accordance with such order, it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council to cause the school to be struck off the register, and thereupon the school shall cease to be registered.

Director may cancel registration of supervisor, etc.

- 16. —(1) If at any time any registered supervisor or registered member of a committee of management shall be convicted before any court of competent jurisdiction in the Colony or elsewhere of an offence punishable with imprisonment or shall be the supervisor or a member of the committee of management of, or a teacher in, any school declared under any law in force in any Malay State under British protection to be an unlawful school, at the time when such declaration is made, it shall be lawful for the Director to strike such supervisor or member [or teacher] off the register.
 - (2) If at any time it shall appear to the Director that it is prejudicial to the interests of the Colony or of the public or of the pupils of any school that any registered teacher shall be employed as a teacher in any school, it shall be lawful for the Director to strike such teacher off the register and to require him to deliver up his certificate of registration for cancellation.
 - (3) When any supervisor, member of the committee of management or teacher has been struck off the register under sub-section (1) or (2), the Director shall forthwith inform him by notice in writing that he has been so struck off and that he has a right of appeal to the Governor in Council within fourteen days from the date of the service of the notice upon him.

Power to enter unregistered school

- 17. (1) The Director or an Asst. Director or any public officer specially authorised in that behalf in writing by the Director accompanied by such persons as he may deem expedient, may enter, and for that purpose use force if necessary, any house, building or other place which he has reasonable cause to suspect is occupied by a school not registered and may search for and seize and remove any books, documents or other articles which may appear to him to be the property of or to have been used in connection with a school not registered.
 - (2) For the purpose of any entry or search under this section the Director or an Asst. Director or such public officer may break open any outer or inner door of such house, building or other place or any locked receptacle therein which he suspects to contain any article which is the property of or has been used in connection with a school not registered.

Declaration that School is Unlawful

Governor in Council may declare certain schools unlawful

18. – (1) If it shall appear to the Governor in Council that any school is being used for the purpose of political propaganda detrimental to the interests of the Colony or of the pubic or for the purpose of instruction detrimental to the interests of the pupils or as the meeting place of an unlawful society, it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council to cause a notice to be served on the supervisor of such school giving particulars of the matters alleged against the school and calling upon him to show cause within a period to be specified in the notice why the school should not be declared to be unlawful.

- (2) If the supervisor cannot be found, such notice shall be deemed to be duly served upon him, if it is affixed to a conspicuous part of the school premises and is published in one issue of the Gazette.
- (3) Any supervisor or member of a committee of management desiring to show cause why a school should not be declared to be unlawful may deliver to the Clerk of Councils within the time specified in the notice a written statement in the English language of the grounds on which he relies.
- (4) If within the time specified in the notice no such written statement has been delivered or the Governor in Council, after considering the statement delivered and making such further enquiry, if any, as he may consider necessary or desirable, is satisfied that the school is being used for either of the said purposes or as such meeting place, the Governor in Council may declare the school to be an unlawful school.
- (5) For the purpose of this section and of sections 19, 20, and 21 a "school" shall be any place in which teaching is carried on, irrespective of the number of persons taught.

Cancellation of Registration

19. When a declaration has been made under 18(4) that a school is an unlawful school, the Director or an Asst. Director shall, if the school is registered, strike the school and the supervisor and every member of the committee of management thereof and every teacher therein off the register, and thereupon the school, and the supervisor, and every member of the committee of management thereof and every teacher therein shall cease to be registered, and every teacher so struck off the register shall, on demand by the Director or an Asst.Director, deliver up his certificate of registration to be cancelled.

Director may remove insignia, etc.

- 20. (1) When a declaration has been made under section 18(4) that a school is an unlawful school, it shall be lawful for the Director or an Asst. Director or any public officer specially authorised in that behalf in writing by the Director, accompanied by such person as he may deem expedient to enter, and for that purpose to use force if necessary, the school and to search for, remove and destroy the signboards, seals, chops, banners and the insignia of the school and any book or other document which contains political propaganda detrimental to the interests of the Colony or of the public.
 - (2) For the purpose of any entry or search under this section, the Director or an Asst. Director or such public officer may break open any outer or inner door of the school or any locked receptacle therein which he suspects to contain any article which he is empowered by this section to destroy.

To be supervisor, etc., of unlawful school, an offence

21 Any person who acts as supervisor, or member of the committee of management of, or as a teacher in, a school which has been declared under section 18(4) to be unlawful shall be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance.

Offences and Penalties

False or incomplete information

22. Any person who in making an application under section 7 or 10 for the registration of a school or a person intentionally furnishes to the Director or an Assistant Director any information which is false or incomplete shall be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance.

Obstruction of entrance or search

23. Any person who obstructs or hinders the Director or an Assistant Director or other public officer in effecting any entrance which he is entitled to effect under this Ordinance or in making any search or in exercising any power authorised or conferred by this Ordinance shall be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance.

Penalties

24. Any person who commits an offence against this Ordinance shall be liable on conviction before a District Court or a Police Court to a fine not exceeding \$250 for a first offence or \$500 for a second or subsequent offence, and such court may notwithstanding anything in the Criminal Procedure Code, award the full penalty prescribed in this section.

General

Appeals to Governor in Council

- 25. (1)Any supervisor or member of a committee of management aggrieved by the refusal of the Director to register a school or by any direction given by the Director under section 15 and any person who has been struck off the register under section 16 may appeal to the Governor in Council within fourteen days from the date upon which notice under section 8(3), 15(1) or 16(3) as the case may be, has been served.
 - (2) The grounds of every appeal shall be concisely stated in writing in the English language and shall be delivered to the Clerk of Councils, who shall give the appellant seven days notice of the hearing of the appeal.

(3) The appellant may, if he so desires, be present at the hearing of the appeal and be heard in support thereof, either in person or by advocate.

Order by Governor in Council

26. Every order made by the Governor in Council under this Ordinance shall be final.

Regulations

- 27. (1) The Governor in Council may make regulations generally for all matters regarding the conduct and efficiency of schools and for carrying out the provisions of this Ordinace and without prejudice to such general power may make regulations providing for:-
 - (a) the hygienic character and the proper sanitation of schools or buildings;
 - (b) the methods of enforcing discipline in schools;
 - (c) the prohibition in registered schools of the use of any book, the use of which appears undesirable;
 - (d) the prohibition of the use of school premises for any purpose which appears undesirable;
 - (e) the proper keeping of school registers and books of account at registered schools; and
 - (f) the medical inspection of pupils in schools and of school premises.
 - (2) All such regulations shall be published in the Gazette and shall come into force upon such publication.
 - (3) If a breach of any such regulation be comitted the supervisor of the school in which the same is committed and every member of the committee of management of, or teacher in, such school, who has committeed or abetted the commitment of such breach, shall be severely guilty of an offence, and shall be liable to such penalty as may be prescribed for such breach or, if no such penalty be prescribed, to a fine not exceeding \$250.

Charges

28. No person shall be charged with any offence against this Ordinance, or against any regulation made thereunder, except on the complaint of the Director or an Asst. Director.

Repeal

29. Ordinance no. 180 (Registration of Schools), is hereby repealed.

Schedule

Form 1

Sir,

I have the honour to submit particulars as under of a school which it is proposed to open at and to request you to issue a certificate of registration of the same under the Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1926.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant,

Supervisor

or

Member of the Committee of Mangement

- 1. Name and address of school.
- 2. Whether for boys, girls or both.
- 3. The dimensions of each Class room.
- 4. The syllabus of each Class or Standard.
- 5. The weekly time-table of each Class or Standard.
- 6. The times of roll-call.
- 7. The regular holidays.
- 8. The name, age, qualifications, experience and salary of each teacher.
- The names and addresses of and office held by each member of the Committee of Management.
- 10. The fees and any remissions or reductions therefrom.
- 11. Any other sources of revenue -
 - (a) from Invested Funds or Landed Property;
 - (b) from Public Subscriptions;
 - (c) from Private Subscriptions.
- The rent of the school premises.
- 13. Any debt or charge on the school.

Form 2

This is to certify that school has been registered under the Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1926.

Director of Education Settlement of19

Form 3

......19
To The Director (or Assistant Director) of Education,
Settlement of

Sir,

I have the honour to request you to register me as a supervisor (or as a member of the Committee of Management) of the school at

My address is

Signed

ro	rm 4
То	
Sir,	Committee and the
to	ave the honour to submit particulars of myself as under and to request you issue to me a certificate of registration as a teacher under "The Registration of nools Ordinance, 1926".
My	y address
(Si	gnature of applicant)
1.	Full name and surname
	Alternative name or names
2.	Age and place of birth - (a) Country
	(a) Country
	(b) Province
	(c) Prefecture and District
	(d) Town, village or street
3.	Where educated
4.	Qualifications
5.	The names and addresses of all schools where previously employed, stating length of service at each.
6.	period of his engagement
	Period 201
7.	Present place of residence
8.	Chop of the school and signature of a manager of school at which engaged

Form 5

Certificate	of Registration o	of Teacher		
Age Born at has been r	nglish)hinese)	eacher under "Tl	ne Registration of Sch	
Director of Settlement Qualificati	of19			
Date	Name of School for which registered	Address of teacher	Correspondence Number	Initials of Director

Appendix V1

No. 4 - The Registration of Schools Ordinance, 1926.

General Regulations for Schools in the Straits Settlements made by the Governor in Council under section 27.

Contents

Regulation 42 - Prohibition of the use of undesirable books.

Regulation 43 – Prohibition of the use of school premises for any undesirable purpose.

General Regulations for Schools in the Straits Settlements.

- 42. No person shall use in any school any book the use whereof has been prohibited by the Governor in Council by notification in the Gazette.
- 43. If the whole or any part of the premises of any school is being used or is intended to be used for any of the following purposes:-
 - (a) for a head-quarters, office, correspondence address of or for any other purpose in connection with an unlawful society;
 - (b) for political discussion or any meeting which is concerned with politics or political propaganda;
 - (c) for a meeting place, office, head-quarters, correspondence address of or for any other purpose in connection with any society registered or recorded under Ordinance no. 116 (Societies) other than –
 - (i) a society whose objects are to further education or to promote the interests of young people;
 - a society whose membership is confined to past or present members of the school;
 - (iii) where the school premises are loaned or rented from any lawful society, the society from which the said premises are loaned or rented;

SSGG, 4.1.1929.

224

(d) for any purpose contrary to Ordinance no. 45 (Common Gaming Houses), the Director or an Asst. Director may give notice in writing to the supervisor for bidding [sic] the use of the premises for such purpose or purposes.



Appendix VI1

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

No. 4 of 1937 I assent,

L.S. T.S.W. Thomas, Governor & Commander-in-chief. 10th May, 1937

An Ordinance to amend the Registration of Schools Ordinance (Chapter 139)
[14th May, 1937]

It is hereby enacted by the Governor of the Straits Settlements with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof as follows:-

Short title

This Ordinance may be cited as the Registration of Schools (Amendment) Ordinance, 1937, and shall be construed as one with the Registration of Schools Ordinance (Chapter 139), hereinafter called the Principal Ordinance.

Amendment of section 2

Section 2 of the Principal Ordinance is amended by deleting the word "fifteen" where it appears in the definition of "School" and substituting the word "ten" therefor.

Amendment of section 8

- 3. Section 8 of the Principal Ordinance is amended -
 - (a) by adding after the word "insanitary" where it appears in line 2 of subsection (2) thereof the words "or unsuitable by reason of danger from fire or on the ground that it is a dangerous building," and
 - (b) by inserting a comma and adding the words "or safe" after the word "sanitary" in line 8 of subsection (2) thereof, and

SSGG, 14.5.1937.

- (c) by adding the following new subsections:-
 - "(3) the Director may in his discretion require the applicant for the registration of any school as a condition precedent to the registration thereof to make a cash deposit not exceeding five hundred dollars or to enter into a bond in a like amount with two sureties approved by the Director.
 - "(4) The Director may refuse to register any school if it shall appear to him that the existing educational facilities are adequate [sic] and that such registration would be detrimental to the interests of the Colony or of the public." and
- (d) by re-numbering the existing subsection (3) as subsection (5).

Substituted section 11

 Section 11 of the Principal Ordinance is repealed and the following section is substituted therefor:-

Registration

- 11. –(1) Subject to the provisions of subsections (2) & (3) of this section, the Director or Asst. Director, on application being made under section 10, shall register the applicant accordingly and, in the case of a teacher, shall issue to him a certificate in the terms of Form 5 in the Schedule hereto.
 - (2) The Director may, in his absolute discretion, refuse to register the applicant if the applicant -
 - (a) has been convicted before any court of competent jurisdiction in the Colony or elsewhere of an offence punishable with imprisonment; or
 - (b) shall have been a supervisor or a member of the Committee of Management of, or a teacher in, any school declared to be an unlawful school under the provisions of this Ordinance or any previous law relating to the registration of schools, or of any similar law in force in any Malay State under British protection, at the time when such declaration was made; or
 - (c) shall have been a supervisor or a member of the Committee of Management of, or a teacher in, any school which has been struck off the register under section 15.
 - (3) The Director may also refuse to register the applicant if the applicant -
 - (a) is applying to be registered as a teacher, supervisor or member of the Committee of Management and it appears to the Director that it will be prejudicial to the interests of the Colony or to the public or to the pupils of any school that the applicant shall be employed as a teacher or to be a supervisor or member of a committee of management; or
 - (b) is applying to be registered as a teacher and it appears to the Director that his qualifications are inadequate:

Provided that when registration is refused under this subsection the Director shall inform the applicant by notice in writing of such refusal and of the grounds thereof and that he has the right of appeal to the Governor in Council within fourteen days from the date of the service of such notice upon him.

Amendment of section 14

Section 14 of the Principal Ordinance is amended by inserting after the word
"public" in line 9 thereof the words "or with the conduct of a grant-in-aid school
which may be suspected of being run for profit."

Amendment of section 16

- Subsection (2) of section 16 of the Principal Ordinance is amended
 - (a) by inserting after the word "school" in line 4 thereof the words "or that any registered supervisor or member of a Committee of Management shall remain a supervisor or member of a Committee of Management," and
 - (b) by inserting after the word "teacher" in line 5 thereof the words "supervisor or member of a Committee of Management".

Amendment of section 25

- Subsection (1) of section 25 of the Principal Ordinance is repealed and the following is substituted therefor:-
 - "(1) Any teacher, supervisor or member of a Committee of Management aggrieved by the refusal of the Director to register a school, or by the refusal of the Director to register an applicant under section 11 on the grounds specified in subsection (3) thereof, or by any direction given by the Director under section 15, and any person who has been struck off the register under section 16, may appeal to the Governor in Council within fourteen days from the date upon which the notice under sections 8(3), 11(3), 15(1) or 16(3), as the case may be, has been served."

Amendment of section 27

- Subsection (1) of section 27 of the Principal Ordinance is amended by adding the following new paragraphs "(g)" and "(h)" -
 - "(g) the control and supervision of subscriptions and collections on behalf of schools; and
 - (h) the distribution and management of grants-in-aid."

Appendix VII1

GAI JIN BING FA ZHAN HUA QIAO JIAO YU JI HUA [A PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF OVERSEAS CHINESE EDUCATION]

I Basis

- The resolutions of the Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi [Overseas Chinese Education Conferences] handed over by the Party Central for execution.
- 2. Plans for the development of overseas Chinese education by the Jiao Yu Bu.

IlAims

- 1. The unification and development [of overseas Chinese education]
- To increase the national consciousness [of the overseas Chinese]. To develop their powers of self-reliance and organisation. To develop their ability to improve their livelihood as well as their economic production.
- The reform and expansion of general education, professional education, normal education, social education and supplementary education.

III Organisation

- The Jiao Yu Bu should organise a She Ji Wei Yuan Hui [Planning Committee][for overseas Chinese education].
- 2. Before a special section [for overseas Chinese education] is established in the Jiao Yu Bu, the Party Central should allow all administrative matters [about overseas Chinese education] to be taken care of by the various sections [of the Jiao Yu Bu]. Overseas they should be taken care of by the consuls. In a consulate there should be at least one educational officer in the role of a superintendent of education. This should be planned by the Foreign Ministry and the officer should be selected by the Jiao Yu Bu but appointed by the former. The number of these officers, their qualifications, functions and powers, renumeration, etc, should be determined by the two ministries. For places where consulates are not already established, the Jiao Yu Bu should send officers to deal with the

Miu Ren Yan, (ed), Di Er Ci Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi Shi Mo Ji (Shanghai, 1930), the third section, pp 53-60.

matter.

- 3. Let a Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Zong Hui [General Overseas Chinese Education Association] be established in Nanjing with branch associations in various places overseas. The associations should be governed by committees. Committee members should be people familiar with, experienced in and enthusiastic about overseas Chinese education. They should formulate proposals for study and press ahead for overseas Chinese education. Regulations for the organisation of these associations should be promulgated by the government.
- 4. At places where these educational associations are not yet established, the Party should together with social bodies organise Quan Xue Wei Yuan Hui [Education Promotion Committees]. The committees should carry out promotion work more than twice a year.

IV Finance

- The Party Central should every year set aside five hundred thousand dollars for the development of overseas Chinese education.
- To collect a foundation fund of ten million dollars. The Central Government should contribute two million, Guangdong six million and Fujian four hundred thousand, and seven million are to be obtained from subscriptions. Interests from the fund are to be put to use.
- Overseas finance, depending on local conditions, should come from taxation on business, contributions from local produce, contributions from various commodities, and monthly, annual or special subscriptions from shops or individuals. Finance committees should be orgainsed to take care of this.

V Planning for School Education

[The numbering system in this section is unusual but it is in the original document.]

- The Jiao Yu Bu's She Ji Wei Yuan Hui should devise plans to popularise education, expand junior middle and senior middle education, expand professional and normal education, widen supplementary education, advance social education and strengthen educational bodies.
- The She Ji Wei Yuan Hui should devise plans for the protection of overseas Chinese education.
- The She Ji Wei Yuan Hui should devise plans for shaping up all grades and all kinds of schools, and devise ways of distributing to various uses the interests accruing from the foundation fund and finance set aside by the Central Government to aid overseas Chinese education.
- In all planning, there must be wide consultation to seek the opinions of consulate education officers and overseas Chinese public bodies, and there should also

be cooperation with educational associations.

On the basis of realistic conditions and the opinions of the She Ji Wei Yuan Hui and overseas Chinese public bodies, the Jiao Yu Bu is to devise regulations and orders [for overseas Chinese education] which are simple, easy to execute, and not contrary to public law.

1. The establishment of overseas Chinese schools

- The principle is to be that overseas Chinese schools should be established by the overseas Chinese themselves. The schools must register with the Jiao Yu Bu.
- (ii) Overseas Chinese are permitted to establish in China schools of the middle or higher grade for overseas Chinese students.
- (iii) The Jiao Yu Bu should encourage and aid overseas Chinese who promote education.
- (iv)The Jiao Yu Bu is to establish schools overseas according to circumstances.
- (v) Overseas Chinese schools should not accept [financial] aid from foreign governments. Their principals should not be foreigners.

2. Overseas schools' organisation

- (i) The Jiao Yu Bu should draw up several types of regulations for the organisation of school management committees, and allow choice among these to the overseas Chinese.
- (ii) The functions of a management committee should be to collect subscriptions, raise funds, examine and check estimates and final accounts, take care of school property and to deal with external relations. The functions of a principal should be to take charge of school administration, employ teachers, and draw up estimates and final accounts. The principal shall not terminate his contract mid-term. He can attend meetings of the management committee. Opinions of any committee member should be submitted to the committee for decision.
- (iii)Overseas Chinese schools should have staff societies. They are permitted to establish student unions.

3. Overseas schools' finance

- (i) The standard of funding should be determined by consulate education officers and educational associations. Its proportion should be largely the same as that prevailing in middle and primary schools in the home country.
- (ii) Methods of accounting, methods of managing school property and methods

- of open finance [sic] should be largely the same as in middle and primary schools in the home country.
- (iii)Overseas Chinese schools should use the standards and methods of the Jiao Yu Bu in erecting buildings and other infrastructure, but they may consult the standards of the local governments.
- (iv)Supplementary items for discipline are to be decided by the Jiao Yu Bu. Weekly, monthly and yearly disciplinary matters are to be determined by each locality itself, but these must be approved by the Jiao Yu Bu.

4. Overseas schools' curricula and teaching materials

- Each locality is to decide its own curriculum according to the standards promulgated by the Jiao Yu Bu.
- (ii) Measures for the examination of textbooks should be devised by the Jiao Yu Bu which should approve suitable textbooks at present in use and give them encouragement [if necessary]. The Jiao Yu Bu should also draw up standards for private people to compile textbooks. The Jiao Yu Bu will approve these books for publication and select the good ones for encouragement.
- (iii) The Jiao Yu Bu should entrust to experts the compilation of special teaching materials.
- (iv)Foreign textbooks can be used. Committees are to be formed by the various localities to select, examine and amend these textbooks.
- (v) Teaching apparatus and [?]2 should be the same as in the home country.

5. Overseas schools' teachers

- Shape up organisations for training overseas teachers in the home country, establish normal schools at home or overseas, or give aid to overseas senior normal establishments and entrust to them the training of teachers.
- (ii) The registration of teachers in overseas places should be done by the consulates and in the home country by the various educational administrative machinery in Nanjing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Xiamen and Shantou. In the examination of their results, tests should be given to them according to circumstances. These tests should be lenient in regard to teachers who are already on the job but should be strict in regard to those who are just going to take up their posts. Those who pass are to be given certificates.
- (iii) Teachers guilty of bad conduct will have their registration cancelled or will be relieved of employment or be punished when they return to China.
- (iv) The Jiao Yu Bu should instruct the various educational machinery in Nanjing,

There is a mistake here in the original text.

- Shanghai, Guangzhou, Xiamen and Shantou to organise teachers' employment exchange to deal with the employment of teachers.
- (v) The Jiao Yu Bu should prepare several kinds of standards for salaries and outline methods of annual increment.
- (vi)The Jiao Yu Bu should devise methods of reward and guarantee [to teachers]. Rewards should be given to good education [sic]. Assistance should be given to good teachers at home who are going overseas to teach. Guarantees should be given that teachers will not lose employment for no reason. They should be called nationally-appointed teachers. A contract should be of at least two years. Salaries are to be calculated on the basis of 12 months. Ship passage, food and lodging are to be supplied by the schools.
- (vii)The further education of overseas teachers should be the same as that for teachers at home.

6. Overseas schools' students

- (i) There should be free places in overseas Chinese schools.
- (ii) The Jiao Yu Bu should devise regulations for overseas Chinese students returning home for studies. It should give aid to a predetermined number of them.
- (iii)Overseas, the consulates and educational associations are responsible for directing students in the matter of further studies. Once the students are in China they should receive direction from the various educational machinery in Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shantou, Xiamen and Tianjin.

7. System of directing overseas schools

- (i) An education officer in a consulate should have been a student of the senior normal or higher grade. He should have five or more years of experience in education and should be conversant with Guo Yu and foreign languages. He should also be of good conduct and sound health, should understand Party philosophy and familiar with the conditions of overseas Chinese.
- (ii) Each locality should be divided into a number of education districts, and one or two schools in each district should be chosen as the central schools which should organise directing councils to plan for the direction and improvement [of education in the area]. The central schools should also organise research societies with other schools to conduct research on education.
- (iii) The Jiao Yu Bu should frequently send officers to inspect and direct [the education districts].

VI Social Education

1. Supplementary education

- Institutions: There should be half-day schools, people's night schools, vacation tuition schools, women's supplementary education schools, and so on.
- (ii) The curricula for general and professional education should be decided by consulate education officers.
- (iii)Regulations [governing this type of education] shall be promulgated by the Jiao Yu Bu.

The rest of the plan is concerned with two other types of social education not relevant to our study. We shall therefore omit reproducing them here.



Appendix VIII1

Section II

SHI SHI GANG YAO [PRINCIPLES OF ENFORCEMENT]

I. The Curriculum

- 1. The curriculum should be the same as in all grades of schools at home.
- Foster knowledge necessary to life in any particular locality so as to develop powers conducive to survival overseas.
- 3. Besides these, seven points should be given particular attention:
 - (a) The relation between emigration and Min Zu Zhu Yi (Principle of Nationalism),
 - (b) The relation between the self-government activities of the overseas Chinese and Min Quan Zhu Yi (Principle of the People's Sovereignty),
 - (c) The relation between the economic enterprises of the overseas Chinese and Min Sheng Zhu Yi (Principle of the People's Livelihood),
 - (d) The relation between the overseas Chinese and the people's revolution,
 - (e) The relation between the colonisation activities of the various nations and the overseas Chinese,
 - (f) The relation between the [projected] Japanese invasion of southern (i.e. southeast) Asia and the survival of the overseas Chinese, and
 - (g) The relation between the weak nations in the world and San Min Zhu Yi.

II. Discipline

- 1. Discipline should be the same as in all grades of schools at home.
- It should enable the students to understand the conditions of their particular environment and their own position so that they can fulfill the mission of the expansion of the Chinese race overseas.
- 3. Besides these, four points should be given particular attention:

 [[]Jiao Yu Bu [Ministry of Education]], Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian (Shanghai, 1934), first section, p. 22.

- (a) Mould the virtues [of the students] as nationals with the traditional culture of the Chinese,
- (b) Pay attention to their physical training conducive to their survival overseas,
- (c) Frequently lecture to them on current affairs in the home country so as to arouse their spirit of love and defence of the fatherland, and
- (d) In accordance with the San Min Zhu Yi and concrete facts of overseas expansion to arouse them to assume the right attitude in regard to the individual, the family, society, the nation and international relations.

III. Infrastructure and Equipment

- Infrastructure and equipment should be the same as in all grades of schools at home.
- 2. They should be suitable to the environment of the locality.
- 3. Beside these, five points should be given special attention:
 - (a) More books, charts and specimens of the culture of our country should be made available,
 - (b) Should have more specimens of national products,
 - (c) Should have more books and charts related to the enterprises of the overseas Chinese,
 - (d) Should have more statistical charts and specimens of the products of the locality, and
 - (e) Should have more books and charts on the history, geography, politics, economics, the law, transport, industries and commerce, etc. of the locality.

Glossary of Chinese Names of Documents, Organisations, Persons, Places, Publications and Schools

List A

Names whose traditional Chinese characters are found in sources consulted for this work

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Ai Tong [Xue Xiao] ¹ Aomen Bai Hua <i>Bai Jia Xing</i> Bao Huang Dang Bei Xin Shu Ju Beijing	爱同 [学校] 澳门 话 《官文学》 《皇书局 北京	Ai Tong School Macau Pai Hua Century of Sumames Reform Party unknown Peking/Pekin	Conversational Language New North Book Company
Beijing Daxue Bin Cheng Hua Qiao	北京大学 模城华侨学	Peking University unknown	Confederation of Chinese
Xue Xiao Lian He Hui Bin Cheng Xin Bao	校联合会 《槟城新报》	unknown	Schools in Penang
Bin Hua Chou Zhen Hui	槟华筹赈会	unknown	Penang Chinese Relief Fund Committee
Bin Ji Zhong Hua Jiao Yu Yan Jiu Hui	核吉中华教育 研究会	unknown	Penang and Kedah Chinese Educational Research Society
Bin Lang Yu Di Yi Zi Zhi Xue Xiao	槟榔屿第一自 治学校	unknown	Penang Island First Self- Governing School
Bu Zhu Qing Pin Qiao Sheng Hui Guo Sheng Xue Gui Cheng	补助清贫侨生回 国升学规程	unknown	Regulations on Financial Aid for Poor Overseas Students Returning to China for Further Studies
Cai Xing	蔡行	unknown	
Cai Yuan Pei	蔡元培	unknown	
Cen Chun Xuan	岑春萱	unknown	
Cen Xi Pei	岑锡培	unknown	
Chen Bao Han	陈宝汉	unknown	

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Chen Cun Yao	陈存瑶	unknown	
Chen Feng Chu	陈凤雏	unknown	1911
Chen Guo Chun	陈国春	unknown	
Chen Hong Qi	陈鸿祺	unknown	
Chen Huan Zhang	陈焕章	unknown	
Chen Jia Geng	陈嘉庚	Tan Kah Kee	
Chen Jin Zhong	陈金钟	Tan Kim Ching	
Chen Shou Min	陈寿民	unknown	
Chen Shu Ren	陈树人	unknown	
Chen Xin Zheng	陈新政	unknown	
Chen Zhong Shu Ju	晨钟书局	unknown	Morning Bell Book Company
Chongging	重庆	Chungking	,
Chou An Hui	筹安会	unknown	Work-for-Peace Society
Chou zhen hui	筹赈会	relief fund committees	*
Chou zhen zong hui	筹赈总会	unknown	
Chu Jian Tuan	锄奸团	unknown	Eliminate-Traitors Team
Chu Xu Gong Hui	储蓄公会	unknown	Savings Society
Chun Jiang Shu Ju	春江书局	unknown	Spring River Book Company
Chun Ming Shu Ju	春明书局	unknown	Spring Brightness Book Company
Chun Qiu	《春秋》	Spring and Authorn Armais	
Ci Xi Tai Hou	慈禧太后	Empress Dowager	Empress Dowager Ci Xi
Cui Ying Shu Yuan	萃英书院	Chiu Eng Si I	
Da Da Tu Shu Gong	大达图书供应社	unk no wn	Greatly Achieving Picture and
Ying She			Book Supply Company
Da Dong Shu Ju	大东书局	unknown	Great East Book Company
Da Fang Shu Ju	大方书局	unknown	Gracious Book Company
Da Hua Shu Ju	大华书局	unknown	Great China Book Company
Da Ren(?)[Xue Xiao]	达仁(?)[学校]	unknown	Da Ren School
Da Xue	《大学》	Great Learning	and the same
Da Xue Yuan	大学院	unknown	Ministry of Education
Da Zhong Shu Ju	大众书局	unknown	Popular Book Company
Dai Yan Chuan	戴烟川	unknown	-443947
Dao Nan [Xue Xiao]	道南[学校]	Tao Nan School	- 48,63 3000
Deng Ze Ru	邓泽如	unknown	Sample W. Shiring
Di Er Ci Quan Guo Jiao	《第二次全国	unknown	A Record of the Proceedings of
Yu Hui Yi Shi Mo Ji	教育会议始末记》		the Second All-Nation Education Conference
Di Er Ci Zhong Guo Jiao Yu Nian Jian	《第二次中国 教育年鉴》	unknown	Second Yearbook on Chinese Education
Di Yi Ci Zhong Guo	《第一次中国	unknown	First Yearbook on Chinese
Jiao Yu Nian Jian	教育年鉴》	distorn	Education

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Diao Zuo Qian	刁作谦	unknown	
Ding Zhi Pin	丁致聘	unknown	1
Dong Hong Yi	董鸿禕	unknown	
Dong Zheng Qiu	董正秋	unknown	
Duan Meng Xue Xiao	端蒙学校	unknown	Duan Meng School
Duan Qi Rui	段祺瑞	unknown	
Duan Zheng Xue Xiao		unknown	Duan Zheng School
Duo Gong	铎公	unknown	
Er Tong Chu Ban He	儿童出版合	unknown	Children's Co-operative
Zuo She	作社	dikiowii	Publications Society
Er Tong Shu Ju	儿童书局	unknown	Children's Book Company
	the same and the		
Fan Di Guo Lian Meng Hui	反帝国联盟会	unknown	Anti-Imperialist League
Fang Gu Shu Dian	仿古书店	unknown	Emulate-the-Ancients
			Book Shop
Fang Wei	方剪	unknown	
Fu Jian Nu Xiao Shi	福建女校	unknown	Fujian Girls' School, Teachers
Fan Bu	师范部		Training Department
Fu Xing Jiao Ke Shu	复兴教科书	unknown	Renaissance Textbooks
Fu You Nu Xue	辅友女学	unknown	Fu You Girls' School
Fujian	福建	Fukien	
Gai Jin Bing Fa Zhan	改进并发展华	unknown	A Plan for the Improvement
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Ji	侨教育计划		and Development of Overseas
Hua	01 34 13 11 42		Chinese Education
Gan-Shi-Dui	敢死队	unknown	Dare-to-Die Teams
Gao	高	unknown	
Gong He Shu Ju	共和书局	unknown	Republic Book Company
Gong Li Nu Zi Xue Xiao	公立女子学校	Public Girls' School	republic book company
Gong Min Xue Xiao	公民学校	unknown	Gong Min School
Gu Da	古打		Sekudai in Johor?
		unknown	Sekudai iti joilor:
Gu Wei Jun	原维钧	Wellington Koo	Brightness He folds Conistra
Guang Qi She	光启社	unknown	Brightness Unfolds Society
Guang Xu	光绪	Kuang Hsu	G V Cl -1
Guang Ya [Xue Xiao]	光亚 [学校]	unknown	Guang Ya School
Guang Yi Shu Ju	广益书局	unknown	Extensive Benefits Book Company
Guangdong	广东	Kwangtung	Company
Guangzhou	广州	Canton	
Guo Fang Jiao Yu	国防教育	unknown	National Defence Education
Guo Li Bian Yi Guan	国立编译馆	unknown	
Guo Li Diait II Guall	国工制件用	dildiowii	National Compilation and Translation Bureau
Guo Min Bao	《国民报》	unknown	
Guo Min Da Xue	国民大学	unknown	Guo Min University
Guo Min Juan	国民捐	unknown	Nationals' Contribution

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Guo Yu	国语	Mandarin / National	the maker arrest and
C V 71	ESTR OR	Language	Mational Language Week
Guo Yu Zhou	国语周国民党	unknown Kuomintang	National Language Week
Guomindang Hai Wai Bu	海外部	unknown	Overseas Department
Hainan	海南	Hainan	Overseas Department
Han Shao Hua	韩芍华	unknown	
Hankou	汉口	Hankou	
He	何	unknown	
He Chao Fan	何超凡	unknown	
He Cheng Ye Xue Xiao	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	unknown	He Cheng Night School
He Da Yu	何大愚	unknown	The care of the ca
He Nan Ye Xue	和南夜学	unknown	He Nan Night School
He Sheng Ding	初圣鼎	unknown	0
He Wen Lan	何文湖	unknown	
Hou Yuan Hui	後援会	unknown	Back-Up Society
Hu Guo Lian	胡国廠	unknown	
Hu Han Min	胡汉民	Hu Han Min	
Hu Wei Xian	胡维贤	unknown	
Hu Wen Hu	胡文虎	Aw Boon Haw	
Hu Zi Chun	胡子春	unknown	
Hua Qiao Bu Xi Xue	华侨补习学校	unknown	Temporary Regulations for
Xiao Zan Xing Tiao Li	暂行条例		Overseas Chinese Tuition Schools
Hua Qiao Dui Zu Guo	《华侨对祖国	unknown	Contributions of the Overseas
De Gong Xian	的贡献》		Chinese to the Fatherland
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi	华侨教育会议	unknown	Overseas Chinese Education Conference
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui	《华侨教育会	unknown	Report on the Overseas
Yi Bao Gao Shu	议报告书》		Chinese Education Conference
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui	华侨教育会暂	unknown	Temporary Regulations for
Zan Xing Gui Cheng	行規程	C. S. See a Proposition of	Overseas Chinese
		6.0	Educational Associations
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Ji Jin	华侨教育基金	unknown	Rules Governing the
Guan Li Wei Yuan Hui	管理委员会组		Organisation of
Zu Zhi Tiao Li	织条例		Management Committees
			of Overseas Chinese
			Education Funds
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Ji Jin		unknown	Measures to Encourage
Juan Mu Jiang Li Ban Fa	捐募奖励办法		Donations to Overseas
		8 F 2 F	Chinese Education Funds
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Lun	《华侨教育论	unknown	Essays on Overseas Chinese
Wen Ji	文集》		Education

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Mu Ji Ji Jin Ban Fa	华侨教育募集 基金办法	unknown	Methods to Raise Funds for Overseas Chinese Education
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu She Ji Wei Yuan Hui	华侨教育设计 委员会	unknown	Overseas Chinese Education Planning Committee
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Tong Yi Wei Yuan Hui	华侨教育统一 委员会	unknown	Overseas Chinese Education Unification Committee
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Wei Yuan Hui	华侨教育委 员会	unknown	Overseas Chinese Education Commission
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Xie Jin Hui	华侨教育协 进会	unknown	Overseas Chinese Education Promotion Association
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Zong Hui	华侨教育总会	unknown	General Overseas Chinese Education Association
Hua Qiao [Nu Xue]	华侨 [女学]	unknown	Hua Qiao Girls' School
Hua Qiao Quan Xue Wei Yuan Hui	华侨劝学委 员会	unknown	Overseas Chinese Education Promotion Committees
Hua Qiao Quan Xue Wei Yuan Hui Zu Zhi Gui Cheng	华侨劝学委员 会组织规程	unknown	Regulations for the Organisation of Overseas Chinese Education Promotion Committees
Hua Qiao Quan Xue Yuan	华侨劝学员	unknown	Overseas Chinese Education Promotion Officers
Hua Qiao Shi Xue Yuan	华侨视学员	unknown	Overseas Chinese Education Inspection Officers
Hua Qiao Shi Xue Yuan Zhang Cheng	华侨视学员 章程	unknown	Rules Governing Overseas Chinese Education Inspection Officers
Hua Qiao Xiao Xue Zan Xing Tiao Li	华侨小学暂行 条例	unknown	Temporary Regulations for Overseas Chinese Primary Schools
Hua Qiao [Xue Xiao] (Kemaman)	(柯马満) 华侨 [学校]	unknown	Hua Qiao School (Kemaman)
Hua Qiao [Xue Xiao] (Kuantan)	(关丹) 华侨 [学校]	unknown	Hua Qiao School (Kuantan)
Hua Qiao Xue Xiao Li An Gui Cheng	华侨学校立 案规程	unknown	Regulations for the Registration of Overseas Chinese Schools
Hua Qiao Xue Xiao Li An Tiao Li	华侨学校立 案条例	unknown	Rules for the Registration of Overseas Chinese Schools
Hua Qiao [Xue Xiao] (Singapore)	(新加坡) 华侨 [学校]	unknown	Hua Qiao School (Singapore)
Hua Qiao Yi Wu Xue Xiao	华侨义务学校	unknown	Overseas Chinese Free School
Hua Qiao Zhong Xiao Xue Xiao Dong Hui Zu Zhi Gui Cheng	华侨中小学校 董会组织規程	unknown	Regulations for the Organisation of Management Committees of Overseas Chinese Middle and Primary Schools

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
	华侨注音字母 传习所 华侨子弟回国 就学办法	unknown unknown	Overseas Chinese Guo Yu Symbols Training Insitute Measures Catering to Overseas Chinese Students Returning Home to Study
Hua Zhong	华中	Hwa Chong	1 100
Huan Le Yuan	欢乐园	unknown	Happy Park
Huang Jing Wan	黄蓍顽	unknown	6701 0003
Huang Lin Shu	黄麟书	unknown	0.000
Huang Qing Zhen	黄清真 2	unknown	8 7 7
Huang Xing	黄兴	unknown	
Huang Yan Pei	黄炎培	unknown	
Huang You Yuan	黄有渊	unknown	
Huang Zi Yan	黄子炎	unknown	
Huangpu Jun Guan	黄埔军官学校	Whampo Military	
Xue Xiao		Academy	
Hui Guo Wei Lao Shi	回国慰劳视	unknown	Returning-Home Consolation
Cha Tuan	察团		and Inspection Team
Hui Wen Tang Shu Ju	会文堂书局	unknown	Converging-Letters Hall
			Book Company
Ji Ben Jiao Ke Shu	基本教科书	unknown	Basic Textbooks
Ii Nan Da Xue	暨南大学	Chi Nan University	
li Nan Ju	暨南局	unknown	Ji Nan Bureau
Ji Nan Xue Tang	暨南学堂	unknown	Ji Nan School
Jiang Jie Shi	蒋介石	Chiang Khai-shek	/
liao Yu Bu	教育部	unknown	Ministry of Education
Jiao Yu Bu Hua Qiao Jiao	教育部华侨教	unknown	Ministry of Education
Yu She Ji Wei Yuan	育设计委员会	undio	Overseas Chinese Education
Hui Zu Zhi Tiao Li	组织条例		Planning Committee:
Tui Zu Ziii Hao Li	和3(% b)		Rules of Organisation
Una M. Palling Uni Dian	(教育法令彙编)	unknown	A Compilation of Educational
Jiao Yu Fa Ling Hui Bian	WX月伍マ県2個V	UITKIOWIT	Laws and Decrees
E W. Chu, Dian	教育书店	unknown	Education Book Shop
Jiao Yu Shu Dian	教育研究会	unknown	Educational Research Society
Jiao Yu Yan Jiu Hui		unknown	Exactational resources
Jie Mao	捷茂		Jing Fang Girls' School
Jing Fang Nu Xiao	静方女校	unknown	Total Spiritual Mobilization
Jing Shen Zong Dong Yuan	精神总动员	unknown	The state of the s
Jing Wei Shu Ju	经纬书局	unknown	Longitude and Latitude Book Company
Jing Wu Ti Yu Hui	精武体育会	unknown	Chinese Athletic Association
July Line II I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	救国团	unknown	Save-the-Nation Team

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Juan Zi Xing Xue Bao Jiang Tiao Li	捐资兴学褒奖 条例	unknown	Regulations Governing Awards for Contributions to Promote Education
Jue Jue Xue Xiao	觉觉学校	Kok Kok School	
Jue Jue Ye Xue	觉觉夜学	Kok Kok Night School	
Jue Xin [Xue Xiao]	觉新 [学校]	unknown	Jue Xin School
Kai Ming Shu Ju	开明书局	unknown	Enlightened Book Company
Kang Di Hou Yuan Hu		unknown	Anti-Enemy Back-Up Society
Kang You Wei	康有为	Kang Yu Wei	
Ke Wei Zhi	柯位挚。	unknown	
Ke Wen Da	柯文达	unknown	
Kong Jiao Hui	孔教会	Confucius Society	
Lai Nan Qiu	赖南秋	unknown	
Lan Guan Qun	蓝冠群	unknown	
Le Bao	《助报》	Lat Pau	
Le Hua Tu Shu Gong Si	乐华图书公司	unknown	Happy China Book Company
Li Hou Ji	李厚基	unknown	mpp) Character Company
Li Ji	《礼记》	Book of Rites	
Li Ke Da.	李可达	unknown	
Li Po Sheng	李朴生	unknown	
Li Wen	李文	unknown	
Li Yi Su	李义速	unknown	
Li Yu Tong Su Ye Xue	力余通俗	Lak lu Thung Siok	
0	夜学	Night School	
Li Yuan Hong	黎元洪	unknown	
Liang	築	unknown	
Liang Shen Nan	梁桑南	Leong Sin Nam	
Liang Tian Wo	梁天我	unknown	
Liao Heng Zhuo	廖衡酌	unknown	
Liao Qing Hong	廖庆鸿	unknown	
Lin Ding Hua	林鼎华	unknown	
Lin Sen	林森	unknown	
Lin Wen Qing	林文庆	Lim Boon Keng	
Lin Yao Xiang	林耀翔	unknown	
Lin Yi Shun	林义顺	Lim Nee Soon	
Lin Yuan Guang	林源广	unknown	
Ling Nan Long	凌南降	unknown	
Ling Nan Xing	凌南兴	unknown	
	領事经理华侨	unknown	Regulations Governing the
Qiao Jiao Yu Xing Zheng Gui Cheng	教育行政规程	STUDIO VII	Administration of Overseas Chinese Education by Consuls
	六君子	unknown	Six Gentlemen
	六六社	unknown	Six-Six Society

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Liu Shan Shou	刘善授	unknown	a will all self-assumed
Liu Shi Ji	刘士骥	unknown	The second median
Liu Shi Mu	刘士木	unknown	10 - 10 TO 1
Lu Wen Zhou	卢文舟	unknown	The state of the s
Lu Xun	鲁迅	Lu Hsun	The state of the s
Lu Zai Shan	陆在山	unknown	
Lu Zi Qin	吕子勤	unknown	The state of the s
Lun Yu	《论语》	Analects	125 (125)
Luo Jiong Xiong	駱炯雄	unknown	19 7
Luo Yun Hua	罗云华	unknown	26.411
Ma Lai Ya Hua Qiao	马来亚华侨教	unknown	Malayan Overseas Chinese
Jiao Yu Hui	育会		Educational Association
Mao Zedong	毛泽东	Mao Tze Tung	
Meng Xue	蒙学	Mong Hsueh	
Meng Zi	《孟子》	Book of Mencius	
Min Quan Zhu Yi	民权主义	Principle of People's	r)
		Sovereighty	100
Min Sheng Zhu Yi	民生主义	Principle of People's	
		Livelihood	
Min Zhi Jiao Ke Shu	民智教科书	unknown	People's Knowledge Textbooks
Min Zhi Shu Ju	民智书局	unknown	People's Knowledge Book Company
Min Zhong Wu Zhuang	民众武装	unknown	People's Armed Forces
Min Zu Zhu Yi	民族主义	Principle of Nationalism	
Ming Xin She	明新社	unknown	Bright New Society
Miu Ren Yan	缪仞言	unknown	
Mo De Ru	莫德如	unknown	3/03/64
Nan Hua [Nu Xue]	南华[女学]	unknown	Nan Hua Girls' School
Nan Qiang Shu Ju	南强书局	unknown	Strong South Book Company
Nan Qiang Zhong Xue		unknown	Nan Qiang Middle School
Nan Qiao Hui Yi Lu	《南侨回忆录》	unknown	Memoirs of a Sojourn in
Nan Xing Shu Dian	南星书店	unknown	the Nanyang Southern Star Book Shop
Nan Yang / Nanyang	南洋	Nanyang	The second state of the
Nan Yang Gong Shang		unknown	Nanyang Industrial and
Bu Xi Xue Xiao	学校	and the same of th	Commercial Tuition School
Nan Yang Hua Qiao	南洋华侨	unknown	Nanyang Overseas Chinese
Chou Zhen Zu Guo	筹赈祖国	***************************************	General Association for the
Nan Min Zong Hui	难民总会		Relief of Refugees in the
Trait Milit Zong Trai	AR PARENTA		Fatherland
Nan Yang Hua Qiao	南洋华侨教育	unknown	Nanyang Overseas Chinese
Jiao Yu Hui Yi	会议	WILL WILL WILL WILL WILL WILL WILL WILL	Education Conference
J.40 14 1141 11	4.60		

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Nan Yang Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi Bao Gao	《南洋华侨教 育会议报告》	unknown	Report on the Nanyang Overseas Chinese Education Conference
Nan Yang Ji Mei Zhou Wen Hua Shi Ye Bu		unknown	Nanyang and American Cultural Affairs Department
Nan Yang Nu Zhong	南洋女中	Nanyang Girls' High School	
Nan Yang Qing Bao	《南洋情报》	unknown	Nanyang Information
Nan Yang Wen Hua Shi Ye Bu	南洋文化事业部	unknown	Nanyang Cultural Affairs Department
Nan Yang Xin Jia Po	南洋新加坡华	unknown	Union of Various Overseas
Hua Qiao Ge Jie Lian He Hui	侨各界联合会		Chinese Professions, Singapore, Nanyang
Nan Yang Yan Jiu	《南洋研究》	unknown	Nanyang Studies
Nan Yang Ying Shu	《南洋英属华	unknown	The Crisis Facing Overseas
Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Zhi Wei Ji	侨教育之危机》		Chinese Education in British Possessions in the Nanyang
Nan Yang Ying Shu	南洋英属华侨	unknown	Overseas Chinese General
Hua Qiao Xue Wu	学务总会		Educational Association in
Zong Hui			British Possessions in the
			Nanyang
Nan Yang Yu Chuang Li Min Guo	《南洋与创立 民国》	unknown	Nanyang and the Establishment of the Republic
Nanjing	南京	Nanking	
Nu Zi Ti Yu Zhuan Men Xue Xiao	女子体育专 门学校	unknown	Girls' Physical Training Specialist School
Ou Tian Xiang	区天相	unknown	
Pan Yu Xing	潘裕兴	Phua Choo Hing	
Pei De [Nu Xue]	培德 [女学] 4	unknown	Pei De Girls' School
Pei Feng [Xue Xiao]	培风[学校]	unknown	Pei Feng School
Pei Zhi [Nu Xue]	培智[女学];	unknown	Pei Zhi Girls' School
Pi Li Hua Qiao Jiao	霹雳华侨	unknown	Perak Overseas Chinese
Yu Hui	教育会		Educational Association
Ping Min [Xue Xiao]	平民 [学校]	unknown	Ping Min School
Ping Zhang Hui Guan	平章会馆	Ping Chang Association	100
Pu Yi	溥仪	Pu Yi	
Pu Yi Xue Xiao	普益学校	Poo Eye Public School	0.7.01
Qi Fa Xue Xao Qi Zhi Shu Ju	启发学校 启智书局	unknown unknown	Qi Fa School Develop Intelligence Book
Qian He	組織	unknown	Company
Qian Xun	钱鹤		
Oian Zi Wen	《千字文》	unknown Millenery Classic	
Oian Zi Yu	《丁子义》 钱子愚	Millenary Classic unknown	
Zimi za tu	PA LYZZ	HWOITHIN	

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Qiang Ya [Xue Xiao]	强亚 [学校]	unknown	Qiang Ya School
Qiao Min Jiao Yu She Ii Wei Yuan Hui	侨民教育设计 委员会	unknown	Overseas Nationals' Education Planning Commission
Qiao Min Jiao Yu Shi Shi Gang Yao	侨民教育实施 纲要	unknown	Summary Principles Governing the Implementation of Education for Overseas Nationals
Qiao Min Zhong Xiao Xue Gui Cheng	侨民中小学规程	unknown	Regulations for Overseas Nationals' Middle and Primary Schools
Qiao Wei Hui Bao Song Ji Jie Shao Qiao Sheng Sheng Xue Gui Cheng	侨委会保送及介 绍侨生升学规程	unknown	Regulations Governing the Sending and the Placement for Higher Studies of Overseas Students by the Overseas
Qiao Wu Ju	侨务局	unknown	Chinese Commission Overseas Chinese Affairs Bureau
Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui	侨务委员会	unknown	Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission
Qing Hua [Xue Xiao]	清华(学校)	unknown	Qing Hua School
Qing Nian Hui Quan Guo Xie Hui	青年会全国协会	unknown	All-Nation Association of the YMCA
Qiong Zhou Hui Guan Oiu	琼州会馆 邱	unknown Khoo	Hainanese Association
Qiu Feng Jia	丘逢甲	unknown	
Oiu Shu Yuan	邱菽园	Khoo Seok Wan	(15/10)
Quan Guo Đai Biao Da Hui	全国代表大会	unknown	All-Nation Congress of Representatives
Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Lian He Hui	全国教育会联合会	unknown	All-Nation Federation of Educational Societies
Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi	全国教育会议	unknown	All-Nation Education Conference
Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi Bao Gao	《全国教育会议报告》	unknown	Report on the All-Nation Education Conference
Ouan Xue Pian	《劝学篇》	Exhortation to Learning	
Quan Xue Wei Yuan Hui		unknown	Education Promotion Committees
Rehe ·	热河	Jehol	to the second second
Rong Qing	荣庆	unknown	the Wing Har
Sa Jun Lu	萨君陆	unknown	
San Min Shu Dian	三民书店	unknown	Three People's Book Compan
San Min Tu Shu	三民图书公司	unknown	Three People's Picture an

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Gong Si			Book Company
San Min Zhu Yi	三民主义	San Min Chu I/Three People's Principles	a con company
San Min Zhu Yi Jiao Yu Shi Shi Gang Yao	三民主义教育 实施纲要	unknown	Principles of Enforcement of San Min Zhu Yi Education
San Zi Jing	《三字经》	Trimetrical Classic	
Shaji	沙基	Shakee	
Shamian	沙面	Shamian	103
Shandong	山东	Shantung	
Shang Bing Zhi You	伤兵之友	unknown	Friends of Wounded Soldiers
Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan		Commercial Press	
Shantou	汕头	Swatow	
She Ji Wei Yuan Hui	设计委员会	unknown	Planning Committee
Shen He Ji Shu Ju	沈鹤记书局	unknown	Chop Shen He Book Company
Shen Man Yun	沈曼家	unknown	Casp or an in the boar company
Sheng Huo Shu Dian	生活书店	unknown	Life Book Shop
Shi Cheng Bu	石城埠	unknown	Batu Gajah ?
Shi Jie Shu Ju	世界书局	World Book Company	
Shi Jie Yu Di Xue She	世界與地学社	unknown	World Geographical Society
Shi Jing	《诗经》	Book of Odes	
Shi Ren Jiu Guo Tuan	十人救国团	unknown	Ten-Men-Save-the-Nation
			Team
Shi Shi Gang Yao	实施纲要	unknown	Principles of Enforcement
Shu Jing	《书经》	Book of History	
Si Shu	《四书》	Four Books	İ
Sichuan	四川	Sichuan	
Song Jiao Ren	宋教仁	unknown	
Song Mu Lin	宋木林	unknown	
Song Sen	宋森	unknown	
Song Wang Xiang	宋旺相	Song Ong Siang	
Song Yun Bin	宋云彬	unknown	A STATE OF THE STA
Suiyuan	绥远	Suiyuan	The state of the s
Sun Yi Xian	孙逸仙	Sun Yat Sen	
Tang Shou Qian	汤寿潜	unknown	
Tian Nan Xin Bao	《天南新报》	Tien Nan Shin Pao (?)	
l'ianjin	天津	Tientsin	
Tie Xie Tuan	铁血团	unknown	Iron-Blood Team
l'ong Han [Xue Xiao]	同汉[学校]	unknown	Tong Han School
Tong Meng Hui	同盟会	Tung Meng Hui/ Alliance Society	Tong simil oction
Wang Jing Cheng	王景成	unknown	
Wang Jing Wei	工	unknown	
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In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Wang Shao Wen	王少文	unknown	60003023
Wang Yan Zhi	王炎之	unknown	and some solvers of the part of the
Wen Chang	文昌	Wen Chang/God	of the State Hall State Co.
· ·		of Letters	a substitution of the second
Wen Guang Shu Ju	文光书局	unknown	Letters' Brightness Book Company
Wen Hua Mei Shu Tu Shu Gong Si	文华美术图书 公司	unknown	Letter-Flowers Art Books Company
Wen Li	温立	unknown	
Wen Ming Shu Ju	文明书局	unknown	Civilized Book Company
Wen Xing Shu Ju	文兴书局	unknown	The Letters Prosper Book Company
Wen Zhi Da Xue	文治大学	unknown	Wen Zhi University
Wu Ding Xin	吴鼎新	unknown	rich Zan Graversity
Wu Feng Chao	吴逢超	unknown	
Wu Gong Ji	吴公纪	unknown	
Wu Hai Tu	吴海涂	unknown	
Wu Han He Chang Tuan	武汉合唱团	Wuhan Choir	The second second
Wu Jing	《五经》	Five Classics	
Wu Shi Rong	吴世荣	unknown	
Wu Tie Cheng	吴铁成	unknown	
Wu Xian Zi	伍宪子	unknown	
Wu Yu Zu	吴玉组	unknown	
Wu Yuan He	吴源和	unknown	1101-25.00 (0.25)
Wuhan	武汉	Wuhan	The second second
Xiamen	厦门	Amoy	and the second section of the second
Xiamen Da Xue	厦门大学	unknown	Xiamen University
Xian Dai Jiao Ke Shu	现代教科书	unknown	Modern Textbooks
Xiao Jing	《孝经》	Canon of Filial Piety	unit not
Xie Xiang	谢湘	unknown	and the second s
Xin Biao Zhun Jiao Ke Shu	新标准教科书	unknown	New Standard Textbooks
Xin Er Tong Jiao Ke Shu	新儿童教科书	unknown	New Children's Textbooks
Xin Guo Min Ri Bao	《新国民日报》	unknown	Am attended from the
Xin Jia Po Duan Meng	《新加坡端蒙	unknown	Magazine Commemorating the
Xue Xiao San Shi Zhou			Thirtieth Anniversary of the Duan
Nian Ji Nian Ce	纪念册》 《新加林华侨	unknown	Meng School, Singapore A Complete Survey of Overseas
Xin Jia Po Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Ouan Mao	《新加坡华侨教育全貌》	unknown	Chinese Education in Singapore
	新加坡华侨抗	unknown	Singapore Overseas Chinese
Xin Jia Po Hua Qiao Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui	新加坡平67ff. 敌後援会	unknown	Anti-Enemy Back-Up Society
Xin Jia Po Nan Yang	新加坡南洋华	The Chinese High	Singapore Nanyang Overseas
Hua Qiao Zhong	桥中学校	School	Chinese High School
Tida Qiao Zilong	が十十八	SCHOOL	Camicoc angli oction

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Xue Xiao			
Xin Jia Po Zhong Hua	新加坡中华总	Singapore Chinese	
Zong Shang Hui	商会	Chamber of Commerce	
Xin Ke Cheng Biao	新课程标准教	unknown	New Curriculum Standard
Zhun Jiao Ke Shu	科书	diddonn	Textbooks
Xin Ke Cheng Biao	新课程标准适	unknown	New Curriculum Standard
Zhun Shi Yong Ke Ben		diddown	Textbooks Suitable for Use
Xin Ke Cheng Biao	新课程标准通	unknown	New Curriculum Standard
Zhun Tong Yong Ke Ben	用课本	undown	Textbooks for General Use
Xin Min Shu Ju	新民书局	unknown	New People Book Company
Xin Qiao [Xue Xiao]	新侨 [学校]	unknown	Xin Qiao School
Xin Sheng Huo Jiao	新生活教科书	unknown	New Life Textbooks
Ke Shu	初生伯权符节	unknown	New Life Textbooks
Xin Sheng Huo Yun Dong	新生活运动	New Life Movement	
Xin Shi Dai	新时代	San Shi Toi	New Times
Xin Xiao Xue Jiao	新小学教科书		
Ke Shu	初小子软件节	unknown	New Primary School
Xin Xue Zhi	新学制	Can HalvChai	Textbooks
Xin Xue Zhi Jiao	新学制教科书	San Hok Chai	New Educational System
Ke Shu	制子的软件节	unknown	New Educational System
	新学制适用新		Textbooks
Xin Xue Zhi Shi Yong	初 学制迫用和 小学教科书	unknown	New Primary School Textbooks
Xin Xiao Xue Jiao Ke Shu	小子飲料书		-Suitable for Use under the
KARAN (1991) - 141	±cm ++ =		New Educational System
Xin Ya Shu Ju Xin Ya Yu Di Xue She	新亚书局	unknown	New Asia Book Company
Xin Zhi Shu Dian	新亚奥地学社	unknown	New Asia Geographical Society
	新知书店	unknown	New Knowledge Book Shop
Xin Zhong Guo Shu Ju		unknown	New China Book Company
Xin Zhong Hua Jiao	新中华教科书	unknown	New China Textbooks
Ke Shu	65 J. M. 64 54 JA		
Xin Zhong Xue Jiao	新中学教科书	unknown	New Middle School
Ke Shu	ter 2 or	c cl r	Textbooks
Xin Zhu Yi	新主义	San Chu I	New Ideology
Xin Zhuan Jiao Ke Shu	新撰教科书	unknown	Newly Compiled Textboks
Xing Hua Ge Jie Kang	星华各界抗敌	unknown	Singapore Chinese All-Groups
Di Hou Yuan Hui	後接会		Anti-Enemy Back-Up Society
Xing Hua Shu Ju	兴华书局	unknown	Rebuild China Book Company
Xing Zhong [Xue Xiao]	兴中 [学校]	unknown	Xing Zhong School
Xing Zhou Ri Bao	《星洲日报》	Sin Chew Jit Poh	00 12 2 3 2
King Zhou Shu Bao She	星洲书报社	Sing Chew Reading Room	Xing Zhou Reading Room
Xing Zhou Xue Sheng	星洲学生联合会	unknown	Singapore Students'
Lian He Hui	Mr of All		Federation
Xiong Xi Ling	熊希龄	unknown	

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Xiong Zhang Qing Xiu Zheng Hua Qiao Zi Di Hui Guo Jiu Xue Ban Fa	熊长卿 修正华侨子弟 回国就学办法	unknown unknown	Amended Measures Pertaining to Overseas Chinese Students It
Xiu Zheng Ke Cheng Biao Zhun Shi Yong Ke Ben	修正课程标准 适用课本	unknown	to China for Studies Amended Curriculum Standard Textbooks Suitable for Use
Xiu Zheng Ling Shi Jing Li Qiao Min Jiao Yu Xing Zheng Gui Cheng	修正領事经理 侨民教育行政 规程	unknown	Amended Regulations for the Administration of Overseas Nationals' Education by Consuls
Xiu Zheng Qiao Min Xue Xiao Li An Gui	修正侨民学校 立案规程	unknown	Amended Regulations for the Registration of Overseas Nationals' Schools
Cheng Xiu Zheng Qiao Min Zhong Xiao Xue Gui Cheng	修正侨民中小 学規程	unknown	Amended Regulations for Overseas Nationals' Secondary and Primary Schools
Xiu Zheng Qiao Min Zhong Xiao Xue Xiao Dong Hui Zu Zhi Gui Cheng	修正侨民中小 学校董会组织 规程	unknown	Amended Regulations for the Organisation of Management Committees of Overseas Nationals' Secondary and Primary Schools
Xu Chong Zhi	许禁智	unknown	Timur j benoois
Xu Su Wu	诈 難吾	unknown	
Xuan Tong	宣统	Suan Tung	
Xue Bu	学部	unknown	Ministry of Education
Xue Bu Guan Bao	《学部官报》	unknown	Official Report of the Ministry of Education
Xue Sheng Ba Ke Hou Yuan Hui	学生罢课後援会	unknown	Students' Strike Back-Up Society
Xue Sheng Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui	学生抗敌後 援会	unknown	Students' Anti-Enemy Back-Up Society
Xue Zong	学总	unknown	
Ya Dong Tu Shu Guan	亚东图书馆	unknown	Asia East Library
Ya Xi Ya Shu Ju	亚西亚书局	unknown	Asia Book Compny
[Yan Yong Cheng Xue Xiao]	[颜永成学校]	Gan Eng Seng School	The state of the state of
Yang Du	杨度	unknown	
Yang Guang Yao	杨光耀	unknown	
Yang Shi Qi	杨士琦	unknown	

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Yang Yi Hang Yang Zheng [Xue Xiao] Yang Zi Xiu Yao Zong Shun Ye Ji Yun	洋衣行 养正 [学校] 杨自修 姚宗舜 叶季允	unknown unknown unknown unknown unknown	Tailors' Guild Yang Zheng School
Ye Qin Nu Xue Tang Yi Jing Yi Qun Bao	业勤女学堂 《易经》 《益群报》	unknown Book of Changes unknown	Ye Qin Girls' School
Ying Shu Hua Qiao Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu	英属华侨学务 维持处	unknown	Office for Upholding Educational Matters of the Overseas Chinese in British Possessions
Ying Xin [Xue Xiao]	应新 [学校]	unknown	Ying Xin School
You Lie	尤列	unknown	
You Xue Qiong Lin	《幼学琼林》	Qdes for Children	
You Zhi Yuan Xiao Xue Ke Cheng Zan Xing Biao Zhun	幼稚园小学课 程暂行标准	unknown	Temporary Standard Curricula for Kindergarten and Primary Schools
Yu Cai [Xue Xiao] (Ipoh)	(怡保)育才学校	Yok Choy School	20
Yu Cai [Xue Xiao] (Singapore)	(新加坡) 育才 [学校]	unknown	Yu Cai School
Yu Dong Xuan	余东旋	Eu Tong Sen	100
Yu Hua Xue Xiao	育华学校	unknown	Yu Hua School
Yu Jun Xian	余俊贤	unknown	
Yu Pei Gao	余佩皋	unknown	
Yu Qiao [Xue Xiao]	育侨[学校]	unknown	Yu Qiao School
Yu Ying [Xue Xiao]	育英 [学校]	unknown	Yu Ying School
Yuan Shi Kai	袁世凯	Yuan Shi Khai	
Yuan Xin Shu Ju	元新书局	unknown	Yuan Xin Book Company
Yue Fa	约法	unknown	Contarct
Yun Mao Bo	云茂钵	unknown	
Zeng Ji Xing	曾楫馨	unknown	The state of the s
Zhan Shi Er Tong Jiao Yu She	战时儿童教育社	unknown	War Time Children's Education Society
Zhang Bi Shi	张弼士	unknown	5
Zhang Jia Hua	张家华	unknown	
Zhang Min Quan	张民权	unknown	
Zhang Ren Jun	张人骏	unknown	
Zhang Yong Fu	张永福	Teo Eng Hock	
Zhang Zhi Dong	张之洞	unknown	
Zhao Lian Wu	赵廉武	unknown	
Zhao Shi Chi	赵士池	unknown	
Zhen Dan Gong Xue	震旦公学	unknown	Zhen Dan Public School

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Zheng Guo Tang	郑郭棠	unknown	12 Locococ uniformed
Zheng Hong Nian	郑洪年	Cheng Hung Nien	of Long Cong Cong Page 1
Zheng Shi Xiao Xue	正式小学课程	unknown	Standard Curriculum for
Ke Cheng Biao Zhun	标准		Primary Schools
Zheng Shi Zhong Xiao Xue Ke Cheng Biao Zhun	正式中小学课 程标准	unknown	Standard Curricula for Middle and Primary Schools
Zheng Yu Xue Xiao	正育学校	unknown	Zheng Yu School
Zheng Zhen Wen	郑贞文	unknown	Zheng ru senou
Zhi Xing Yi Xue	知行义学	unknown	Zhi Xing Free School
Zhi Yang [Xue Xiao]	直养 [学校]	unknown	Zhi Yang School
Zhong Guo Jin Bai	《中国近百	unknown	A Recent Hundred-Year
Nian Shi		unknown	
	年史》		History of China
Zhong Guo Jin Qi Shi	《中国近七十	unknown	A Chronology of Events in
Nian Lai Jiao Yu Ji Shi	年来教育记事》		Chinese Education of the Last
7h C T. Ch	中国图书 八三		Seventy Years
Zhong Guo Tu Shu	中国图书公司	unknown	Chop He, Chinese Picture
Gong Si He Ji	和记		and Book Company
Zhong Guo You Zhi	中国幼稚园师	unknown	Chinese Kindergarten,
Yuan Shi Fan Bu	范部		Teachers' Training Department
Zhong He Tang	中和堂	unknown	Inner Harmony Hall
Zhong Hua Guo Yin	中华国音学社	unknown	Chinese National
Xue She			Pronunciation Society
Zhong Hua Guo Yu	中华国语统一	unknown	Society to Promote the
Tong Yi Cu Jin Hui	促进会		Unification of the Chinese
	4 45 5 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		National Language
Zhong Hua Guo Yu	中华国语学校	unknown	Chinese National Language
Xue Xiao			School
Zhong Hua Jiao Yu	中华教育改	unknown	Chinese Educational
Gai Jin She	进社		Reform Society
Zhong Hua Jiao Yu	中华教育研	unknown	Chinese Educational
Yan Jiu Hui	究会		Research Society
Zhong Hua Nu Xue	中华女学	Chung Hua Girl's School	
Zhong Hua Shu Ju	中华书局	Chung Hua Book Company	China Book Company
Zhong Hua Xue Wu Zong Hui	中华学务总会	unknown	General Chinese Educational Association
Zhong Hua (Xue Xiao) (Mentakab)	(文德甲) 中华 [学校]	unknown	Zhong Hua School (Mentakab)
Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] (Penang)		unknown	Zhong Hua School (Penang)
Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] (Raub)	(劳勿) 中华 [学校]	unknown	Zhong Hua School (Raub)
	钟乐臣	unknown	
Zhong Le Chen	ガル匠	unknown	

In Hanyu Pinyin	In Chinese Characters	English Transliteration or Translation	Author's/Editor's Translation
Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao]	钟灵 [学校]	unknown	Zhong Ling School
Zhong Rong Guang	钟荣光	unknown	71 of Y
Zhong Shan Da Xue	中山大学	unknown	Zhong Shan University
Zhong Xing Shu Ju	众兴书局	unknown	Masses Arising Book Company
Zhong Xue Sheng Shu Ju	中学生书局	unknown	Middle School Students' Book Company
Zhong Yang Lu Jun Jun Guan Xue Xiao	中央陆军军 官学校	unknown	Central Army Officer School
Zhong Yang Shu Ju	中央书局	unknown	Central Book Company
Zhong Yang Xun Lian Bu	中央训练部	unknown	Central Training Department
Zhong Yong	《中庸》	Golden Mean	Community of the second
Zhong Zhong Xiao Kan	《钟中校刊》	unknown	Zhong Ling High School Magazine
Zhou	周	unknown	Tranga and the
Zhou Han Guang	周汉治	unknown	
Zhou Lu	邹鲁	unknown	
Zhou Qi Gang	周启网	unknown	
Zhu Wai Hua Oiao	驻外华侨劝学	unknown	Rules Governing Overseas
Quan Xue Yuan	员章程		Chinese Education Promotion
Zhang Cheng			Officers Stationed Abroad
Zhu Zhi Xin	朱执信	unknown	
Zhuang Xi Quan	庄希泉	unknown	
Zhuang Xue Xuan	庄雪轩	unknown	
Zhuang Yu	庄俞	unknown	
Zong Shang Hui	总商会	Chamber of Commerce	
Zui Jin San Shi Wu Nian		unknown	Chinese Education in Recent
Zhi Zhong Guo Jiao Yu	年之中国教育》		Thirty-five Years
Zun Kong [Xue Xiao]	尊孔 [学校]	unknown	Zun Kong School

List B

Names whose traditional Chinese characters: (1) are not found in the sources consulted for this work or (2) were found when the research was first carried out in 1957 but whose source could not be traced in 2003 when the work was edited for publication.

In English Transliteration or Translation

Bolshevist New Society

Chek Jang School Chi Min School

Chin Yok School

Ching Jiok Night School

Communist Youth Organisation Ek Tin Night School

Hap Sing School

High School Hin Jia School

Hua Nam School

Jang Dek Night School

Jang Mong School Jang Tin School

Khai Meng Night School

Khe Seng School

Kiak Tin (Kok San) School

Kiu Lam Night School

Kok Khwan School Lok Iok School

Lok Khwan School

Lok Seng School

Lok Tin School

Main School

Man Meng School

Nam Kian School Nam Mong School

Nam Pheng School

Nan Kwang School

National Salvation Association

Ng Iok School

Overseas Chinese Anti-Enemy Back-Up Society

Overseas Chinese Anti-Japanese Mobilisation

Federation

Overseas Chinese Guomindang General

Association

Patriotic League

Pei Tsai School

Peng Min School

Phui Jiok School Ping Man Night School

Pee Jang School

Proletarian Writers' Association

Pui Man School

Pwi Jang School

Sen Khwan School

Singapore Chinese Middle School Teachers'

Federation Singapore Student

South Seas Provisional Committee

Students' Anti-Enemy Back-Up Society

Thion Tian Siat

Tin Kian School

Tong Boon School

Truth Society

Wah Khuan School

Yi Min School

Yok Cheng School

Yok Sin School

Yu Tsai School

In Author's / Editor's Translation

"Important Events of the Past Seven Years"

Overseas Chinese Education Association

Overseas Chinese Normal School

Pi (?) Zhi Xue Xiao

Union of Schools Branch
"Work on Overseas Chinese Affairs during the War"

Notes

- 1. The names of schools in traditional Chinese characters are seldom given in full by our Chinese-medium sources. Too often, the equivalent for the English word "school" is not mentioned. And when given, it could be "学堂 = xue tang" for the earlier years of our study, and "学校 = xue xiao" for the later years. Another variation is "小学 = xiao xue" for primary schools and "中学校 = zhong xue xiao "or "中学 = zhong xue" for middle schools. There are yet other variations especially in the case of girls' schools. To avoid confusion, the author has used "[Xue Xiao]" in all school names not completely cited in the sources. In instances where our sources are definite, the definitive names are cited, however.
- This traditional Chinese character name was derived by our Chinese newspaper source from an English transliteration of the name. The derivation may not be accurate.
- The last character of this Chinese name may not be accurate. Its print in our newspaper source is indistinct.
- 4 and 5. These names may not be accurate. Their prints in the microfilm copy of our Chinese newspaper source are exceptionally blurred.

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Index

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Administration of education 13 Ai Tong School - see Ai Tong [Xue Xiaol Ai Tong [Xue Xiao] 32, 43 Aid 6, 13, 16, 21, 25, 29, 33, 39, 47, 55, 60, 64, 86, 91, 93, 97, 99, 101, 104, 106, 116-117, 130-131, 139, 143, 147, 152, 158, 186, 192, 198, 204, 227, 229, 230–232, 236 Alliance Society – see Tong Meng Hui Allies 41, 45, 46, 148 All-Nation Congress of Representatives – see Quan Guo Dai Biao Da Hui All-Nation Education Conference see Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi All-Nation Federation of Educational Societies - see Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Lian He Hui All-Nation Association of the YMCA see Qing Nian Hui Quan Guo Xie Hui Amended Measures Pertaining to Overseas Chinese Students Returning to China for Studies see Xiu Zheng Hua Qiao Zi Di Hui Guo Jiu Xue Ban Fa Amendments (to school laws) 48, 51-53, 55-57, 72, 74-76, 130, 133-134, 210

American Board of Commissioners for

Foreign Missions 5

Americans 5, 65, 99-100, 117

American consul 42

American mission 21

Amoy – see Xiamen

Acting colonial secretary 50, 53

Attorney-General 46-47, 52, 56, 72, 74 - 77Aw Boon Haw – see Hu Wen Hu Back-Up Society - see Hou Yuan Hui Bai Hua 64, 132, 134, 236 Banishment 44, 49-50, 73 Banishment Ordinance 49, 50, 51 Bao Huang Dang 236 Batavia 10 Batu Gajah 27, 246 Beijing 10, 13, 18, 24-25, 30, 37, 41, 43, 57-58, 63, 66, 86, 93, 137, 236, 256 Bin Cheng Xin Bao 36, 236 Bin Hua Chou Zhen Hui 145, 236 Bin Lang Yu Di Yi Zi Zhi Xue Xiao 60 Blundell – see Governor Bolshevist New Society 43, 253 Book of Mencius 2, 243 Boycott of Japanese goods 43, 69, 83, 143, 145, 157 Britain 41, 54-55, 95, 116, 144, 148, 160 British government 3, 39-40, 45, 57-58, 78, 83, 105-107, 109, 112, 118, 120, 129, 136-137, 143-146, 148,

Anglo-Chinese College 5

Guo Lian Meng Hui

Asahan 104

Anti-Enemy Back-up Society

see Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui

Anti-Imperialist League – see Fan Di

Assistant Director of Education 61,

112, 123, 129, 137, 144, 146-148

Cadet 154

153-155, 157, 160

Bukit Mertajam 32

Cadres 98	Chinese kin
Cai Xing 113, 236	Chinese Kin
Cai Yuan Pei 36, 58, 236	Training I
Cambridge Local Examination 7	Guo You
Canton – see Guangzhou	Chinese Nat
Central Army Officer School	Society -
- see Zhong Yang Lu Jun Jun Guan	Xue She
Xue Xiao	Chinese pro
Central Training Department – see	Chinese Rer
Zhong Yang Xun Lian Bu	Chinese You
Chen Bao Han 119, 236	Associatio
Chen Feng Chu 67, 237	Chiu Eng Si
Chen Guo Chun 44, 237	Chongqing
Chen Hong Qi 25, 237	Chou An H
Chen Huan Zhang 66, 237	Chou Zhen
Chen Jia Geng 28–29, 63, 110–111,	Hua Qiao
113, 139, 142–143, 153, 155, 168, 174,	Min Zong
176, 180, 183–185, 237, 256	Christian m
Chen Jin Zhong 1, 237	Chu Jian Tu
Chen Shou Min 51, 56, 237	Chu Xu Gor
Chen Xin Zheng 60, 237	Chung Hua
Chiang Khai-shek – see Jiang Jie She	Hua Nu >
Chief inspector 61, 144, 146, 149	Clementi, C
Chief inspector of Chinese	122, 136, 1
schools 144, 146	Clementi Sn
Chief secretary 161, 255	Coaching cl
Children's Corps 108	Collection o
Chinese Advisory Board 45	Colonial sec
Chinese Athletic Association	146
- see Jing Wu Ti Yu Hui	Colonisation
Chinese Chamber of Commerce 42,	Communist
45, 52, 57, 67, 73, 80, 139	Communist
Chinese Communist Party 68, 82,	103-104, 1
85, 137	122-123, 1
Chinese Educational Reform Society	155, 159
- see Zhong Hua Jiao Yu Gai Jin	Concerts 3
She	Conference
Chinese Educational Research Society	128, 152, 1
- see Zhong Hua Jiao Yu Yan Jiu	Conference,
Hui	Confucian o
Chinese General Educational	Confucian F
Association - see Zhong Hua Xue	Confucianis
Wu Zong Hui	157
Chinese government 12, 22	Confucius
Chinese inspector 61-62	66, 86, 13
ñ.	

ndergarten 111, 251 ndergarten Teachers' Department - see Zhong Zhi Yuan Shi Fan Bu tional Pronunciation see Zhong Hua Guo Yin otectorate 107 naissance 64 ung Men's Christian on 19 i E – see Cui Ying Shu Yuan 237 ui 34, 237 Zong Hui - see Nan Yang o Chou Zhen Zu Guo Nan g Hui hissionaries 3 ian 150, 237 ng Hui 73, 237 a Girl's School – see Zhong Xue ecil 6, 103, 105-107, 118, 159 mith, Cecil 6 lasses 99 of funds 24, 33 cretary 50, 53, 120, 144, n 89, 98, 234 m 70, 110, 134 14, 69-70, 73, 80-82, 107-110, 114-115, 118-119, 131-132, 134-137, 141, 153, 33, 34, 104, 117, 140, 142 30, 42, 64, 65, 69, 93-101, 154, 158, 177 , Ji Nan 96 classics 12, 36, 135 Revival 9, 17 sm 9, 35-36, 38, 134-135, 2, 4, 11, 14, 17, 33, 35-36, 5, 242

Confucius Society - see Kong Jiao Hui Conservative reaction 23, 36 Conspiracy 59 Consul 25, 29, 42, 56-58, 73-74, 112, 114, 120, 126, 128-130, 134-145, 146-147, 165 Consul-general 25, 29, 42, 56-58, 73-74, 112, 114, 120, 126, 129, 134, 145, 147, 165 Conversational language – see Bai Hua Council 46-47, 59, 72, 75, 76, 106, 161, 186-188, 190, 192-193, 198, 200-204, 209-210, 212, 214-218, 223, 225, 227, 256 Cui Ying Shu Yuan 1, 237 Cultural associations and leagues 140 Curfew 42, 45 Curriculum 4, 11, 13, 15, 60, 62, 87-88, 126, 128, 131, 152, 154, 231, 234 Da Ren School - see Da Ren [Xue

Xiao] Da Ren [Xue Xiao] 237 Da Xue Yuan 87-88, 91-93, 95, 127, 177, 237, 256 Dai Yan Chuan 119, 237 Dao Nan School - see Dao Nan [Xue Xiao Dao Nan [Xue Xiao] 11, 32, 34, 237 Dare-to-Die Teams – see Gan Si Dui Demonstrations 71 Deng Ze Ru 69-70, 237 Deportation – see Banishment Diao Zuo Qian 129, 238 Director of education 49-51, 55, 61, 72, 81-82, 106, 112-114, 123, 129, 134, 137, 144, 146-148 Discipline 113, 126, 128, 147, 193, 204, 209, 218, 231 Dong Hong Yi 25, 164, 238 Dong Zheng Qiu 112, 238 Duan Meng School - see Duan Meng Xue Xiao Duan Meng Xue Xiao 164, 238, 256

Duan Qi Rui 66, 238

Duan Zheng School – see Duan
Zheng Xue Xiao

Duan Zheng Xue Xiao 111, 238

Dutch East Indies 110, 114

East India Company 6 East Indies - see Dutch East Indies Economic reconstruction 24 Education bill 46, 49 Education code 39 Education department 39, 149, 154 Education officer 36, 232 Education Promotion Committees see Quan Xue Wei Yuan Hui Elementary education 6 Eliminate-Traitors Team - see Chu Jian Tuan Emigration 1, 12, 90, 98, 234 Eu Tong Sen - see Yu Dong Xuan Europeans 9, 70, 88-89, 99-100 Exhibition 33-34

Fan Di Guo Lian Meng Hui 118

Fang Wei 131, 138, 238 Federal council 161, 256 Federal government - see Federated Malay States government Federated Malay States 1, 20-22, 24-25, 30, 39, 43, 48, 56, 58, 61-62, 70, 74-76, 78, 81-82, 107, 115, 121, 123, 129, 133, 136-137, 144, 146, 148-149, 157, 161, 255-256 Federated Malay States government 39 Federation 53, 62, 64, 108-109, 111, 115, 123, 125, 133, 135, 141, 245, 248, 253 Female education 10 Financial aid 16, 25, 93, 131 Fine arts 37, 135 First World War 36, 41, 67, 89, 144 Flowers, selling of 83, 142, 144, 149 Foreign invasions 2, 8, 15, 156

Foreign minister 58

INDEX 261

Foreign ministry – see Wai Jiao Bu Francis Light 1, 2 Free schools 2, 6 Friends of Wounded Soldiers - see Shang Bing Zhi You Fu Jian Nu Xiao Shi Fan Bu 119 Fu You Girls' School – see Fu You Nu Xue Fu You Nu Xue 119, 238 Fujian 13, 15, 24–26, 31, 34, 63, 95, 119, 229, 238 Fujian Girls' School, Teachers' Training Department - see Fu Jian Nu Xiao Shi Fan Bu Gan Eng Seng School - see Yan Yong Cheng [Xue Xiao] Gan Si Dui 33, 81 Gazette 53 General Chinese Educational Association – see Zhong Hua Xue Wu Zong Hui General education 97, 152, 228 General regulations 133, 209, 223 German 41, 79, 118 Germany 144, 148, 160 Girls' Physical Training Specialist School - see Nu Zi Ti Yu Zhuan Men Xue Xiao God of Letters – see Wen Chang Gong Li Nu Zi Xue Xiao 111, 117, 238 Gong Min School – see Gong Min Xue Gong Min Xue Xiao 170, 238 Governor 2, 6, 26, 47, 75–76, 103, 105, 125, 148, 159, 164, 186-188, 190-193, 198–204, 209–212, 214–218, 223, 225, 227 Governor-in-Council – see Governor Grant, Miss 5 Grants-in-aid 6, 39, 60, 106, 147, 186,

198, 204, 227

Gu Wei Jun 57, 238

Great Commonwealth 36, 91, 94, 100

Great Depression 103, 107

Guang Xu 8, 13-14, 238 Guang Ya School – see Guang Ya [Xue Xiao Guang Ya [Xue Xiao] 32, 238 Guangdong 9, 12-13, 15-16, 24-26, 31, 36, 63, 70, 95, 116, 131, 165, 229, 238 Guangzhou 3, 10, 26, 34, 68-71, 82, 85, 119, 124, 151, 231-232, 238 Guide - see Scout and guide movement Guo Fang Jiao Yu 138, 238 Guo Min Bao 43, 238 Guo Min Da Xue 238 Guo Min Juan 23, 238 Guo Min University - see Guo Min Da Xue Guo Yu 21-22, 30-31, 61, 64-66, 71, 84, 88, 134-135, 232, 239, 241, 251 Guo Yu Institute 31 Guomindang 14, 27-28, 30, 32, 34-37, 40, 68–73, 79–86, 91, 93, 95–96, 100-108, 111, 116, 118, 125-127, 131, 134-139, 153, 157-160, 166, 174, 239, 253 Hai Wai Bu 153, 239 Hainan 70, 239 Hainanese 30, 52, 67, 70, 73, 79, 81-82, 108-109, 118, 245 Hainanese Association – see Qiong Zhou Hui Guan Han Shao Hua 25, 239 Happy Park – see Huan Le Yuan Hartal 44, 147 He Chao Fan 44, 239 He Cheng Night School – see He Cheng Ye Xue Xiao He Cheng Ye Xue Xiao 82, 239 He Da Yu 25, 239 He Nan Night School – see He Nan Ye Xue He Nan Ye Xue 109, 239 He Wen Lan 44, 239 High commissioner 105, 125, 159 Hong Kong 20, 71, 105, 145, 163, 257

Hua Qiao [Xue Xiao] (Kuantan) 240 Hou Yuan Hui 80, 114, 145, 150, 155, 239, 242, 247, 248-249 Hua Oiao Xue Xiao Li An Gui Hu Guo Lian 13, 239 Cheng 95 Hu Han Min 18, 70, 81, 116, 239 Hua Qiao Xue Xiao Li An Tiao Li 87 Hu Wei Xian 25, 29-30, 239 Hua Oiao Yi Wu Xue Xiao 240 Hu Wen Hu 104, 239 Hua Qiao Zhong Xiao Xue Xiao Dong Hu Zi Chun 24, 239 Hui Zu Zhi Gui Cheng 127 Hua Oiao Zhu Yin Zi Mu Chuan Xi Hua Qiao Bu Xi Xue Xiao Zan Xing Tiao Li 88 Suo 65 Hua Qiao Girls' School - see Hua Hua Qiao Zi Di Hui Guo Jiu Xue Ban Qiao [Nu Xue] 127 Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi 19, 166, 168, Hua Zhong 109-110, 113-115, 177-178, 228, 256 119-120, 140, 150, 241 Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Zan Xing Gui Huan Le Yuan 241 Cheng 127 Huang Lin Shu 131, 241 Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Ji Jin Guan Li Wei Huang Pu Jun Guan Xue Xiao 70 Yuan Hui Zu Zhi Tiao Li 181 Huang Qing Zhen 112, 241 Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Ji Jin Juan Mu Jiang Huang Xing 241 Huang Yan Pei 15, 28, 37, 39, 65, 241 Li Ban Fa 181 Huang You Yuan 241 Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Mu Ji Ji Jin Ban Fa 181 Huang Zi Yan 241 Hui Guo Wei Lao Shi Cha Tuan 143 Hua Qiao Jiao Yu She Ji Wei Yuan Hwa Chong - see Hua Zhong Hui 100, 125 Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Tong Yi Wei Yuan Immigration Restriction Hui 126 Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Xie Jin Hui 64 Ordinance 119 Hua Qiao [Nu Xue] 66, 240 Imperialism 100 Hua Oiao Ouan Xue Wei Yuan Indians 145 Industrialisation 12-13, 15, 164 Hui 126, 181 Hua Qiao Quan Xue Yuan 87-88, 177 Inner Harmony Hall – see Zhong He Hua Qiao School (Kemaman) see Hua Qiao [Xue Xiao] Inspection missions 63 (Kemaman) Inspector Dill 79 Hua Qiao School (Kuantan) - see Hua Inspector of Chinese schools 144, Qiao [Xue Xiao] (Kuantan) 146-147 Hua Qiao School (Singapore) Inspector of schools 112, 147, 149 see Hua Qiao [Xue Xiao] Inspectors of education 25, 27 (Singapore) Inter-school examinations 129-130, Hua Qiao Shi Xue Yuan 87-88, 177 154 Hua Qiao Shi Xue Yuan Zhang Inter-school sports 129 Investigation 130, 152 Cheng 177 Hua Qiao Xiao Xue Zan Xing Tiao Ipoh 116-118, 123, 140, 143, 145-147, Li 87, 127 150, 250 Hua Qiao [Xue Xiao] Iron-Blood Team - see Tie Xue Tuan (Kemaman) 240

Japan 103, 117, 137-139, 144-145, 160 Japanese 89-90, 98, 100, 103-104, 113, 115-118, 122, 132, 136, 137-139, 141-149, 154-160, 253 Jasin 116 Java 88, 89, 119 Ji Nan Bureau – see Ji Nan Ju Ji Nan Da Xue 87-88, 90, 93, 95, 125, 131, 241 Ii Nan Ju 241 Ji Nan School – see Ji Nan Xue Tang Ji Nan University – see Ji Nan Da Xue Ji Nan Xue Tang 16, 28, 63, 89, 158, 241 Jiang Jie Shi 71, 82-83, 85-86, 104, 116, 122, 138, 142–143, 241 Jiao Yu Bu 25, 29-32, 36, 38, 63-64, 87, 91, 93, 95, 100-101, 125-126, 128, 134, 138, 163–164, 168–169, 174, 177-183, 185, 228-234, 241, 256 Jiao Yu Bu Hua Qiao Jiao Yu She Ji Wei Yuan Hui Zu Zhi Tiao Li 100 Jie Mao 145, 241 Jing Fang Girls' School - see Jing Fang Nu Xiao Jing Fang Nu Xiao 81, 241 Jing Shen Zong Dong Yuan 148 Jing Wu Ti Yu Hui 65, 241 Jiu Guo Tuan 44, 241, 246 Joff 68 Johor 93, 138, 147, 238 Johore - see Johor Juan Zi Xing Xue Bao Jiang Tiao Li 177 Jue Jue Xue Xiao 82, 242 Jue Jue Ye Xue 82, 242 Jue Xin School – see Jue Xin [Xue Jue Xin [Xue Xiao] 242

Kajang 43, 117 Kampar 44 Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui 145, 150, 155, 242, 247 Kang You Wei 8–9, 12, 17–18, 20, 156–157, 166, 242 Kang Yu Wei – see Kang You Wei Ke Wei Zhi 114, 242 Ke Wen Da 134–135, 242 Kedah 27, 123, 128–130, 236 Kelang 27, 44, 82 Kelian Intan 27 Kemaman 117, 240 Khoo Seok Wan - see Qiu Shu Yuan Kindergartens 87 Kok Kok Night School – see Jue Jue Ye Xue Kok Kok School – see Jue Jue Xue Kong Jiao Hui 17, 35, 135, 242 Koo, Wellington – see Gu Wei Jun Kreta Ayer incident 158 Kuala Kangsar 11 Kuala Lumpur 3, 5, 9-10, 17, 19-20, 24, 27, 30, 34-35, 37, 39, 42-45, 52, 59, 62, 65-66, 69-72, 81-83, 86, 109, 117, 123, 129, 136, 143, 147, 150, 154, 162, 257 Kuang Hsu – see Guang Xu Kuantan 119, 121, 240 Kuomintang – see Guomindang Kwangtung – see Guangdong Labour unions 30, 69, 80

Lady Thomas 148 Lahat 11, 43 113, 242 Lai Nan Qiu Laissez faire policy Lak Iu Thung Siok Night School see Li Yu Tong Su Ye Xue Lan Guan Qun 67, 242 Lat Pau – see Le Bao Le Bao 10-11, 14, 16, 18, 19, 24-25, 27, 29–30, 34, 38, 53, 56, 60, 65, 82, 134, 161, 242, 256 League of Nations 116 Lefranc 122 Leftist 43, 64, 70-71, 83, 103-105, 107-108, 110, 119, 132, 137, 138 Legal adviser 56,78 Leong Sin Nam – see Liang Shen Nan

Li Ke Da 45, 242 Li Po Sheng 131, 138, 242 Li Wen 119, 242 Li Yi Su 146, 242 Li Yuan Hong 28, 39, 242 Li Yu Tong Su Ye Xue 82, 242 Liang Shen Nan 147, 242 Liang Tian Wo 113, 242 Liao Heng Zhuo 58, 242 Liao Qing Hong 113, 242 Lim Boon Keng - see Lin Wen Qing Lim Nee Soon - see Lin Yi Shun Lin Ding Hua 28, 242 Lin Sen 143, 242 Lin Wen Qing 9, 10, 17, 48, 50-51, 53-54, 56-57, 121, 242 Lin Yao Xiang 121, 242 Lin Yi Shun 45, 57, 242 Lin Yuan Guang 119, 242 Ling Nan Long 114, 242 Ling Nan Xing 114, 242 Ling Shi Jing Li Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Xing Zheng Gui Cheng 178 Liu Jun Zi 44, 45 Liu Liu She 141 Liu Shan Shou 67, 243 Liu Shi Mu 89-90, 243 Local governments 89, 92, 95, 231 Locha Arrow Incident 9 London 3, 5, 57-59, 70, 106, 142, 162–163, 178, 257 London Missionary Society 3, 5, 162, 257 Lu Wen Zhou 119, 243 Lu Xun 138, 243 Lu Zai Shan 44, 243 Lu Zi Qin 129, 243 Luo Jiong Xiong 243 Luo Yun Hua 113, 243

Ma Lai Ya Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui 243 Main School 71, 80–81, 253 Malacca – see Melaka Malay education 106

Malay states 1, 20-22, 24-25, 30, 39, 43, 48, 56, 58, 61-62, 70, 74-76, 78, 81-82, 107, 115, 121, 123, 129, 133, 136-137, 144, 146, 148-149, 157, 161, 165, 255-256 Malayan Communist Party 103, 107, 141, 159 Malayan Overseas Chinese Educational Association 243 Management committee 12–13, 23-24, 34, 54, 59-60, 74, 77, 110-114, 119-121, 128, 132, 134, 146, 230 Managers 47, 49, 51, 52, 77, 186, 189, 198 Manchu dynasty 20 Manchu government 1, 3, 10, 12-13, 15-16, 18, 25, 156, 157 Manchukuo - see Manchuria Manchuria 18, 41, 103-104, 116-118, 137, 145, 159 Mandarin – see Guo Yu Mao Zedong 153, 243 Marcassar 10 Marines 42 Martial law 42 Martial spirit 31, 33 May Day . 43, 113 May 4th Movement 64, 105 Measures Catering to Overseas Chinese Students Returning Home To Study - see Hua Qiao Zi Di Hui Guo Jiu Xue Ban Fa Measures to Encourage Donations to Overseas Chinese Education Funds - see Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Ji Jin Juan Mu Jiang Li Ban Fa Meiji Restoration 156 Melaka 1, 4-5, 27, 30, 39, 48, 61-62, 67, 69, 82, 93, 104, 116-118, 140 Mencius 2, 35–36, 243 Meng Xue 11, 164, 238, 243, 256 Methodists 21 Methods to Raise Funds for Overseas Chinese Education - see Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Mu Ji Ji Jin Ban Fa

INDEX

Middle school 108, 111, 115, 124, 243, 248, 252-253 Migration 1,54 Militarists - see Warlords Military aid 33, 143 Military character - see Military spirit Military education 31 Military spirit 14, 65 Milne, Dr. W. Min Quan Zhu Yi 85, 234, 243 Min Sheng Zhu Yi 85, 234, 243 Min Zhong Wu Zhuang 155, 243 Min Zu Zhu Yi 85, 234, 243 Ming Xin She 135, 243 Minister of education 13 Ministry of Education – see Da Xue Yuan or Jiao Yu Bu Ministry of Education Overseas Chinese Education Planning Committee: Rules of Organisation see Jiao Yu Bu Hua Qiao Jiao Yu She Ji Wei Yuan Hui Zu Zhi Tiao Li Missionaries - see Christian missionaries Mo De Ru 43, 243 Mongolia 26, 33, 41, 137 Moral education 35, 66 Moral support – see political support Morrison, Dr. R., Municipal and Police Acts 9

Nan Hua Girls' School – see Nan Hua [Nu Xue] Nan Hua [Nu Xue] 30, 150, 243 Nan Qiang Middle School – see Nan Qiang Zhong Xue Nan Qiang Zhong Xue 111, 243 Nan Yang Gong Shang Bu Xi Xue Xiao 117 Nan Yang Hua Qiao Chou Zhen Zu Guo Nan Min Zong Hui 139 Nan Yang Ji Mei Zhou Wen Hua Shi Ye Bu 89, 93 Nan Yang Nu Zhong 29, 32, 37, 48, 86, 117, 155, 244 Nan Yang Qing Bao 112, 117, 161, 244, 257 Nan Yang Wen Hua Shi Ye Bu 89 Nan Yang Xin Jia Po Hua Oiao Ge Jie Lian He Hui 73 Nanjing 16, 28, 33, 85–86, 103, 116, 127, 151, 229, 231, 244 Nanking – see Nanjing Nanyang 11-15, 17-18, 24-25, 28-30, 32, 34, 39, 45, 48, 63-64, 68-70, 73, 83, 89, 90, 92-93, 99, 111-112, 117-118, 131, 138-139, 143-144, 153, 159-161, 165, 243-244, 247, 256-257 Nanyang and American Cultural Affairs Department - see Nan Yang Ji Mei Zhou Wen Hua Shi Ye Bu Nanyang Cultural Affairs Department see Nan Yang Wen Hua Shi Ye Bu Nanyang Girls' High School - see Nan Yang Nu Zhong Nanyang Industrial and Commercial Tuition School - see Nan Yang Gong Shang Bu Xi Xue Xiao Nanyang Information – see Nan Yang Qing Bao Nanyang Overseas Chinese General Association for the Relief of Refugees in the Fatherland see Nan Yang Hua Qiao Chou Zhen Zu Guo Nan Min Zong Hui National Assembly 24 National Day 33, 37, 86, 111 National defence 138, 140, 238 National Defence Education see Guo Fang Jiao Yu National holidays 33 National humiliation 122 National language - see Guo Yu National Salvation Association 141, Nationalism 2, 85, 234, 243 Nationalistic 8, 83, 104 Nationalists 104, 119 Nationals' Contribution - see Guo

Min Juan

Natives 4, 89, 95, 98 Naval base 144 Negeri Sembilan 1, 11, 19, 123, 140, 154 New Life Movement – see Xin Sheng Huo Yun Dong Newspaper 9, 11, 118, 147, 148, 254 Night schools 11, 19, 22, 29-30, 70-71, 75, 79-82, 104, 108, 133, 135, 158, 233 Normal school 153, 254 Northern Expedition 13, 64, 68, 70-72, 74, 76, 81-86, 102, 107, 133, 136, 158-159 Nu Zi Ti Yu Zhuan Men Xue Xiao 117

Office for Upholding Educational Matters of the Overseas Chinese in British Possessions - see Ying Shu Hua Qiao Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu Old-style schools 21, 30-31, 83, 136, 156 Opium War 5, 8 Ordinance - see School Registration Ordinance Ou Tian Xiang 13, 244 Overseas Chinese Affairs Bureau see Qiao Wu Iu Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission see Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui Overseas Chinese Anti-Japanese Mobilisation Federation 141 Overseas Chinese Education Conference - see Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Yi Overseas Chinese Education Inspection Officers - see Hua Qiao Shi Xue Yuan Overseas Chinese Education Planning

Overseas Chinese Education Planning Committee — see Hua Qiao Jiao Yu She Ji Wei Yuan Hui Overseas Chinese Education Promotion Association — see Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Xie Jin Hui

Promotion Committees - see Hua Oiao Ouan Xue Wei Yuan Hui Overseas Chinese Education Promotion Officers - see Hua Qiao Ouan Xue Yuan Overseas Chinese Education Unification Committee - see Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Tong Yi Wei Yuan Hui Overseas Chinese Free School - see Hua Qiao Yi Wu Xue Xiao Overseas Chinese Guo Yu Symbols Training Institute - see Hua Qiao Zhu Yin Zi Mu Chuan Zi Suo Overseas Chinese Normal School 153, 254 Overseas Department - see Hai Wai Bu

Overseas Chinese Education

Pacific War 152, 155 Pahang 1, 23, 39, 116, 119, 121, 161, 170, 255 Pan Yu Xing 10, 244 Papan 32, 116 Paris Peace Conference 41, 157 Party - see Guomindang 'Party-ising' education 86 Patriotic Fund 148 Patriotic League 43, 253 Patriotism 2, 12, 17, 29, 32, 35, 43, 69, 83, 105, 118, 156, 159 Pei De Girls' School - see Pei De [Nu Xue] Pei De [Nu Xue] 244 Pei Feng School - see Pei Feng [Xue Xiaol Pei Feng [Xue Xiao] 27, 244 Pei Zhi Girls' School - see Pei Zhi [Nu Xue] Pei Zhi [Nu Xue] 244 Penang 1, 4-6, 11, 13, 16-17, 21, 24, 28-31, 36-37, 39, 41-43, 45, 48-49, 52-53, 57-60, 63, 69, 72, 82, 84, 86, 93, 104-105, 109-111, 117, 119, 121,

123, 128-130, 132, 135, 138-140, 143,

145-148, 152, 162-163, 165, 236, 251,

256-257

INDEX 267

Penang Chinese Relief Fund Committee - see Bin Hua Chou Zhen Hui Penang Island First Self-Governing School - see Bin Lang Yu Di Yi Zi Zhi Xue Xiao People's Armed Forces - see Min Zhong Wu Zhuang Perai 86, 117, 148 Perak 1, 3, 9, 11, 18-19, 21, 27, 30-32, 39, 43-45, 52-53, 59, 63, 71-72, 25386, 93, 114, 116, 121, 128, 139-140, 146-147, 154, 161, 168, 170, 244, 255 Perak Overseas Chinese Educational Association – see Pi Li Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Petition 48-49, 51-58, 120 Phua Choo Hing – see Pan Yu Xing Pi Li Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui 71 Ping Chang Association - see Ping Zhang Hui Guan Ping Min School - see Ping Min [Xue Xiao Ping Min [Xue Xiao] 244 Ping Zhang Hui Guan 42, 45, 244 Plays 33-34, 149 Police 42-44, 69, 71, 73-74, 79-82, 103, 108-110, 114, 118-119, 122-123, 133, 136, 141, 146-148, 150, 155, 158-159, 166 Political indoctrination 15, 131, 153, 160 Political support 141 Political tutelage 85, 94 Poo Eye Public School – see Pu Yi Xue Xiao Port Dickson 37 Port Swettenham 27 Post Office Riots 9 Practical education 31 Practical spirit 14–15 Price speculation 154 Primary education 29, 98 Prime Minister of Britain 95 Principle of Nationalism – see Min Zu Zhu Yi

Principle of the People's Livelihood - see Min Sheng Zhu Yi Principle of the People's Sovereignty see Min Quan Zhu Yi Printing Press Ordinance 72 Private enterprises 1 Profession 21, 54, 143 Professional education 15, 28, 97, 228, 233 Proletarian Writers' Association 141, Protector of Chinese 42-44, 51, 59, 68-69, 73-74, 79, 81-82, 110-114, 120, 123, 147 Protectorate 107 Province Wellesley 86, 147 Provincial governments – see Fujian and Guangdong Pu Yi 82, 116, 244 Pu Yi Xue Xiao 82, 244 Public Girls' School – see Gong Li Nu Zi Xue Xiao Public spirit 14 Pusing 32, 140 Qi Fa School - see Qi Fa Xue Xiao Qi Fa [Xue Xiao] 67 Qian Zi Yu 43, 244 Qiang Ya School – see Qiang Ya [Xue Qiang Ya [Xue Xiao] 44, 245 Qiao Min Jiao Yu Shi Shi Gang Yao 129 Qiao Min Zhong Xiao Xue Gui Cheng 126, 128-130 Qiao Wei Hui Bao Song Ji Jie Shao Qiao Sheng Sheng Xue Gui Cheng 128 Qiao Wu Ju 63-64, 67, 87, 127, 245 Qiao Wu Wei Yuan Hui 93, 95, 125, 127-131, 138, 153, 245 Qing Hua School – see Qing Hua [Xue Xiao] Qing Hua [Xue Xiao] 25, 245 Qing Nian Hui Quan Guo Xie Hui 124 Qiong Zhou Hui Guan 67, 74, 245 Qiu Feng Jia 9, 245 Qiu Shu Yuan 9, 17, 245 Quan Guo Dai Biao Da Hui 91, 96 Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Lian He Hui 64 Quan Guo Jiao Yu Hui Yi 91–94, 96, 100, 152, 159, 177–178, 228, 256 Quan Xue Wei Yuan Hui 126, 181, 229, 245

Raffles Institution 7
Raffles, Stamford 50
Rangoon 17
Raub 23, 251
Reading Room 10, 248
Reconstruction 24, 85, 104, 158
Reform movement 17
Reform Party – see Bao Huang Dang
Reforms 8
Registration 29, 40, 50–51, 54, 56, 72, 74–75, 81, 87, 95, 114, 121, 130, 133, 157, 178, 188–189, 198, 200–201, 205–206, 208–213, 216, 218–223, 225–226, 240, 249
Regulations for Overseas Nationals'

Regulations for Overseas Nationals' Middle and Primary Schools – see Qiao Min Zhong Xiao Xue Gui Cheng

Regulations for the Organisation of Management Committees of Overseas Chinese Middle and Primary Schools – see Hua Qiao Zhong Xiao Xue Xiao Dong Hui Zi Zhi Gui Cheng

Regulations for the Registration of Overseas Chinese Schools — see Hua Qiao Xue Xiao Li An Gui Cheng

Regulations for Overseas National Middle and Primary Schools – see Qiao Min Zhong Xiao Xue Gui Cheng

Regulations for Governing Awards for Contributions to Promote Education – see Juan Zi Xing Xue Bao Jiang Tiao Li Regulations Governing the Administration of Overseas Chinese Education by Consuls – see Ling Shi Jing Li Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Xing Zheng Gui Cheng

Regulations Governing the Sending and the Placement for Higher Studies of Overseas Students by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission – see Qiao Wei Hui Bao Song Ji Jie Shao Qiao Sheng Sheng Xue Gui Cheng

Relief fund movement – see Relief movement

Relief movement 142, 144, 148 Republic 23, 27, 34, 97, 124, 143, 238, 244, 256

Restrictions 45, 64, 95, 145
Returning-Home Consolation and
Inspection Team – see Hui Guo Wei
Dao Shi Cha Tuan

Reuters 59 Revolution 16, 19, 20, 23–24, 28, 30, 32–33, 38, 69, 82, 85–86, 97, 107, 134, 157, 234

Revolutionaries 8, 12, 14, 18–20, 27–28, 32, 68, 86, 156

Revolutionary party 24, 26–27 Roman Catholic 5, 84 Romanisation movements 132 Rong Qing 13, 245 Rulers 52

Rules for the Registration of Overseas Chinese Schools – see Hua Qiao Xue Xiao Li An Tiao Li

Rules Governing Overseas Chinese Education Inspection Officers – see Hua Qiao Shi Xue Yuan Zhang Cheng

Rules Governing Overseas Chinese Education Promotion Officers Stationed Abroad – see Zhu Wai Hua Qiao Quan Xue Yuan Zhang Cheng

269

INDEX

Rules Governing the Organisation of Management Committees of Overseas Chinese Education Funds — see Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Ji Jin Guan Li Wei Yuan Hui Zu Zhi Tiao Li Russians 33, 104

San Min Chu I - see San Min Zhu Yi San Min Zhu Yi 28, 36, 85, 87-88, 91-94, 96, 100-102, 107, 131, 153, 159, 234-235, 246 Save-the-Nation Team - see Jiu Guo Tuan Savings 73, 237 Savings Society - see Chu Xu Gong Hui School Committee - see Management Committee School laws 63, 68, 71, 74, 76, 80, 8% 95, 105, 123, 152, 157-159 Schools Registration Enactment 56, 157 Schools Registration Ordinance 40, 50-51, 54, 72, 74, 114, 121, 133, 157 Scout and guide movement 65 Scramble for concessions Second Revolution Second World War 112

Secondary education 6, 28–29, 108, 157 Secret society 19, 69 Sekudai 27, 238 Selangor 1, 3, 19–21, 32, 42–45,

52–53, 56, 80, 93, 116, 121, 128, 136, 140, 161, 166, 171, 255 Selangor government 3, 21, 136

Self-reliance 33, 37, 97, 228

Seremban 19, 28 Shaji 70–72, 246 Shakee – see Shaji

Shamian 71, 246 Shandong 33, 41, 45, 65, 67, 83,

116–117, 158, 246 Shang Bing Zhi You 143, 246

Shanghai 42, 57, 63–64, 68, 70–72, 92, 113, 115, 117, 121–122, 124, 150–151, 161–164, 166, 168–170, 174, 177–183, 185, 228, 231–232, 234, 256–257 Shantou 231–232, 246
Shen Man Yun 24, 246
Shi Ren Jiu Guo Tuan 44, 246
Short-term bond 104
Simpang Empat 116
Sin Chew Jit Poh – see Xing Zhou Ri Bao
Sing Chew Reading Room – see Xing

Sing Chew Reading Room – see Xing
Zhou Shu Bao She
Singapore 1, 4, 7, 9, 12, 14, 19, 21, 22,

Singapore 1, 4–7, 9–12, 14–19, 21, 23, 25, 28–34, 37–39, 41–45, 48, 50–53, 55–62, 65–67, 69–70, 73, 78–84, 86, 93, 104–105, 107–114, 116–117, 119, 121–123, 126, 129, 134–135, 138–150, 152–155, 158, 162–166, 168, 170, 182, 240, 244, 247–248, 250, 253, 256–257 Singapore Chinese All-Groups Anti-

Enemy Back-up Society – see Xing
Hua Ge Jie Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui
Singapore Free Press 4

Singapore Nanyang Overseas Chinese High School – see Xin Jia Po Nan Yang Hua Qiao Zhong Xue Xiao

Singapore Overseas Chinese Anti-Enemy Back-up Society – see Xin Jia Po Hua Qiao Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui Singapore Students' Federation

- see Xing Zhou Xue Sheng Lian He Hui

Sino-Japanese War 8, 132, 144 Sitiawan 21

Six Gentlemen – see Liu Jun Zi Six-Six Society – see Liu Liu She Social education 31, 152

Socialist 30, 43

Society to Promote the Unification of the Chinese National Language – see Zhong Hua Guo Yu Tong Yi Cu Jin Hui

Song Jiao Ren 34, 246 Song Mu Lin 44–45, 246

Song Ong Siang – see Song Wang Xiang

Song Sen 25, 246

Song Wang Xiang 9, 75, 162–163, 165, 246, 257

Sourabaya 17 Soviet Union 108 St. John's Ambulance Brigade 154-Standard Curricula for Middle and Primary Schools – see Zheng Shi Zhong Xiao Xue Ke Cheng Biao Zhun Standard Curriculum for Primary Schools – see Zheng Shi Xiao Xue Ke Cheng Biao Zhun State councils 78, 133 Straits Chinese Magazine 9 Straits Settlements government 2-3. 52, 57 Straits Settlements Government Gazette 112, 162, 255 Straits Settlements Legislative Council 46, 59, 72, 106, 210 Strike 44, 87, 109, 113-114, 190, 202, 214-216 Student unions 230 Students 2, 4-5, 8, 10-16, 18, 22, 25-26, 28-32, 34, 37, 39-46, 51, 53, 57, 60-64, 66-67, 71, 73-74, 79-80, 82-83, 88, 94, 98-99, 104-106, 108-114, 116-121, 123, 125-126, 128, 130-150, 152-160, 165, 193, 230, 232, 234-235 Students' Anti-Enemy Back-Up Society - see Xue Sheng Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui Students' Federation 108, 111 Students' Strike Back-up Society - see Xue Sheng Ba Ke Hou Yuan Hui Suan Tung - see Xuan Tong Sub-inspectors 62 Summary Principles Governing the Implementation of Education for Overseas Nationals – see Qiao Min Jiao Yu Shi Shi Gang Yao Sun Yat Sen - see Sun Yi Xian Sun Yi Xian 8, 12, 18-20, 23-24, 26, 28, 34–36, 39, 63, 68, 70–71, 73, 79, 85–86, 89, 92, 94, 97, 100, 142, 156, 158, 246

Sungai Ujung 1 Sungei Petani 27 Sungei Siput 27, 86, 140, 145–146 Supervisor 18, 77–78, 134, 211–218, 220, 224, 226, 227 Supplementary education 97, 228–229, 233 Sydney 10, 42

Tailors' Guild – see Yang Yi Hang

Taiping 114, 139, 143, 145-146 Tan Kah Kee – see Chen Jia Geng Tan Kim Ching – see Chen Jin Zhong Tang Shou Qian 24, 27, 37, 246 Tanjong Rambutan 27, 116 Tao Nan School - see Dao Nan [Xue Xiao] Teachers 1, 2, 4, 10-13, 15, 17-18, 21, 28-29, 32, 34, 41, 43-44, 46-47, 49-52, 54, 56, 59, 62, 73, 75, 76-77, 80, 82-83, 88, 93-95, 97-98, 105-106, 108-114, 116-118, 120-121, 123, 128, 130-132, 136-141, 143-147, 149-150, 153-155, 159, 186, 189, 191, 198, 203, 209, 213, 230-232 Teachers' associations 128 Teachers' training class 136, 153 Teachers' training college 62 Telok Anson – see Teluk Intan Teluk Intan 39 Temporary Regulations for Overseas Chinese Educational Associations see Hua Qiao Jiao Yu Hui Zan Xing Gui Cheng

Li
Temporary Standard Curricula for
Kindergarten and Primary Schools
– see You Zhi Yuan Xiao Xue Ke
Cheng Zan Xing Biao Zhun

Temporary Regulations for Overseas

Qiao Xiao Xue Zan Xing Tiao Li

Temporary Regulations for Overseas

Chinese Tuition Schools – see Hua

Qiao Bu Xi Xue Xiao Zan Xing Tiao

Chinese Primary Schools – see Hua

INDEX 271

Ten-Men-Save-the-Nation Team - see Shi Ren Jiu Guo Tuan Teo Eng Hock - see Zhang Yong Fu Textbooks 38, 59, 115, 122, 125, 138, 150, 238, 241, 243, 247-249 Thion Tian Siat 10, 253 Thomas, Shenton 125, 148 Three People's Principles - see San Min Zhu Yi Tian Nan Xin Bao 17, 246 Tianjin 145, 232, 246 Tie Xie Tuan 246 Tien Nan Shin Pao - see Tian Nan Xin Bao Tong Han School - see Tong Han [Xue Xiaol Tong Han [Xue Xiao] 116, 246 Tong Meng Hui 18, 27, 246 Total Spiritual Mobilisation - see Jing Shen Zong Dong Yuan Trade schools 26, 31 Training class 130, 136, 153 Tronoh 30 Troops 24, 33, 42, 80, 83, 104, 143, 154, 158 Truth Society 43, 253 Tualang 116 Twenty-one demands 33, 41, 113

Ultra-Ganges Mission 3
Union of Schools Branch 140, 254
Union of Various Overseas Chinese
Professions, Singapore, Nanyang
— see Nan Yang Xin Jia Po Hua Qiao
Ge Jie Lian He Hui
United Front 141
United States 116
University education 99

Verandah Riots 9
Vernacular education 6, 10, 70, 106
Vice-Protector of Chinese –
see Protector of Chinese
Volunteers 42, 146

Wang Jing Cheng 145, 246 Wang Jing Wei 18, 116, 246 Wang Shao Wen 24, 25, 247 Wang Yan Zhi 147, 247 Warlords 23, 34, 39, 62, 67, 93 Washington 65 Wellington Koo – see Gu Wei Jun Wen Chang 4, 247 Wen Li 43, 247 Wen Zhi Da Xue 247 Wen Zhi University – see Wen Zhi Da Xue Whampo Military Academy – see Huang Pu Jun Guan Xue Xiao White peas 145, 146 Women's rights 38 Women's Section 108 Workers 108, 157 Work-for-Peace Society - see Chou An Hui Wu Ding Xin 131, 247 Wu Feng Chao 32, 247 Wu Gong Ji 247 Wu Hai Tu 32, 247 Wu Han He Chang Tuan 140, 247 Wu Shi Rong 24, 247 Wu Tie Cheng 153, 247 Wu Xian Zi 17, 247 Wu Yu Zu 114, 247 Wu Yuan He 58, 247 Wuhan 33, 85, 107, 140, 247 Wuhan Choir – see Wu Han He Chang Tuan

Xiamen 11, 57, 63, 231–232, 247
Xiamen Da Xue 247
Xiamen University – see Xiamen Da Xue
Xie Xiang 128, 247
Xin Guo Min Ri Bao 247
Xin Jia Po Hua Qiao Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui 155
Xin Jia Po Nan Yang Hua Qiao Zhong Xue Xiao 29

Xin Qiao School – see Xin Qiao [Xue Xiao Xin Qiao [Xue Xiao] 108, 109, 248 Xin Sheng Huo Yun Dong 138-139, 248 Xing Hua Ge Jie Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui 145 Xing Zhong School - see Xing Zhong [Xue Xiao] Xing Zhong [Xue Xiao] 248 Xing Zhou Ri Bao 105, 107, 118, 120, 122-123, 143, 162, 248, 256 Xing Zhou Shu Bao She 10, 32, 248 Xing Zhou Xue Sheng Lian He Hui 111-112, 114 Xiong Xi Ling 26, 248 Xiong Zhang Qing 25, 248 Xiu Zheng Hua Qiao Zi Di Hui Guo Jiu Xue Ban Fa 127 Xu Chong Zhi 81, 249 Xuan Tong 14, 249 Xue Sheng Ba Ke Hou Yuan Hui Xue Sheng Kang Di Hou Yuan Hui 150 Xue Zong 31, 34, 41, 45, 48, 51-52, 59-60, 249

Yan Yong Cheng [Xue Xiao] 6, 249 Yang Du 34, 249 Yang Guang Yao 44, 249 Yang Shi Qi 16, 164, 249 Yang Yi Hang 71, 249 Yang Zheng School - see Yang Zheng [Xue Xiao] Yang Zheng [Xue Xiao] 18, 33, 43, 45, 66, 250 Yang Zi Xiu 67, 250 Yao Zong Shun 13, 250 Ye Ji Yun 18, 250 Ye Qin Girls' School – see Ye Qin Nu Xue Tang Ye Qin Nu Xue Tang 30, 250 Ying Shu Hua Qiao Xue Wu Wei Chi Chu 48 Ying Xin School - see Ying Xin [Xue Xiao]

Ying Xin [Xue Xiao] 10, 66, 250 Yok Choy School - see Yu Cai [Xue Xiao] (Ipoh) You Lie 19-20, 43, 156, 250 You Zhi Yuan Xiao Xue Ke Cheng Zan Xing Biao Zhun 107, 256 Young Workers' Department 108 Yu Cai School (Singapore) - see Yu Cai [Xue Xiao] (Singapore) Yu Cai [Xue Xiao] (Ipoh) 11, 116, 250 Yu Cai [Xue Xiao] (Singapore) 80, 250 Yu Dong Xuan 52-53, 56, 250 Yu Hua School - see Yu Hua Xue Xiao Yu Hua Xue Xiao 43, 250 Yu Jun Xian 153, 250 Yu Pei Gao 29, 32, 48, 57, 170-173, 250, 256 Yu Qiao School – see Yu Qiao [Xue Xiao] Yu Qiao [Xue Xiao] 109, 250 Yu Ying School - see Yu Ying [Xue Xiao] Yu Ying [Xue Xiao] 67, 143, 250 Yuan Shi Kai 19, 24, 26-28, 30, 32, 34-35, 38, 40-41, 63, 157, 250 Yun Mao Bo 67, 250 Zeng Ji Xing 25, 250

Zeng Ji Xing 25, 250
Zhang Bi Shi 13, 250
Zhang Jia Hua 113, 250
Zhang Min Quan 43, 250
Zhang Min Quan 43, 250
Zhang Yong Fu 67, 166, 175, 250, 256
Zhang Zhi Dong 9, 250, 256
Zhao Lian Wu 44, 250
Zhao Shi Chi 44, 250
Zhen Dan Gong Xue 150, 250
Zhen Dan Public School – see Zhen Dan Gong Xue
Zheng Hong Nian 88, 90, 92, 95, 168, 177, 251
Zheng Shi Xiao Xue Ke Cheng Biao Zhun 122
Zheng Shi Zhong Xiao Xue Ke Cheng

Biao Zhun 138

Zheng Yu School – see Zheng Yu Xue Xiao Zheng Yu Xue Xiao 114, 251 Zheng Zhen Wen 25, 251 Zhi Xing Free School - see Zhi Xing Yi Xue Zhi Xing Yi Xue 112, 251 Zhi Yang School – see Zhi Yang [Xue Xiaol Zhi Yang [Xue Xiao] 251 Zhong Guo You Zhi Yuan Shi Fan Bu 111 Zhong He Tang 19, 43, 251 Zhong Hua Guo Yin Xue She 65 Zhong Hua Guo Yu Tong Yi Cu Jin Hui 134 Zhong Hua Guo Yu Xue Xiao 134 Zhong Hua Jiao Yu Gai Jin She 64 Zhong Hua Jiao Yu Yan Jiu Hui 129 Zhong Hua Nu Xue 10, 111, 165, 251 Zhong Hua School (Mentakab) – see Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] (Mentakab) Zhong Hua School (Penang) - see Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] (Penang) Zhong Hua School (Raub) – see Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] (Raub)

Zhong Hua Xue Wu Zong Hui 31

Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] (Mentakab) 251 Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] (Penang) 251 Zhong Hua [Xue Xiao] (Raub) 251 Zhong Le Chen 48, 58, 251 Zhong Ling School - see Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao] Zhong Ling [Xue Xiao] 28, 59, 132, 146, 163, 165, 168, 173, 180, 183-184, 251, 256 Zhong Rong Guang 32, 36, 252 Zhong Yang Lu Jun Jun Guan Xue Xiao 143 Zhong Yang Xun Lian Bu 95-96, 252 Zhou Han Guang 67, 252 Zhou Lu 81, 252 Zhou Qi Gang 92, 252 Zhu Wai Hua Qiao Quan Xue Yuan Zhang Cheng 177 Zhu Zhi Xin 69, 252 Zhuang Xi Quan 48, 51, 53, 56-57, 170-173, 252, 256 Zhuang Xue Xuan 43, 252 Zong Li – see Yi Xian Zun Kong School - see Zun Kong [Xue Xiao] Zun Kong [Kue Xiao] 34, 44, 59, 61, 65-66, 150, 252

