Sun Yat-sen and The University

In front of the second-floor ward at the Alice Memorial Hospital in 1888, young Sun Yat-sen (second left) with classmates and revolutionary friends.

Sun Yat-sen (second right, front row) with his fellow students, Hong Kong College of Medicine, 1891.

Sun Yat-sen (right, front row) and Ho Kai (left) with Henry May (second right, back) and Cecil Clementi (right, back), both became governors of Hong Kong later.

Sun Yat-sen Place, the HKU campus today.

Sun's examination results.
The very nature of the University as a training ground for the elite placed upon these few graduates a very special responsibility — they knew a great deal rested on their shoulders.
The Pre-War Pioneers
In the years before the Second World War, the University of Hong Kong was the only institution of higher learning in the territory and was easily the only international university in this part of the world. This rather unique status of the University made it particularly attractive to the young elites in Hong Kong, China and Southeast Asia. In the 30 years before the War, the University only had a small number of graduates, but the very nature of the University, as a training ground for the elite, also placed upon these few graduates a very special responsibility – they knew a great deal rested on their shoulders.

Such a sense of responsibility was fully demonstrated during the Pacific War. Amidst extreme difficulties, even under the harshest of conditions during the Japanese Occupation, whether in concentration camps in Hong Kong or afar in unoccupied China, the University’s graduates did their best to carry the banner of Hong Kong and the banner of the University.

Many of them, despite being deprived of a proper graduation, developed into leaders in their own fields and in their respective communities after the war. With their leadership qualities having been nurtured and brought to the fore in adversity, those who remained in Hong Kong after the war made essential contributions to the territory’s subsequent development from a trading port into a metropolitan city.

The early graduates were medical doctors and engineers, plus a few scientists and humanists, but they excelled beyond their professions. Regardless of their training, they are all remembered, by subsequent generations, for their humanity. These were the people who set the scene for Hong Kong’s development in the following decades. They also set an example and started a tradition for the graduates who came after.
GROWING WITH HONG KONG

A BRIEF EARLY HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY

An invitation card for the Opening Ceremony of the University

The backyard of the Main Building, early days

A. B. Hutchison of the Church Missionary Society first suggested a university for Hong Kong.

John Pope-Hennessy (Governor, 1877-1882) proposed a medical school for Hong Kong.

Like other major universities at the time, HKU had a large number of undergraduates who passed through the institution without receiving degrees, but many of these alumni also went on to play prominent roles in Hong Kong society. Student numbers at any given time were always small by modern standards, beginning with fewer than 100 in 1912, steadily growing to 300 by the mid-1920s, 400 in 1935, and finally topping 600 just before the outbreak of war in the Pacific.

Despite its relatively small size and output of graduates, however, HKU was the incubation ground for a whole new generation of leaders in every field of human activity. This was a role which extended far beyond the boundaries of the colony, for large numbers of students came from and returned to homes in Canton (Guangzhou), northern China and Southeast Asia. The University had been established in 1911 to provide a British-style university education for Chinese students so as to assist in the modernisation of China, but by the late 1930s, it was recognised that the University’s primary role was, instead, the professional training of doctors, engineers and teachers for Hong Kong and Malaya.

During the pre-war years the place of origin of the University’s students changed significantly. In 1928 little more than a quarter of the Chinese students were drawn from within the colony and even by 1938 this figure had risen to only 34 per cent. Matriculants from Canton accounted for approximately 20 per cent of the student population throughout this period, while students from Shanghai and other parts of northern China gradually declined in importance from 17 per cent to seven per cent of the undergraduate body during the same period. The most distinctive feature of the student body was the high proportion of Chinese students from the British and Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia. By the end of the 1930s they constituted as large a proportion of the student population as local Hong Kong Chinese. Any assessment of the impact of HKU in the pre-war period must therefore take account of graduate activities in three geographical areas: Hong Kong, China, and Southeast Asia.
The pre-eminent position of the University within the colony did not mean that it was free from competition. Already students from wealthy middle-class families were travelling overseas to Britain and America for university studies, and many were also drawn to mainland institutions such as Lingnan University, Kung Yee Medical College and Sun Yat Sen University in Guangdong. Other American-sponsored universities in central and northern China (such as St John's University in Shanghai) competed with HKU for matriculants from these areas, and in Malaya new institutions such as Raffles College and the King Edward VII Medical College offered alternative sources of higher education conducted according to the British model. Throughout the pre-war years, Chinese students favoured American universities to British institutions for their postgraduate training and when they returned to China they established networks which effectively made it difficult for HKU graduates to enter senior positions. Thus HKU’s greatest impact was in Hong Kong and Malaya rather than on the Chinese mainland.

In assessing the impact of pre-war graduates it is necessary to examine graduates from the three faculties separately, for each of the faculties developed very different characters and their graduates were deployed in quite diverse occupations. The infant Science Faculty produced only four graduates before the war and it will be considered in the section dealing with arts graduates. It is also necessary to consider the varying impacts of these graduates in Hong Kong, China and Malaya. Separate sections will also be devoted to women graduates, alumni, student political activity and wartime service.

**Medical Graduates**

The Faculty of Medicine was recognised as the strongest of HKU’s four faculties in the pre-war years. It had started as the Hong Kong College of Medicine for Chinese in 1887 and was the nucleus around which the University was formed in 1911. By 1937, the University Report was able to assert that the “present standard of medical knowledge and practice in the Colony is... a very high one; and that this is very largely due to the presence in our midst of the Medical Faculty of the University”.

HKU was seen as producing far too many medical graduates to supply the modest needs of the colony and reports that a number of medical graduates were unemployed caused some concern among the medical professors just before
Fund Raising for the Early University

H.E. CHANG JEN CHUN.
VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

At "MARBLE HALL", THE RESIDENCE OF SIR PAUL CHATER, WHERE
H.M. THE QUEEN AND THE DUKE OF CORNWALL ATTENDED
H.M. HER MAJESTY FIRST MET H.E. CHAN SIU-PAK, one of Sun's
fellow revolutionaries.

H.N. Mody (1839-1911),
main patron, 1908 (left, second row)

Tai Ping Theatre –
fund raising performances, 1909

Postmark of the temporary post office at the opening bazaar

Dolls sold at the opening bazaar of the University in 1912

Menu of the Chinese banquet at the opening of the University, March 1912
Early Campus

Ho Tung Workshop (1925-1977)

Principal's House (1912-1977)

Pathology Building (1917-1977)

Biology Building (1928-1971) and the West Gate

Peel Laboratory (1934-1981) and Duncan Sloss Building (1950-1980s)

Anatomy and Physiology Building (1917-1977)

Early Halls of Residence

St John's Hall, built in 1912

Morrison Hall (1913-1968). A rebuilding project initiated in 1997

Lugard, Eliot and May Halls (1913-1992, renamed Old Halls in 1969)

Ricci Hall, built in 1929
Architectural Drawing of Main Building, 1910
the outbreak of the war. This oversupply of doctors perhaps accounts for the fact that in 1941 a large proportion of the 300 undergraduates in the Faculty of Medicine were from Malaya. By this time, 327 doctors had graduated from the faculty and, between 1942 and 1950, a further 126 pre-war undergraduates were awarded HKU medical degrees, bringing the total output of medical graduates to 453, the largest group of graduates from among the four faculties. A further 48 students of the old College of Medicine had graduated with licentiate qualifications before the foundation of the University, so a total of 501 medical graduates were produced by HKU and the College in the period under consideration. At least 500 medical undergraduates failed to complete their studies during this time, so the overall impact of the Medical Faculty was actually far greater than the list of graduates suggests.

Pre-war medical graduates tended to take a fairly typical career path. Most secured short-term clinical appointments on the University’s hospital wards at the Government Civil Hospital (1914-37), Tsan Yuk Hospital (1922-41) or Queen Mary Hospital (1937-41) before deciding between private practice or service in one of the government hospitals. By the early 1930s there were seven clinical positions available every six months and these were sufficient to give postgraduate clinical experience to most graduates, the average output of graduates being 17 each year between 1930 and 1941. Some of these housemen and clinical assistants were also able to secure junior teaching posts as “assistants” to the six professors at the conclusion of their clinical experience. In this way 26 graduates embarked upon short-term teaching careers in the University between 1925 and 1941. By the mid-1930s there were eight graduates holding positions as assistants to the professors and another four were employed as demonstrators. Although barred from the top teaching posts in the faculty (all of which were held by expatriates except the Chair of Pathology, which between 1920 and 1931 was occupied by Wang Chung-yuk, a 1908 licentiate of the College of Medicine) these teachers set in motion the gradual opening up of the senior academic ranks to local graduates.

Doraisamy Kumara Samy Pillai (MBBS 1922, MD 1928, HonLLD 1961) was appointed Acting Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology in 1935 after ten years as assistant to the professor, and Lim Ek-quee 林益桂 (MBBS 1932) was temporarily put in charge of the Department of Physiology in 1940.
1908
Frederick Lugard (Governor, 1907-1912) proposed to set up a university in a speech of January 17.

H.N. Mody offered a donation of $150,000 for the University Main Building and an endowment fund.

Sze Tsung-sing 施正信 (MBBS 1931, HonDSocSc 1997) was part-time Professor of Social Medicine (1950-52) before being appointed to the World Health Organisation in Geneva, but it was not until 1957 that Daphne Chun Wai-chun 周恆珍 (MBBS 1940, HonDSocSc 1972) became the first graduate to be appointed to a full-time chair (obstetrics and gynaecology). Cheng Kwok-kew 鄭國樹 (MBBS 1939) soon followed with an appointment as Professor of Pathology. One of the most distinguished early graduate-professors was Ong Guan-bee 王瀚美 (MBBS 1947, DSc 1979, HonDSc 1980), whose medical studies were interrupted by the war. He was eventually appointed Professor of Surgery in 1964 after six years as surgeon-in-charge at Kowloon Hospital.

While some pre-war graduates were appointed to teaching posts after the war, it was not until the 1950s and a new crop of students that the faculty started employing its own graduates in large numbers. Other graduates took up part-time teaching appointments from time to time and provided an important link between the local medical profession and the University. George Harold Thomas (MBBS 1914, MD 1920, HonLLD 1961) was lecturer in tropical medicine (1925-35) and Yeo Kok-cheang 楊國瑋 (MBBS 1926, MD 1931) lectured in public health while working in government service. Chau Sik-nin 周錫年 (MBBS 1924, HonLLD 1961) was lecturer in Ophthalmology (1930-35), as was Au King 周記 (MBBS 1930), and Cheung Kung-leung 張恭良 (MBBS 1933) was acting lecturer in venereal diseases during 1935.

Medical graduates who wished to further their studies were forced to complete postgraduate studies in Britain or America before returning to the colony to practise. One of the most successful of these early overseas-trained specialists was Lee Hah-liong 李學良 (MBBS 1933) who worked first at the Peking Union Medical College (1934-35) before going to London where he became the first Chinese Member of the Royal College of Physicians in 1938. He then returned to Hong Kong where he opened the first local practice in children's medicine and conducted the University's clinic in children's diseases at Queen Mary Hospital (1939-41).

Most HKU medical graduates entered private practice as soon as possible after graduation because this was the surest path to financial security. In 1930, 60 per cent of medical graduates living in Hong Kong were engaged in private practice, while in Singapore and Penang the percentages were even higher because Chinese doctors were seldom appointed to government positions. Several graduates grew very wealthy as a result of their successful medical practices and
Fund raising campaigns were run for a university.

The Foundation Stone of the Main Building was laid on March 16.

were great benefactors both to the University and Hong Kong charitable institutions. Still others took a prominent role in local politics and society. Chau Sik-nin was an unofficial member of the Legislative Council (1946-59) and Executive Council (1948-61), and served on the Urban Council before the war (1936-41). He was chairman or director of 14 different business concerns and Chairman of the Federation of Hong Kong Industries (1961-66).

Tseung Fat-im 蔣法賢 (MBBS 1925, HonLLD 1969), Director of the Anti-Cancer Society until 1967 and Commissioner of the St John Ambulance Brigade (1958-63), played a central role in the establishment of The Chinese University of Hong Kong and was also responsible for founding several schools for the poor. Hua Tse-jen 華則仁 (MBBS 1928, HonLLD 1968) was a founder of the Hong Kong Anti-Tuberculosis Association and set up the Society for Boys' Centres in 1953. Li Shu-fan 李樹芬 (LMS 1908, HonLLD 1961) was a member of the Legislative Council (1937-41), Chairman and Superintendent of the Hong Kong Sanatorium and Hospital for 35 years and donated to HKU the site of the High West staff quarters. Albert Rodrigues 類理基 (MBBS 1935, HonLLD 1962) was a member of the Urban, Legislative and Executive Councils and did much to direct the development of HKU as Chairman of Council (1967-85) and Pro-Chancellor (1968-94). Harry Fang Sin-yang 方心讓 (MBBS 1949, HonLLD 1977, MS 1980, MD 1997) was also a member of the Legislative Council and used that position as a platform to campaign for the rights of the handicapped. He was closely involved in the work of all Hong Kong's major social service providers and was the doyen of Hong Kong's orthopaedic profession. Likewise, George Choa 蔡永善 (MBBS 1947, HonLLD 1988) devoted much of his career to reducing the suffering of the deaf and the abatement of environmental noise. He was Chairman of the Hong Kong Society for the Deaf (1974-79) and set up the Society's first educational centre in Sai Ying Pun.

While the record of service to the community by these and other private practitioners is noteworthy, many other medical graduates distinguished themselves in government service as hospital doctors, district health officers and, eventually, as senior officials of the Department of Medical and Health Services. George Harold Thomas served at many local hospitals, including the Tung Wah, Mental, Tsan Yuk and Queen Mary Hospitals, and finished his public career as the first local man appointed Acting Director of Medical Services (1947-49). Yeo Kok-cheang began his career as a Health Officer in the New Territories in 1934 and ultimately became the first Chinese Director of Medical and Health Services (1952-57). He planned the Queen Elizabeth and Tsan Yuk Hospitals, started the leper hospital on Hayling Chau, and oversaw the introduction of BCG inoculations for the prevention of tuberculosis, a major killer in Hong Kong at the time.
1911
The University of Hong Kong incorporated by HKU Ordinance (No. 10 of 1911) on March 30. First meetings of Council and Court of HKU, April 28.

1912
Charles Eliot (right) offered the vice-chancellorship on January 31. Main Building officially opened on March 11.

Teng Pin-hui 鄧炳輝 (MBBS 1937, HonLLD 1970) worked in the field of plague prevention in China after graduation but returned to Hong Kong after the war as Port Health Officer, advancing in stages to become Director of Medical and Health Services (1963-70). His successor was Gerald Choa Wing-ip 蔡永業 (MBBS 1946, MD 1960) who was founding Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. John Ho Hung-chiu 何鴻超 (MBBS 1940, HonDSc 1974) was Superintendent of the Lai Chi Kok Infectious Diseases Hospital in 1946 but soon switched his area of specialist interest to radiology. He became Director of the Hong Kong Institute of Radiology and Chairman of the Anti-Cancer Society, establishing a global reputation in the treatment of naso-pharyngeal carcinomas, the so-called “Cantonese cancer” which had previously caused so much suffering to people in the southern half of China.

The impact of pre-war graduates from HKU’s Faculty of Medicine was greatest in Hong Kong itself, but some of our graduates were also prominent in China and Malaya. In the early years of the University, approximately one-fifth of medical graduates returned to China to practise, but by 1936 this figure had dropped to ten per cent. During the war with Japan, however, a large number of graduates and undergraduates made their way into Free China to serve in various capacities. The two most important medical graduates in China were in fact graduates of the Hong Kong College of Medicine. Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙 (LMS 1892) was the most influential of all the early graduates of the HKCM, founding the Republic of China in 1912. Sun’s Minister of Public Health was another graduate of the College of Medicine, Li Shu-fan. He was later appointed Dean and Professor of Surgery at the Canton Kung Yee University Medical School (1923-24) and during this time cured Michael Borodin, Lenin’s commissar in China. Sze Tsung-sing also worked with the Chinese Ministry of Health before the war. Another early graduate, Lim Chong-eang 林宗揚 (MBBS 1916) was at one time Chairman of the Chinese Medical Association.

Many medical graduates returned to Malaya. Chinese doctors found it difficult to secure government appointments and most went into private practice in Penang, Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. They enjoyed certain advantages over locally trained doctors who held licentiates rather than degrees, but positive discrimination in favour of Malays kept most Chinese doctors out of senior positions. Mustapha Bin Osman (MBBS 1924, MD 1930, HonLLD 1961) was one of the few non-Chinese medical graduates from Malaya. After graduation he worked as assistant to the professor of pathology before taking up the post of Government Pathologist in Kedah state in 1930. He became Chief Medical Officer of Kedah in 1949, a member of the Federal Legislative Council of Malaya, and a member of the Council of State and Executive Council of Kedah state.
1912
The first two Faculties were Medicine and Engineering.
First medical students admitted, September 14.

1912
First engineering and arts students admitted, October 15

Ong Chong-keng (MBBS 1928), the most influential of the pre-war Chinese graduates from Malaya, returned from HKU to Penang where he became a respected local politician before the war. After the war he was an outspoken member of the Malayan Union Advisory Council (1946) and represented Malaya at the UNESCO education conference in Nanking (1947). He was an inaugural member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Federation of Malaya before being assassinated by communists in 1948. Soo Hoy-mun 蘇鴻文 (MBBS 1925, HonLLD 1956) practised medicine in Kuala Lumpur and became involved in many welfare groups, but his most important work was in organising the HKU Pan-Malayan Alumni Association in 1948, a body which co-ordinated the activities of the several HKU alumni bodies in Malaya. Other Chinese medical graduates set up their practices throughout the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, laying the foundations of a local (but non-Malay) medical profession in the modern state of Malaysia.

The limited impact of pre-war graduates from the Faculty of Medicine in China and Malaya must be balanced against the more profound impact which they had on Hong Kong society well into the post-war period. Our graduates slowly replaced expatriate medical practitioners in both private practice and government service and by the late 1930s the bulk of Western medical services in Hong Kong were provided by Chinese doctors trained at HKU. These medical services were acknowledged to be of a very high quality and were particularly striking when compared with similar British colonies. A beginning had also been made in training medical academics and
The trend would gain momentum after the war. But perhaps the most extraordinary contributions of medical graduates were in non-professional areas such as politics and social welfare where they provided leadership for a rapidly-expanding and educated Chinese middle-class. The inherent strengths of the Faculty of Medicine and its graduates were recognised by government and University alike and by 1941 the Faculty of Medicine was the largest of the four faculties with nearly half of the total undergraduate enrolment.

**Engineering Graduates**

The Faculty of Engineering was established as one of the original faculties of the University in order to train Chinese engineers who could assist in the development of China's natural resources and take part in its physical modernisation. The faculty got off to a good start but financial problems in the 1920s reduced its output of graduates and limited its impact. The 1930s saw renewed efforts to produce larger numbers of skilled engineers.

By 1941, HKU had produced 331 engineers, and a further 24 were awarded wartime degrees in 1942, bringing the total number of engineering graduates to 355. While they had been trained in all three major areas of engineering at that time (civil, mechanical and electrical) it became increasingly clear as the 1930s wore on that the civil engineering graduates enjoyed far better employment opportunities than those graduating with qualifications in mechanical and electrical engineering.

By 1941 the Faculty of Engineering was the smallest of the three original faculties and its future prospects were being questioned both within the University and outside it. When the faculty re-opened after the war it was on a much smaller scale and specialised in civil engineering only.

Of all HKU's pre-war graduates, it was the engineers who faced the stiffest competition from Chinese graduates of American universities. In Shanghai and the north of China in particular, American graduates had gained senior positions and were employing American-trained engineers in preference to HKU graduates with their British educational background. In Nanking (Nanjing), where there was near hostility towards HKU and its graduates, the engineering degree was not recognised and our graduates, who had great difficulty securing government appointments, received lower pay than those from overseas universities. Despite these difficulties...
more than 15 per cent of HKU’s engineering graduates were working in Shanghai by 1936, and these engineers accounted for nearly two-thirds of the HKU graduates living in and around the city at that time.

Most were employed by general engineering firms but some were involved in Shanghai’s industrial development: Wei Wing-hon (BSc(Eng) 1916, MSc(Eng) 1938) was Chief Engineer of the Wing On No. 2 textile mill and Ning Nee (BSc(Eng) 1922) worked at the Woo Ho Weaving Factory. Many were employed in public utilities such as the Shanghai Power Company, the Shanghai Waterworks and the Whangpoo Conservancy Board. Others worked on various railways during a period of fast expansion. Yao Kwang-yu (BSc(Eng) 1918) was Locomotive Superintendent and Wu Han-ching (BSc(Eng) 1924) was Assistant Engineer on the Tientsin Pukow Railway while James King Tai-sung (BSc(Eng) 1920) was for a time Section Engineer on the Nanking Shanghai Railway before joining the International Assurance Company.

Shi Chi-jen (BSc(Eng) 1922), who took a Master’s degree at MIT in 1924, rose to become the Deputy Minister for Railways (1949-1972). Surprisingly, several engineers made their careers in banking; Ling Man-lai (BSc(Eng) 1916) and Hau On-wa (BSc(Eng) 1919) with the Bank of East Asia, and the alumnus Zing Li-fong with the Central Bank of China. Two other graduates held important government positions in Nanking: Chan Iu-choo (BSc(Eng) 1916) was Director of Finance for the Ministry of Railways (having previously been Director of Public Works and Highways in Canton), and Foo Ping-shueung (BSc(Eng) 1916, HonLLD 1930) was a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Foo had long been one of the most successful and influential of the early engineering graduates, beginning his career in Canton as one of the promoters of modernisation and eventually serving as Chinese ambassador to Moscow during the war.

Many HKU graduates were in Canton and held a variety of important positions. Chan U-kin (BSc(Eng) 1927) was an engineer at the power station, Fung Tsung-fu (BSc(Eng) 1920) began at the Shik Cheng Arsenal and later moved to the Canton Municipal Bureau of Public Works, Cheung Him (BSc(Eng) 1920) was at the Canton Mint, and Fung Man-shui (BSc(Eng) 1922) began his career in the Bank of Canton. Man Shu-shing (BSc(Eng) 1920) returned to a teaching post at Sun Yat Sen University after postgraduate studies at Columbia University and later became extremely influential during the 1930s as Chief Electrical Engineer in the Guangdong government’s Department of Reconstruction.

In fact, a number of HKU engineering graduates held academic posts in China. Liu Chen-hua (better known as Liu Xianzhou) (BSc(Eng) 1918) became President of the Tianjin Beiyang University, China’s first technical university, in 1934, and was later Vice-President of Tsinghua University. Zhao Jinheng (BSc(Eng) 1926) became an authority of harbour engineering and was instrumental in China’s major harbour projects. He was the President of Hebei Institute of Technology. He actually attended Sun Yat-sen’s speech in 1923 at the University and became a renowned community leader in Tianjin. Another early
graduate, Wu King-ching (BSc(Eng) 1924), taught at the National Chekiang University in Hangchow (Hangzhou) (but returned to HKU as a lecturer in civil engineering after the war), while Hu Yu-tsen 胡儒珍 (BSc(Eng) 1923) was Principal of the prestigious Griffith John Middle School in Hankow (Hankou) by 1933. Chen Shu-ding (or known as Chen Hsuting) (BSc(Eng) 1925) was also in the Hankow district as Managing Director of the Lee Hua Coal Mine where he employed other HKU graduates such as Kao Li-chen (BSc(Eng) 1921). Further West, Yue Shui-chiu 余瑞朝 (BSc(Eng) 1922) was one of the senior engineers working for the Kwangsi (Guangxi) provincial government. So in spite of the limitations and difficulties they faced, HKU engineering graduates played a modest and varied role in the modernisation of China before the war.

In Southeast Asia, the situation was even more difficult for HKU engineering graduates and very few of them were able to find suitable employment in the years before the war. Even attempts by the University to open employment opportunities for its Chinese graduates with the governments of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States (FMS) proved to be in vain. In the 1920s the Surveyor-General of the Malayan colonies would not recognise the HKU engineering degree for junior appointments because it was not “practical” enough, and the senior ranks were recruited from London and filled by expatriates. Further attempts to lobby the Undersecretary of the Federated Malay States in the early 1930s brought the response that preference was always given to Malays in making government appointments and that HKU graduates were over-educated and too expensive to employ. Not surprisingly, the number of students from Southeast Asia in the faculty declined steadily until new admissions picked up again in the mid-1930s.

Nevertheless several engineering graduates did find jobs in government departments in Malaya: Lim Ko (BSc(Eng) 1927) began his career in the Railway Department of the FMS and Yeow Tuck-oon 邱德安 (BSc(Eng) 1924) was with the Electrical Department. Other graduates secured appointments with the municipal public works departments in Singapore, Penang and Kuala Lumpur. Ko, Chan Kui-chuen 田貴全 (BSc(Eng) 1928) and Kwa Soen-hwie 郭順輝 (BSc(Eng) 1928) formed a nucleus of HKU graduates in the public works offices of the Singapore municipality, while Saw Whee-seong (BSc(Eng) 1917) directed the Drawing Office of the Singapore Harbour Board. The most successful of the engineering graduates in Singapore was Tay Gan-tin 鄭彥珍 (BSc(Eng) 1918, HonLLD 1961) who, after spending four years as a demonstrator in mechanical engineering at HKU, returned to Singapore and built up a large and successful shipping business. He was a member of the Singapore Harbour Board (1946-55) and was much involved with the welfare of seamen. So HKU engineering graduates had a more limited but nonetheless significant impact in Malaya.

In Hong Kong very few engineering graduates found employment in government service, such positions being filled almost solely by expatriates. A significant exception was Sheikh Basheer Ahmed (BSc(Eng) 1925, MSc(Eng) 1929) who was for a time with the Port Development section of the Public Works Department. Most
graduates worked in business and general engineering firms, although they were also to be found in banking, teaching and industry by the 1930s. Many of the earliest graduates rose to prominent management positions in various firms: William Hall (BSc(Eng) 1918) was Senior Partner of Hall & Hall, and several graduates worked in senior positions for the firms of Clark and Lu, Palmer and Turner, Watsons, Jardine Engineering and the Asiatic Petroleum Company. Mok Chan-ki 姆鎮基 (BSc(Eng) 1919) was an engineer with the Kowloon Canton Railway and Lam Po-ham 林保漢 (BSc(Eng) 1941) eventually became its General Manager (1968-74). Chau Iu-nin 周耀年 (BSc(Eng) 1920) and Pao Yue-lum 鮑汝林 (BSc(Eng) 1930) were among the first engineering graduates to work as architects.

Opportunities for engineers opened up in the late 1940s and many pre-war graduates took advantage of these. Dexter Man Hung-cho 丁洪超 (BSc(Eng) 1940, HonDSocSc 1998) entered the construction and property business in the 1950s and diversified into plastics and metal manufacturing in the 1960s. He designed and built more than 30 high-rise buildings in the Western District and is a benefactor to HKU. Chung Sze-yuen 鍾士元 (BSc(Eng) 1941, HonDSc 1976) was an early researcher in the field of metal deformation but upon his return from postgraduate studies in England in 1952 he set up four factories and invented a number of new manufacturing techniques. Not only did his firm become the world's largest manufacturer of flashlights, but he was also one of Hong Kong's foremost industrial and commercial entrepreneurs in the 1960s.

There were fewer opportunities for early engineering graduates to take up teaching positions in the University than was the case in the Faculty of Medicine, but a number of them were able to secure junior positions before the war. Un Po 余保 (BSc(Eng) 1918), a member of the first class of engineering undergraduates in 1912, was the first graduate to be appointed to a teaching position at HKU, becoming a demonstrator in physics in 1920. He continued in this post until 1941 and returned to HKU after the war, completing 47 years of service to the University at the time of his death in 1959. Lee Iu-cheung 李耀祥 (BSc(Eng) 1917, HonLLD 1969) taught in the faculty for a short time after completing his graduate studies in hydraulic engineering at Cornell but ultimately returned to the family business and became well known as a benefactor and member of various welfare associations.

L.A. Oppenheim (BSc(Eng) 1932), Li Kai-yeung 李崇鴻 (BSc(Eng) 1933), Pao Yue-lum, Koh Nye-poh 許乃波 (BSc(Eng) 1930) and R.S. Tissington (BSc(Eng) 1933) all worked as demonstrators in the Faculty of Engineering at various times during the late 1930s. After the war, Leung Kui-wai 梁耀蔚 (BSc(Eng) 1939, MSc(Eng) 1960) and Hui Cho-ying 許祖英 (BSc(Eng) 1940) rejoined the University as demonstrators, while Hui Che-shing 許志誠 (BSc(Eng) 1937) founded the University's Department of Statistics. Another returning graduate, King Sing-yui 金新宇 (BSc(Eng) 1940, HonDSc 1981) became the first HKU engineering graduate to be appointed to a Chair (1966, Electrical Engineering), having taught civil engineering since graduation. He was responsible as Dean for saving the Faculty of Engineering from closure under government pressure in 1954.
1923  
St Stephen’s Hall, the first female hall of residence completed. Sun Yat-sen visited the University and gave a speech at the Great Hall on February 20. Institute of Chinese Studies (currently the Department of Chinese) founded.

1929  
Ricci Hall opened on December 16.

The Hongkong Telegraph’s report of Sun Yat-sen’s HKU visit on February 20.

Hu Shih 胡适 (left) and Robert Ho Tung received their Honorary Degrees in 1935

Fung Ping Shan Building, 1932, renamed Fung Ping Shan Museum in 1964

Engineering graduates were to be found in every professional field in the pre-war years but very few of them rose to fill the type of senior positions which were open to medical graduates. Their impact was probably greater in China than in Hong Kong and Malaya but it must also be recognised that in Hong Kong they pioneered career paths for Chinese graduates in areas which had previously been totally dominated by expatriate appointees. They also took part in the gradual development of a modern infrastructure which further advanced the development of the region. Their impact was therefore limited but nonetheless important.

**Arts Graduates**

The Faculty of Arts was an area of very low priority for the founders of the University and until the late 1930s it was sometimes thought of as a “half-unwanted stepbrother” to the two senior faculties. While there was a definite social need for medical and engineering graduates in Hong Kong and China it was feared that a faculty teaching humanities subjects would politicise Chinese undergraduates and even make revolutionaries out of them. The local Chinese business community at first demanded the establishment of an arts faculty and gave financial guarantees which allowed the first students to begin their studies in 1913, but they failed to give any significant or continuing financial support to the humanities. It was Malayan Chinese donors who eventually secured the establishment of Chinese studies at the University and prompted local donors to be more generous.

Initially, the Faculty of Arts was very small compared with Medicine and Engineering, producing on average less than five graduates a year until 1922. The 1920s saw an enormous expansion of the faculty’s activities, however, as large numbers of students were trained as teachers, and by the end of the decade it had produced more graduates than either of the other two faculties. Despite some retrenchment in the early 1930s, the faculty continued to produce more graduates than its sister faculties until the outbreak of war. By 1941, a total of 359 graduates had passed through the faculty and a further 22 were given wartime degrees, bringing the total number of arts graduates at work in Hong Kong, China and Malaya to 381. For most of this period the Arts Faculty also awarded degrees for work in the sciences until the Faculty of Science was established in 1939. By 1941 only four students had graduated with the new science degree (BSc).
By far the most important work of the Faculty of Arts was the training of teachers, and most of these graduates went to work in schools in Hong Kong, Canton or Malaya. In 1918, the Peking (Beijing) government offered 20 scholarships for trainee teachers and the Hong Kong government followed suit in 1920 with 26 teacher training scholarships. At this time there were also about a dozen government education scholars from the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements. It is teachers, therefore, who dominate the lists of arts graduates. By the early 1930s nearly half of the University’s graduates who were resident in Hong Kong were graduates of the Faculty of Arts and, of these, at least 55 per cent (but probably more) were school teachers.

Among these the largest groups taught at the prestigious King’s College (ten), Queen’s College (nine) and St Stephen’s (three), with other substantial groups at the Vernacular Middle School (five), the Ellis Kadoorie School (six) and Cheng Wah College (six). From 1925, HKU was producing large numbers of graduate teachers and these men and women had a profound impact on the local education system which was also expanding rapidly during this period. Schools which had previously relied on expatriate graduates and non-graduate local teachers began to employ local Chinese graduates from HKU and other universities in the region (especially Lingnan) in increasing numbers and this development changed forever the balance within local government and private schools. While most schools were still staffed by a majority of non-graduates at the outbreak of the war, several
had been more or less localised and had staffs of graduate teachers. For example, between 1925 and 1948 at least 24 arts graduates taught at Queen’s College, and in 1948 two-thirds of the local teachers were HKU graduates.

A number of these pre-war education graduates eventually rose to be school principals. They included Cheung King-pak 張敬柏 (BA 1931) and Tse Chan-yau 謝振有 (BA 1928) (Queen's College), Agnes Pau 鲍美雯 (BA 1930) (St Paul’s Convent Secondary School), Anna Ho Siu-hing 何少卿 (BA 1933-34) (Ellis Kadoorie Evening), Helen Chu 朱仲霞 (BA 1937) (Kau Yan College), Bobbie Koteiwal 羅怡基 (BA 1939, HonLLD 1971) (St Paul’s Co-Ed), Catherine Joyce Symons (née Anderson) (BA 1939, HonLLD 1978) (Diocesan Girls’ School) and Nellie Seu Wai-lin (BA 1942) (St Joan of Arc). Several other HKU undergraduates who were unable to complete their studies because of the war also rose to head schools, most notably Raymond Huang 黃勳文 and William Cheng Yuk-ning 鄭旭寧 (BA 1950, MA(Ed) 1970) (Queen’s College). Other arts graduates were to be found teaching throughout Kwangtung, in Shanghai, Peking and Nanking, and large numbers of HKU arts graduates formed the nucleus of Malaya’s growing pool of graduate teachers.

Although excellent opportunities existed for arts graduates to contribute to the development of the primary and secondary education systems of the colony there were fewer opportunities for them to teach in the University. In the pre-war years the Faculty of Arts was dominated by expatriate teachers to a much larger extent than Medicine and Engineering and this meant that local graduates were not appointed in significant numbers until the 1950s. An early exception was Chan Kwan-po 陳君葆 (BA 1920) who was translator and later assistant lecturer in Chinese. During the Japanese occupation he single-handedly saved the University library from destruction and dispersal, and after the liberation he was appointed University Secretary to assist with restoring HKU to working order. Leung Man-wah 梁文華 (BA 1940) was appointed to a tutorship in the English Department in 1940, but this was due to difficulties in recruiting from England rather than any change in University policy.

Graduates had better opportunities teaching the sciences within the Arts Faculty: Hui Pak-mi 許伯眉 (BA 1930) was demonstrator in physics, while Hui Wai-haan 許慧嫺 (BA 1932, MSc 1954, HonLLD 1981) and Ada Chung 鍾榮德 (BA 1932, MSc 1955) taught as demonstrators in the Department of Chemistry for many years. Other arts graduates had more luck securing academic jobs in China, Malaya and further afield. In Singapore, H.N. Balthatchet (BA 1926), Low Ngiong-ing (BA 1923), Ting Siew-choon 丁綱俊 (BA 1924) and C.A. Peterson (BA 1925) taught at the Raffles Institution, one of the forerunners to the National University of Singapore. Rayson Huang Li-sung 黃麗松 (BSc 1942, HonDSc 1968) pursued a distinguished academic career in overseas universities holding the Chair of
Chemistry at the University of Malaya and being appointed Vice-Chancellor of Nanyang University in Singapore before returning to HKU as Vice-Chancellor in 1972.

The first graduate of the Science Faculty, Huang Hsing-tsung 黄兴宗 (BSc 1941) worked with Joseph Needham in China before pursuing his career as a research scientist in biochemistry in Washington, DC. Another highly distinguished wartime graduate of the Arts Faculty was Lau Din-cheuk 刘殿爵 (BA 1941, HonDLitt 1989) who held the chair of Chinese at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London from 1971, the first Chinese ever to hold such a chair in the UK. HKU graduates also worked in numerous academic institutions in China. Hu Yu-hsiang (BA 1932) lectured in English at Wuhan University, and Irene Cheng (née Ho Tung) 何绮姿 (BA 1925) taught for several years at Lingnan University while also being employed by the Ministry of Education in Nanking. Cheung Wing-min 张荣冕 (BA 1928), Cheng Yum-ting 程任定 (BA 1935) and Yeap Cheng-yow 葉松耀 (BA 1931) all held positions at the National Kwangsi University in Guilin.

Chu Hwan-tsien (Zhu Guangqian) 朱光潜 (BA 1923, HonDLitt 1985), who taught at the universities of Szechuan, Wuhan and Peking, was one of the greatest Chinese scholars of psychology and aesthetics and a very influential policy maker on the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He also suffered imprisonment for the scholarly ideals first imbibed at HKU and was only rehabilitated in 1980. Another Arts graduate, Chung Heung-sung (Zhong Xiangchong) 鍾香崇 (BA 1941) returned to China after taking his PhD at Leeds University and spent his whole career developing refractory materials, earning membership of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1991.

Education was the most important but not the only area of the Arts Faculty's activities. It also had a modest business studies programme which produced graduates who went into some of the most prominent firms in Hong Kong, Shanghai and Canton, such as Butterfield and Swire, the Bank of East Asia and the Bank of Canton. Li Tse-fong 李子芳 (BA 1916) was a Director in the Bank of East Asia and Robert Tam Yik-fong 潘益方 (BA 1930, HonDSocSc 1998) became a senior executive in the Hang Seng Bank before founding his own investment company. He is also a benefactor of the University. Wong To-on 王道安 (BA 1920) set up his own firm in Shanghai and Wei Tat 韦达 (MA 1924, MA 1941) was Robert Ho Tung's secretary before branching out on his own. Li Fook-shu 李福樹 (BA 1941) (nephew of Li Tse-fong) was the first Hong Kong Chinese to qualify as a chartered accountant and later helped set up the Hong Kong Society of Accountants in 1973.

Law was one of the subjects taught in the business studies programme and several students from the faculty ultimately made their names as solicitors, barristers and magistrates. Lo Hin-shing 羅顯勝 (BA 1919), Lim Chuan-hoe 林泉和 (BA 1927), Samuel V. Gittins (BA 1929, HonLLD 1971), Donald Anderson (BA 1933) and Patrick Yu Shuk-siu 余叔韶 (BA 1942) all established successful legal practices, as did the alumni Leo D'Almada e Castro 廖阿利舍打, Horace Lo Man-ho
1941
Classes suspended at HKU from December 8 to August 1945.
Before this, the University had four faculties, Medicine, Engineering, Arts and Science, with 516 students. It also housed 500 students from Lingnan University and students of the Chinese Maritime School.

and Oswald V. Cheung (1938-1941, HonLLD 1979). Leslie Lothian Sung (BA 1941) initially worked as a journalist before going into law, and Kan Yuet-keung (BA 1935, HonLLD 1973) was able to combine both law and banking during a long and successful career, acting at various times as Senior Partner of Lo and Lo and Chairman of the Bank of East Asia. One of HKU’s most distinguished pre-war lawyers, Lo Tung-fan (BA 1926), who pursued postgraduate studies in international law at University College London and Columbia University, was from 1931 a member of the law-drafting committee of the Legislative Yuan in Nanking.

Another area where arts graduates were not usually found was industry, but two pre-war BAs became giants in post-war manufacturing. Lo Kwee-seong (BA 1935, HonLLD 1982) pioneered the soy milk industry in Hong Kong, while Pauline Chan (BA 1940, HonLLD 1985), an extraordinarily talented manager and saleswoman, helped Haking Wong make a fortune out of canvas shoes, plastic tooth brushes and cameras. Pre-war arts graduates have therefore made significant contributions to the economic progress of Hong Kong.

One of the surprising features of the pre-war arts graduates is that virtually none of them entered the Hong Kong Civil Service, except as teachers, due to the discriminatory employment practices of the colonial government. Some arts graduates fared slightly better in the Chinese civil service but none rose to particularly powerful positions. Lai Pin-cheong (BA 1926) was for a time private secretary to Foo Ping-sheung and Lai Tim-cheong (BA 1942, MA 1957), who passed the higher civil service examination in China during the war, went with the Chinese ambassador to London as a secretary in the embassy from 1946 to 1950.

But arts graduates also excelled in other less secular areas of human endeavour. Quite a number of the early graduates became interested in Christianity and several of them were ordained. Of these men, two stand out as high achievers who have had a significant impact in the lives of Christians in Hong Kong and China. Lü Cheng-chung (BA 1921, HonDD 1973) pursued postgraduate study in Greek and Hebrew at Yenching University after graduating from HKU and taught for 14 years at South Fujian Theological College before ordination in 1948. For the next 20 years he worked on a new translation of the Bible, creating a milestone in biblical scholarship and becoming the first Chinese to translate the whole of the Bible into the vernacular. Cheung Wing-ngok (BA 1937), an Anglican priest, Rector of St Stephen’s Church in Bonham Road and Archdeacon of Hong Kong, eventually became Assistant Bishop of Hong Kong and Macau in 1978.
The impact of the pre-war arts graduates was therefore wide and varied, and not limited to the field of education. The criticism of the faculty contained in the report of the 1937 Committee that "the Arts degree is now considered to be little more than the crowning of Hong Kong's secondary education for those whose parents can afford it" was not supported. Adequate credit must be given to the many graduates who helped build the colony's primary and secondary education systems in the pre-war years, as well as to those who were involved in business and the law. While not as publicly visible as some of the medical graduates, BAs nevertheless played a significant role as educated members of the wider community.

Women Graduates

The first female undergraduate Rachel Irving (BA 1923) was admitted to HKU in 1921 and by the beginning of the 1941-42 academic year approximately 20 per cent of the undergraduates were women. During this same period 111 women had graduated and a further seven women graduated with medical degrees after the war, bringing the total to 118 (83 BAs, 32 doctors, two engineers and one BSc). Women graduates therefore represented only ten per cent of the total output of pre-war graduates but, despite their small numbers, these women had a proportionally greater impact than their male counterparts.

Twenty-four pursued postgraduate studies, mostly abroad, and even though many broke their careers to raise families, by 1960 an extraordinary 83 per cent of those

All HKU women undergraduates, 1940

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Changing Landscape of the University Campus

An early site map of the Main Building and campus

Main Building and campus, 1963.
with known occupations were pursuing careers outside the home. Most were in the education profession (31 teachers and five university lecturers) and among these teachers no fewer than eight were headmistresses: Agnes Pau, Anna Ho Siu-hing, Lo May-hing (BA 1936), Helen Chu, Catherine Joyce Symons, Bobbie Kotewall, Catherine Wong (BA 1940) and Fung Kam-to (BA 1942). Eleanor Thom (BA 1926), who had gained her doctorate in education at Columbia University, was a lecturer at the Grantham Training College in Hong Kong, Katherine Lai Po-kan (BA 1933), with a PhD from London University was lecturing at SOAS, Daphne Chun Wai-chun held the Chair of Obstetrics and Gynaecology at HKU, while Hui Wai-haan and Margaret Yu Mansang (BA 1940) had lectureships in chemistry and English at HKU.

Other women graduates were involved in social work either as professionals or volunteers, three became nuns, and one went back to university in London to read for her law degree 25 years after gaining her BA at HKU. Most of the medical graduates became medical practitioners, many working as maternal and child health specialists, and Cheng Hung-yue (MBBS 1932) was Senior Medical Officer at the Tsan Yuk Hospital. Five were practising in Malaya and Parrin Ruttonjee (MBBS 1931) gave her services as a doctor and social worker among the Parsee community in Karachi, Pakistan.

Other prominent women graduates at this time were Irene Cheng and Kittie Tse (BA 1934), senior education officers with the Hong Kong Education Department, Cheng Mei-hing (BA 1933), warden of the Hong Kong Family Planning Association’s clinic in Wan Chai, and Pauline Chan, the successful industrialist and Court/Council member and benefactor of HKU. Mary Wong (nee Suffiad) (BA 1941) devoted much of her life as a voluntary worker to the handicapped and underprivileged. She was a co-founder and Chairman of the Heep Hong Club, Chairman of the Association for Volunteer Service, and as a member of the Legislative Council became deeply involved in social welfare planning.
1941
After the war broke out, over 200 HKU students studied and worked in Free China.

1942
University buildings used from end of January as temporary internment camp.

The driving spirit of these women and the range of their contributions to Hong Kong society had an impact far greater than their small numbers would suggest. Moreover, even those who stayed at home as mothers and wives provided something new in Hong Kong society: educated and articulate homemakers who would exert a strong influence over the education and future careers of their children.

Student Political Activity

The commitment of pre-war HKU graduates to the advancement of Chinese interests in the colony is amply evident in the activities of the various groups of graduates discussed above. In the post-war years this sort of commitment would lead to widespread political activity among both graduates and undergraduates but before the war there is very little evidence of such politicisation.

That student political activity existed in the early days of the University we can be fairly certain, for the example of Sun Yat-sen was a powerful reminder of what could be achieved by HKU graduates in modern Chinese politics. A number of undergraduates probably embarked upon their studies with some experience of revolutionary activity. For example, before matriculating to HKU, Lee Iu-cheung had been involved in a revolutionary attack against a district capital in Guangdong. His experiences must have been shared by other early students and it was exactly this type of political activity which most worried the University authorities.

The student body possibly became more politically active in the early 1920s, especially after the visit of Sun Yat-sen to HKU in 1923, and in response to the activism of students in Canton. Indeed, in 1926 it was alleged in the London press that HKU students had been involved in the Canton demonstrations of the previous summer. Although the Vice-Chancellor denied this, it is clear from correspondence between him and the executive committee of the HKU Alumni Association in Canton that undergraduates had in fact been present at the Shakee Incident and claimed to have witnessed British troops firing explosive bullets at the Chinese protesters. They demanded that the Vice-Chancellor publicly support their version of the incident, a course which no one in the University or the Hong Kong government would countenance. Stricter controls were therefore enforced over both students and staff and the politically-active Professor of Education was ultimately forced to resign because of fears that he would “corrupt” the student body.

It would appear that political involvement of this type was not, however, very common among undergraduates, and the University authorities were very proud of the “responsible” and “loyal” behaviour of students during the strikes in Hong Kong.

A more innocuous form of political expression were the Double Tenth celebrations held each year in the Great Hall (Loke Yew Hall), which routinely included the reading of Sun Yat-sen’s will. Even this seemingly harmless expression of Chinese political hopes was restricted in 1932 by a covert operation involving government and University officials. As the 1930s wore on student concerns shifted towards the menace of Japan and, from 1937, a great deal of their latent political energy was redirected towards assisting those who were suffering in China.
Alumni of the Early Years

A feature of pre-war HKU which distinguishes it from the post-war years is the extraordinarily large number of undergraduates who left the University without obtaining a degree. As many as half the intake of undergraduates in some years failed to graduate. There are no reliable statistics on exactly how many students did not graduate before 1941, but a conservative estimate would put the figure at around 1,000. Not all of these students were forced to leave because of examination failures. Some, such as Leo D’Almada e Castro and Horace Lo Man-ho left HKU in order to pursue studies at overseas universities, while others, such as Kenneth Fung Ping-fan and Dhun Jehangir Ruttonjee decided to go into family business rather than see their studies through to the end.

Whatever the reason for leaving the University, many of these alumni made a significant impact in their chosen careers. Leo D’Almada established a successful practice as a barrister and led the Portuguese community in Hong Kong while serving as a member of both the Legislative and Executive Councils. Fung spent some time in the School of Chinese Studies before beginning his career as a captain of banking, commerce and industry and, like D’Almada, serving on the Legislative and Executive Councils. His twin brother, Fung Ping-wah, followed a similar path. Dhun Ruttonjee, a leader of the Indian community, also served on the Legislative Council but his most important work was in the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis as Chairman of the Ruttonjee Sanatorium and the Grantham Hospital. Eileen Chang Ai-ling gained renown as a writer. Hundreds of other pre-war HKU undergraduates who did not take degrees have entered various walks of life and made their contributions to society, not just in Hong Kong but also all over China and throughout Southeast Asia. In the mid-1930s, for example, a quarter of the members of the Hong Kong Alumni Association in Shanghai were non-graduates, but their employment differed little from their graduate classmates.

With the Japanese occupation in 1941, a whole generation of undergraduates was robbed of the opportunity to finish its HKU degrees. Many escaped to Free China and by 1944 more than 300 students were pursuing their studies at 15 Chinese universities. Some of these, and especially the medical students, came back to HKU to finish their studies after the war, but at least 400 pre-war undergraduates were unable to receive HKU degrees. Among this group are some of the most successful post-war figures in Hong Kong society.

Oswald Cheung and Simon Li Fook-sean (1937) became leaders in the local legal profession, Stanley Ho Hung-sun (1939-1941, HonDSocSc 1987) built a business empire from a modest beginning as a trader in Macau during the war years, and Raymond Huang became principal of Queen’s College after devoting his life to the education of young men. Others pursued distinguished careers overseas. Clifford Matthews worked for several years as a research scientist with Monsanto before holding the Chair of Chemistry at the University of Illinois. Uheng Khoo was a biological research scientist first at Yale University and later
Students escaped from Hong Kong to Waichow (Huizhou) in August 1942

with the US Department of Agriculture. These are simply the more prominent members of a courageous group of young men and women who lived through the war and returned to Hong Kong to help rebuild a society which had been seriously undermined by nearly four years of Japanese occupation.

**War Service**

The Japanese occupation of Hong Kong in late 1941 brought an abrupt end to the teaching and research activities of the University. On the morning of December 8, 1941, staff, graduates and undergraduates of HKU were immediately swept into the defence of the colony and were ultimately among those who both suffered most from the Japanese victory but who also did most to fight back during nearly four years of resistance. Indeed, there were many influential British officials who saw these years as the young University’s finest hour, for both graduates and undergraduates made significant contributions to the war and relief efforts throughout Asia but especially in China. These activities contributed in no small way to the decision to rehabilitate the University at the conclusion of the war. In the words of Lindsay Ride, then Vice-Chancellor, HKU had finally been “justified in war and peace” and its place was forever firmly established in the community.

HKU’s contribution to the war effort began in a small way in 1937 with medical aid given by the Students’ Union China
1942

Court and Council meetings continued in the Stanley camp during wartime.

Medical Relief Association to the Chinese Red Cross and other organisations involved in relieving the suffering of those caught up in the Japanese advance through southern China. Students such as Lee Ching-yiu (MBBS 1942), Tan Hon-teck (BSc(Eng) 1942), Li Shing-ngai (BSc(Eng) 1942), Hung Sek-chiu 洪碩釗 (BSc(Eng) 1942), Zaza Suffiad 石崇節 (BA 1942), Daphne Ho, Oswald Cheung, Clifford Matthews and Mark Tsui organised a variety of fund raising activities and several graduates volunteered for service in the medical units which were financed by these activities.

Chia Shih-ching 賈世清 (MBBS 1924) and Hua Tse-jen 華澤真 worked with a League of Nations field unit in Changsha, while Sze Tsung-sing, Eva Ho Tung 何婉姿 (MBBS 1927), Philip Moore (Mao) 毛文奇 (MBBS 1938), Cheng Kwok-kew, G.M. Abraham (MBBS 1939) and John Ho Hung-chiu worked with the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Corps. Other graduates worked in missionary hospitals: Ng Yew-seng 黃有生 (MBBS 1937) in Guilin and Yue Man-kwong 楊滿光 (MBBS 1923) in Fukien (Fujian). Several engineering graduates volunteered to work with the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, among them Harry Langson Yeh 杨蘭森 (BSc(Eng) 1939). He found himself appointed as acting depot master at Lanchi holding an army contract for 200,000 blankets but with no machinery and a virtually unskilled workforce. There was little that these few HKU graduates could do to relieve such widespread and acute suffering among soldiers and peasants in China but their example was a very strong influence in bringing other graduates and undergraduates to China after Hong Kong had fallen to the Japanese.

A large proportion of the undergraduate population and many of the graduates of HKU were mobilised during the dark days of December 1941. Medical students assisted graduate surgeons, women students acted as nurses and men as orderlies at Queen Mary Hospital and the emergency hospitals in the Great Hall, at Stanley, Shaukeiwan and elsewhere. Meanwhile, many undergraduates were resisting the Japanese advance as members of the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps (VDC), some as gunners and signalers, and others as members of field ambulance crew. The University even had its own gun emplacement on the current site of The Belcher’s development. Many of them died defending Hong Kong. They include Arthur Reed (BSc(Eng) 1930), Donald Anderson (BA 1932), Algernon Ho (BA 1942 posthumous), George Yoong Yue Mayne (BSc(Eng) 1942 posthumous), Hung Kai-chiu, Z. Kossakowski (BSc(Eng) 1942 posthumous), George Lau, E.N. Orloff (MBBS 1942 posthumous), Ernest Paterson, Stephen Reed, Peter Ulrich, Ernest Zimmern and Luke Lim Ban-seng (MBBS 1941), the most brilliant student in his year.

Upon the surrender of Hong Kong, many members of the VDC were imprisoned and some of these died later in appalling conditions as prisoners of war including W.M. Gittins (BSc(Eng) 1919), J.M. Jack (BSc(Eng) 1920) and J.J. Gutteres. Lo Tung-fan was tortured by the Japanese and executed for assisting Chinese civilians to escape into Free China. In 1943, four Malayan students were captured while
attempting to escape and either died in custody or were executed: Sim Beck-hoe, Chiang Lee-hin, Lee How-fong and Leow Hock-yew.

Later in the war, Low Teng-kee was executed after being captured while on a secret mission in Malaya, and Lau Lai (LMS 1909) and A.S. Tuxford (MBBS 1914) died in Borneo after inhuman treatment from the Japanese. Lim Bo-seng, who returned to Malaya as a guerrilla leader in the Resistance Army, was captured and executed in 1944. While these men made the ultimate sacrifice, many other graduates placed themselves in enormous danger to help their fellow men. Daphne Chun Wai-chun gave assistance to those wishing to escape the colony while Lee Hah-leong remained at his post in Hong Kong despite pressure from the Japanese to go to Nanking. He cared for many members of the HKU community incarcerated in the colony and saved the life of the seriously ill Vice-Chancellor, Duncan Sloss.
THE PRE-WAR PIONEERS

Chapter 2

1945
HKU reopened with a new mission: to prepare students to serve Hong Kong

1946
Wartime degrees conferred in the Great Hall on March 22.
Classes resumed from October 23.

Yeo Kok-cheang, who was tried by the Japanese for spying but later released, also stayed at his post at the Bacteriological Institute throughout the war. In the prisoner-of-war camp at Sham Shui Po, Solomon Bard 白德 (MBBS 1939, HonDLitt 1976) and Albert Rodrigues cared for their sick and dying comrades until the liberation in 1945. Many others made sacrifices which have gone unrecorded.

After the fall of Hong Kong many medical graduates found their way into Free China and became involved in medical relief work. They included Teng Pin-hui and Wong Cheung-chee (MBBS 1942), who worked on plague prevention throughout China; Raymond H. S. Lee (MBBS 1938), H.P.L. Ozorio (MBBS 1938) and Osler Thomas (1938-41), who organised hospitals and famine relief for Hong Kong refugees on behalf of the British Army Aid Group; and Ip Kam-wah 葉錦華 (MBBS 1920), Au King, Liu Yan-tak 廖恩德 (MBBS 1933) and Szeto Onward 司徒安活 (MBBS 1941), who worked in Kwangsi.

Douglas Laing 梁德基 (MBBS 1928), Lam Chi-wei 林志煒 (MBBS 1931), Wong Hok-nin 王學年 (MB BS 1933) and Tan Luan-hong 陳巖峰 (MBBS 1941) eventually made their way to India and Burma where they worked with the Royal Army Medical Corps, while Ong Hian-pitt (MBBS 1942) went from India to his native Indonesia to help prepare for the re-occupation by Dutch forces. In fact, medical graduates from every generation of students worked in China at various stages during the war. They included Chan Wai-chong (MBBS 1916), Phoon Sek-wah 潘錫華 (MBBS 1922, MS 1932), Li Shu-pui 李樹培 (MBBS 1928), Bee Hoat-teck 馬發德 (MBBS 1934), Teoh Thean-ming (MBBS 1934), Ip Kung-chiu 司徒均 (MBBS 1938), Yong Chong-chew 翁松洲 (MBBS 1939), Chu Kwok-king 朱國京 (MBBS 1940), Lo Sui-sun 老端新 (MBBS 1940), Lee Chingo (MBBS 1941), Sie Tjoan-djin 薛全仁 (MBBS 1941), Lau Po-hei (MBBS 1942), Leong Lean-seng (MBBS 1942), Soon Cheng-hoe (MBBS 1942) and Leow Oy-chean 廖宜新 (MBBS 1942). At a more senior level, Li Shu-fan found his way to Chungking (Chongqing) where he was given a delicate diplomatic mission to perform for the Chinese government in Europe and Washington, DC. The sheer number of medical graduates involved in relief work and the variety of their humanitarian contributions during the war is quite extraordinary by any measure.

But it was not only medical men and women who served their fellow countrymen during the war. Engineers and arts graduates were also prominent in their various roles. Foo Ping-sheung was Chinese ambassador to Moscow and Kam Sheung-woo 甘尚武 (BA 1938) was on his staff. Chu Lai-chuen (a former engineering undergraduate) was Adjutant General of the 7th War Zone Headquarters in Kukong (Qujiang), with Mohammed Ma Char-zur 马家寿 (BA 1925) and Tang Chi-keung 唐志強 (BA 1937) as his interpreters. The brothers Patrick Yu Shuk-siu, Yu Ping-tsung 余平仲 (BA 1942) and Yu Kwai-ko also worked at the 7th War Zone Headquarters, while Tong Chun-chung 唐俊聰 (BA 1925), Samuel Gittins and Oswald Prisoners-of-war at Sham Shui Po, 1942 – Albert Rodrigues (middle, back) with Solomon Bard (left, back)
Cheung spent the war as intelligence officers for the British Liaison Office in China. Kitty Tse 謝賢 (BA 1935) and Cheung Wing-min 張榮冕 (BA 1928) were also with the British Liaison Office, Eleanor Thom served with the British Ministry of Information, Zaza Suffiad with the British Embassy in Chungking, and Mary Suffiad was an intelligence officer with the British Army Aids Group.

This list of graduates and undergraduates who gave service during the war years is by no means exhaustive, and yet, considering the relatively small overall number of graduates in 1941, it provides an impressive testament to the impact which HKU’s students had during these years. It is clear that the University not only made a significant contribution to the war effort, but that many of the post-war leaders of Hong Kong had received baptism of fire during these desperate years.

**Lasting Impressions**

The number of HKU graduates working in China in the first half of the 20th century was always small compared with the huge number of graduates from Chinese and American universities. Notwithstanding their relatively small number and the lingering suspicion of the British influence during political campaigns, they nevertheless made very real contributions in every area in the modernisation of the China Motherland itself. The early Pre-War HKU graduates who returned to the mainland had become influential personages, notably in academia, in cultural circles, in public health and technological fields.

Apart from their major impact on the development of Hong Kong as one
of China’s most important entrepôt before 1949, a large number of HKU graduates also provided leadership within the Chinese diaspora communities of Southeast Asia and made significant contributions to the development of these post-colonial nations after the war.

My School Tie

After all those difficult years of war and revolution, Vincent Ling Sze-tsin (BSc(Eng) 1941) still kept the HKU tie he bought in 1940 with him as a souvenir from the past to remind him of his days at the University. During the Cultural Revolution, he fastened the tie to a mop to escape confiscation. Ling donated his tie to the University in 2000.

Wartime Album

Low Nan-hang (MBBS 1946) from Malaysia shared his little album filled with messages from HKU friends and classmates. Low has treasured it for the better part of 60 years. One of the most touching entries is a song of parting during the war, penned on the eve of their departure from Chongqing (then Chungking) by some fellow students.

“The Recollection”, a book on the contributions, from pre-war era to the 1980s, from mainland alumni in their roles as university presidents, vice presidents and senior members in the government and professional associations.
Messages of Congratulation to the First Degree Congregation of 1916: (above) from the President of the Chinese Republic; (right) from the Civil Governor of Kwangtung; (below) English translation.

Message of Congratulation from the President of the Chinese Republic

All types of men are here; their gifts diverse:
Plant growths oft mingle, each stem has its root.

Each scholar’s competent; his learning show complete,
A boon received through course of study meet.

Were not your teachers versed in wisdom’s lore.
Who could awake young manhood’s mind to soar?

China and Western lands have now one aim,
One thought and purpose; learning to acclaim.

May scholars throng your portals, there to seek
Training and strength of mind as plants, when weak,
Are trained to grow and thrive.

Your methods, wise and clear, are seen to be
Marks of this learning by the Southern Sea.

Brief through the course of your years,
Achieved is your glorious fame.

Your status is seen to be great
As the Hung To School of Hon days.

Your praises are published to-day,
They will surely be known through the world.

A translation of message by D.T.W. Pearce in 1916
The first executive committee of the Students' Union, 1919 and G.P. Jordon, the acting Vice-Chancellor (second right, front row).

The University set up a special category of 'war' degree, given to finalists at the outbreak of war. Rayson Huang hid this testimonial in the sole of a slipper, to avoid its discovery by the Japanese when he made his way from Hong Kong to war-free Chongqing.

Bonham Road, pre-war

W. Brown (sixth right, middle row), Professor of Mathematics with Hui Wai-haan (third right, middle row) and Arts undergraduates, 1930s
A drawing of the destroyed Students’ Union Building (now Hung Hing Ying Building) during the Second World War

The Students’ Union Building with its East wing destroyed by shells, and bushes growing from the rubble

Architectural features of the building today
Main Building after the war, 1945
Great Hall inside Main Building before the war
Ruins of the Great Hall in 1945, renamed as Loke Yew Hall in January 1956
The quiet lane leading to Lugard Hall
(Above & below) Old Halls, early 1970s
Lily Pond In Different Decades

"The Lily Pond, separating grass stage from a natural auditorium, was constructed after a design made in 1951 in the sands of Deep-water Bay by Donald Gould and the author. The stage and auditorium may be the sole open space in the Estate by the mid-1980s. Many of the trees around the Estate were brought from South America and Australia in the 1930s and are the only specimens in Hong Kong."

Extracted from The University of Hong Kong – An informal History by Bernard Mellor
Sports Pavilion, the first sports centre, built in 1916 (present site of Flora Ho Sports Centre)

HKU Tennis Team vs Lingnan University, 1932

A sport event, early days after the war

Tea for the Boxer Indemnity (庚子賠款) Scholars from China as they passed through HKU in September 1938 on their way to Britain.

Foo Ping-sheung (fourth left, front) at a HKU garden party, 1934
The entrance gate of the Tang Chi Ngong Building

Main Building, 1960

The campus of the Faculty of Medicine, 1980s

The Main Library, 1970s

Duncan Sloss Building (1950-1980s)
Tang Chi Ngong Building

The "good old days" at the Principal House

Former Lady Ho Tung Hall

LEGEND

1. Tang Chi Ngong Building
2. Senate Building
3. WorldWide Centre
4. Fung Ping Shan Museum
5. Phase II Development
6. Knowledge Building
7. Main Library
8. Phase III Development
9. Main Building
10. Hung King Ting Building
11. Fung Shu Ling Health Centre
12. Chemistry Building
13. Ha Ling Wing Building
14. Students' Union
15. Ho Fung Hang Science Centre
16. Ho Chi/Kwok Kung Science Centre
17. James Ho Wing Ting Science Building
18. Run Run Shaw Building
19. Run Run Shaw Building
20. Repulse Bay Theatre
21. Sun Yat Sen Stairs
22. Mong Kok Ping Garden
23. Old Site

A blueprint of the expansion of the main campus in the mid-1980s
Science Society, 1965-1966
(From left to right, front to back) Lau Oi-wah 柳愛華, Tsang Yok-sing 曾鈺成, Law Hing-chung 劉慶琮, Choi Chee-cheung 蔡繼昌, Tsang Chun-wai 湯鎮威, Cheng Kai-ming 程介明, Rita Fan Hsu Lai-tai 范徐麗泰, Siu Man-keung 蕭文強, Peter Yu Youn 于鑫, Hon Kin-fun 韓建芬, Tam Chung-ting 譚宗定, Woo Chung-ho 何仲豪, Rita Sue Sui-fan 孫錦芬, Ho Wing-huen 何永煒, Dominic Lee Tat-on 李達安, Lau Kai-sui 潘啟瑞, Yu Ming-lun 余明倫, Michael Sue Suen Ming-yeung 孫明揚, Chan Yin-kwong 陳炎光, Hui Wai-haan 許慧嫺, Steve Lan Yee-fong 蔣義方
Snapshots of Student Life

Swimming Gala, 1950s

High Table, 1960s

Sports, 1960s

Congregation at Eu Tong-sen Gymnasium, early 1950s

Students’ Union meeting, 1960s

Party time, 1960s
Gathering, all boys, 1960s

Examination day, 1960s — students were required to wear green gowns
Barn Dance, 1950s

Early 1970s

**Miss HKU**

The Miss HKU with the Union President, Dominic Tsim Tak-lung (BA 1968)

Winifred Yeung Wing-han (BA 1969), Miss HKU 1967
Girls' talk at the Students' Union in the 1970s with a corner of Lily Pond at the back and big character poster on the right

A sea-shore picnic of the Undergrad editorial members, mid-1970s

Music performance, 1970s

Tea time at student canteen, early 1970s
Morrisonians at the Grand Reunion 2001

Union Carnival

Union Blazer (1960s)
Main campus, early 1970s

Main Library, former Students' Union Building, and Main Building, early 1960s

Former Students' Union Building, early 1970s (present site of the Main Library Extension)

Chemistry Building lawn (present site of the Kadoorie Biological Sciences Building), demolished in 1997

Eu Tong-sen Gymnasium (1936-1952), at the present site of Main Library, used to hold social and congregation events
Gong Fight

Lady Ho Tung Hall vs Ricci Hall, 1973

The Lady Ho Tung Hall's gong was used at meal serving sections. The gong fight had been an inter-hall game yearly played between Lady Ho Tung Hall (the Defenders) and University Hall/Ricci Hall (the Raiders) since the early 1960s.

Lady Ho Tung Hall vs Ricci Hall, 1980

Lady Ho Tung Hall vs St John's College, Grand Reunion, 90th Anniversary, 2001
Medical graduates at the Chemistry Building, 1958

Students in green gowns and blazers, late 1960s or early 1970s

(From left) Honorary graduates, 1961 – Tang Shiu-kin, Mustapha bin Osman, Chau Tsun-nin, Chau Sik-nin, Li Shu-fan, Doraisamy Kumara Samy, Tay Gan-tin and Gerald Harold Thomas
Community Service

The 1960s

Inter-University Social Service Team offered voluntary bridge building service to the poor regions of the New Territories in the 1960s – Li Sze-wing 李思穎 (BSc(Eng) 1967) (left) and Lee Chack-fan (BSc(Eng) 1968, MSc(Eng) 1970) (middle) at Pak Kong of Sai Kung, 1968

Building road for the poor people in Castle Peak

Near completion......

Today

HKU students teaching in rural China