

**For the Country, For the Age:
Lee Teng-Hwee's Educational Philosophy at Fudan University (1913-1923)**

by

Yuxin Wang

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University Honors College in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2021

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

UNIVERSITY HONORS COLLEGE

This thesis was presented

by

Yuxin Wang

It was defended on

December 2, 2021

and approved by

Emily Baum, Ph.D., Department of History (University of California, Irvine)

Shi-Yung Liu, Ph.D., Department of History

Kun Qian, Ph.D., Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures

Thesis Advisor: James A Cook Ph.D., Asian Studies Center

Copyright © by Yuxin Wang

2021

**For the Country, For the Age:
Lee Teng-Hwee's Educational Philosophy at Fudan University (1913-1923)**

Yuxin Wang, BPhil

University of Pittsburgh, 2021

This thesis introduced Lee Teng-Hwee's contribution and educational philosophy when he served as the president of Fudan University, particularly the first ten years (1913-1923) of his presidency. Lee Teng-Hwee was an overseas Chinese who was born near the capital of the Dutch East Indies, and he represented the seventh generation of his family living in Southeast Asia. He finished his secondary education at the Anglo-Chinese School in Singapore, and then went to the United States for higher education. He finally graduated from Yale University in 1899 and was baptized in America as a Christian. During his first ten years at Fudan, Lee focused on the reformation of the school to build a Yale-style university in China. He successfully reformed Fudan from a preparatory school to a modern university that had some unique characteristics that were influenced by his educational philosophy. This study focuses on Lee's identity, his contribution to the development of Fudan, and an exploration of his motivation to build the "Eastern Yale." Lee's background would provide a unique perspective to understand Chinese higher education and the modern cultural reformation, which was a voice different from the other universities or the more radical Peking University.

Table of Contents

1.0 Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Literature Review	2
1.3 Research Question and Methodology	6
1.4 Contributions	7
1.5 Contents.....	9
2.0 Chapter 2: Southeast Asia and the United State: Lee Teng-Hwee’s Early Life.....	11
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 Childhood	11
2.3 The Singapore Anglo-Chinese School.....	15
2.4 Higher Education.....	18
2.5 Yale Institution in Batavia	22
2.6 The World’s Chinese Student Federation.....	28
2.7 Conclusion.....	31
3.0 Chapter 3: Transplantation of Yale Model	34
3.1 Introduction	34
3.2 Pre-Lee Age in Fudan’s History	36
3.3 Yale College in 1890s.....	44
3.4 Revision of School Regulation	50
4.0 Chapter 4: Embodied the Sprit: May-Fourth Movement	73
4.1 From College to University: A New Stage	73
4.2 May Fourth Movement.....	79

4.3 Evaluation and Comparison: Difference between Shanghai and Beijing In and After the May Fourth Movement	97
4.4 The New Birth: Jiangwan Campus	103
4.5 Epilogue: A Conflict with Guo Renyuan.....	107
5.0 Chapter 5: Conclusion	113
BIBLIOGRAPHY	119

List of Figures

Figure 1 The Bronze Bell in Fudan Archive.....	73
Figure 2 Shanghai Students in the Rememberance Meeting of Guo Qingguang	86
Figure 3 Jiangwan Campus Design Draft.....	104

List of Tables

Table 1 Course Subjects in Fudan and Yale	57
Table 2 Yearly Credit-Hours and Elective Choices at Fudan and Yale	61
Table 3 Freshman Year and Sophomore Year Course at Fudan and Yale.....	61

Preface

This is the first formal thesis I have written in my life. It took me a lot of time and effort, with lots of tears, coffee, dawn after sleepless nights, and a silent dialogue with the old documents. However, all of these were not the key to the final completion of this thesis. What I truly need to be thankful for are the following individuals. Without them, all of my efforts would be meaningless, or even impossible.

I would first like to show appreciation to Dr. James A Cook. I cannot forget the day when I stepped into his office for the first time. I felt so hesitant and nervous because we did not know each other at that moment. He kindly agreed with my abrupt request to him to be my supervisor. Without his help, it would have been impossible for me to start the BPhil program or overcome the great challenges I faced during the thesis writing. I knew nothing about historical research and history thesis writing at the start, but it was through the patient and experienced instruction of Dr. Cook that helped me to gradually understand both the research method and the meaning of being a history scholar. He is an English native speaker, but he could always understand my struggle with cultural and language issue as an international student. The time and effort he spent on my supervision is difficult to count, and he was very experienced in knowing when he should push me and when he should encourage me, which greatly decreased my burden. My words are too faint to tell how greatly I appreciate him and how lucky I was to have him as my supervisor.

The second person I want to appreciate to is Dr. Yimin Qian from Fudan University. It was he who enlightened me, and led me to the current research topic. As a pioneer who worked on this topic, he never hesitated to provide me with the research sources and ideas he had, and he always answered my question quickly, patiently, and in detail. Without his help, this research would have been much harder to complete.

The third person I want to thank is Dr. Kun Qian. Without her, I may have never turned my direction to the humanities. She was a beacon in my most confused year, and it was she who inspired me and let me know what kind of research I am going to do, and what kind of scholar I am going to be. She gave many excellent ideas from her own field, which greatly enhanced the value of this research and helped to find the soul of it.

I also want to appreciate my family members, especially my parents, for their selfless love, and their respect for my work and passion. They have always tried their best to understand my thoughts, which was not easy for them. I would like to thank them sincerely for their tolerance of my stubborn and selfish behavior. Some of my friends also gave me a lot of support. I especially want to appreciate two of them: thanks to Miss. Liwen Wang, for her kindness and patience, her encouragement during the most depressing time for me, and those beautiful stories she wrote for me late at night; thanks to Dr. Xianheng Guan, for the inspiring debates between us that usually help me polish my opinions and find out my mistakes, and those bubble teas he bought for me.

Finally, I want to thank President Lee Teng-Hwee, even though he will never have an opportunity to read this paragraph. His life also inspired me, encouraged me to strive for the benefit of human beings, and comforted me when I felt upset about the cruel history I learned during my research. He taught me to trust in human nature, to understand people, respect others, and love

them too. He gave me the courage to face any challenge on my way to help people understand and love each other.

1.0 Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

The concepts of Western university, college, and academy were unfamiliar in China until the end of the nineteenth century. To adapt to the competition of the modern world, China gradually built a modern higher education system so that it could cultivate cultural and technological elites for the development of the country. However, since China did not have any “modern universities,” Chinese educators and scholars first had to explore how they could transplant a modern university system into China. At first these educators and scholars imitated Japanese universities, then some of them turned their eyes to Europe and the United States. According to their own backgrounds and values, their educational philosophy differed from each other. Some of them achieved great success, and their ideas deeply influenced the future of Chinese universities, and even the whole country.

This thesis will introduce a president of Fudan University (Shanghai) whose name was Lee Teng-Hwee (Li Denghui), his educational philosophy, and his contribution to Fudan. Lee was the sixth president of Fudan, and he had a special background among other contemporary Chinese educators. He was born in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), and his native language was not Mandarin. He received his middle school education at the famous Singapore Anglo-Chinese School, which educated him in the hope that he would become a missionary. Afterwards, he went to America, and earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from Yale University. Six years after he graduated from Yale, he became an instructor at Fudan, and soon became the academic dean. In 1913, he was appointed to be the president of Fudan by a re-organized Board

of Trustees. He served as the president of Fudan until 1936, which made him the longest-serving among all of Fudan's presidents.

1.2 Literature Review

Although Fudan University had a strong reputation in the contemporary Chinese higher education field, there are only a few works that focus on Lee Teng-Hwee or on Fudan. In the English-language academic circle, Ruth Hayhoe was both the first historian who focused on Fudan and the first writer who made a great contribution to the comparative study of Chinese modern higher education research. In her paper, "Toward the Forging of a Chinese University Ethos: Zhendan and Fudan, 1903-1919," Hayhoe introduced Lee Teng-Hwee in a few paragraphs but focused more on the campus curriculum, the in-campus student organizations, and the students' life between 1913 to 1919.¹ Her research was limited by a lack of primary sources, but she drew a full picture of Fudan in Lee Teng-Hwee's age, and gave some fair comments on the University's achievements. She concluded that Fudan's academic achievements or aspirations weren't in accord with Western standards, which may suggest that Fudan was not a research-intensive university. However, she acknowledged Fudan's contribution in adapting new knowledge to Chinese realities as a pioneering institution. She emphasized Fudan's pragmatic tendency on department setting and students' enthusiasm on social activities.²

¹ Ruth Hayhoe, "Towards the Forging of a Chinese University Ethos: Zhendan and Fudan, 1903-1919," in *The China Quarterly*, June 1983, 339.

² *Ibid.*, 339-340.

Another English-language researcher was Yeh Wen-hsin, whose book, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937*, includes one section about Fudan College.³ Yeh focused on the influence that came from social and political events, and discussed the financial crisis that Fudan faced after the 1911 Revolution. She analyzed Fudan's close relationship with overseas Chinese because of the president's identity, and she also indicated that Fudan was the most popular choice among middle school-graduated students who came from several provinces around Shanghai—many of whom belonged to the rich middle class.⁴ Similar to Hayhoe, Yeh mentioned that Fudan was the center of radical students during the May Fourth Movement, but soon left the stage of radical political movements because of the transferred tendency to pragmatism. Yeh concluded that Fudan “betrayed the original purpose of rebellion and cultural retrospection.”⁵ She tended to believe that keeping a distance from the mainstream of political and cultural movements was a passive result caused by Lee's pragmatism.

Perhaps the most groundbreaking research about Lee Teng-Hwee was Jerry Dennerline's “Lee Teng Hwee, Ho Pao Jin, and Educational Reform in Malacca, Singapore, Shanghai and Beyond, 1885–1945.”⁶ Dennerline's research was based on comprehensive primary source collections and gave an in-depth analysis that focused on Lee Teng-Hwee and Ho Pao-Yeng's⁷ overseas Chinese background. It focused on the social group and network behind Lee and Ho,

³ Yeh Wen-hsin, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937* (Council on East Asian Publications, Harvard University Press, 1990), 112-116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁶ Jerry Dennerline, “Lee Teng Hwee, Ho Pao Jin, and Educational Reform in Malacca, Singapore, Shanghai and Beyond, 1885–1945,” in *Translocal Chinese: East Asian Perspective*, 57-89.

⁷ “Ho Pao-Yeng” and “Ho Pao Jin” are both used for the Chinese name 何葆仁 (He Baoren). I use Ho Pao-Yeng in this thesis because this is what he used when he published his articles in *Fuh-Tan Journal*.

and not only included overseas Chinese, but also contained groups connected by Christianity and American pragmatism. According to Dennerline, Lee and Ho belonged to a group of very active cultural and educational elites who came from Southeast Asia, and their educational reform in Shanghai was greatly influenced by their educational experience in the colonies. They were not only active in education development, but also influential in the “public sphere”—the term he used to describe the public activities of progressive social groups in their own locale.⁸ His research built a relationship between a group of people who shared similar cultural identities and backgrounds in a big scale of time and space. He demonstrated that their cultural activities were actually a “network.” Dennerline provided a more profound description and analysis of Lee Teng-Hwee’s personal experience and his educational philosophy.

Other research about Lee has been completed by Chinese scholars. The most representative is Qian Yimin’s *A Biography of Lee Teng-hwee (Li Denghui Zhuan)* published in 2005. From the cradle to the grave, Qian’s book gives a vivid and touches description of Lee Teng-Hwee’s life, which was based on the solid work of primary source collection. The book not only demonstrates the characteristic of Fudan University reformed by Lee, but also opens a window to the understanding of Lee’s spiritual life and personal ideals. As Ruth Hayhoe wrote in the preface for this book, only a few people knew about Lee Teng-Hwee and his higher education philosophy, and Qian’s research filled the gap in this field.⁹ Qian focused on Lee’s background as an overseas Chinese, Yale graduate, and Christian. The book added a great amount of historical detail into Lee’s story which makes it a truly groundbreaking work for Lee

⁸ Ibid., 59.

⁹ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan (李登辉传)* [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 1.

Teng-Hwee study. Because of the page limitation, this review is not able to go over all of its contributions, but will focus on a few main aspects. Firstly, Qian was the first who indicated that Lee Teng-Hwee's plan was to transplant Yale's model to Fudan. Secondly, Lee's identity as a Christian was explored, which explained the motivation for him to focus on moral education and to keep following extremely moral rules. Thirdly, Qian's research showed Lee's close relationship with both Fudan students and with the institution of Fudan itself, emphasizing the vital role Lee played in Fudan's history and how he deeply influenced the University. Probably we can say that without Lee, we were not going to have the modern university called Fudan in early twentieth century. These research details are very helpful for readers and other researchers who want to understand Lee Teng-Hwee's educational philosophy, and this thesis also referred to Qian's book in many aspects.

A later and shorter work about Lee Teng-Hwee was published in 2011, which is titled *Lee Teng-hwee's Educational Philosophy—Based on the Perspective of Early Fudan Regulation (1913-1922)* written by Wang Xin.¹⁰ Wang's research provides an analysis of the Fudan regulations that were composed by Lee Teng-Hwee and draws some general conclusions about Lee's educational philosophy. This research was the first that analyzed the curriculum contained in the university regulations, and is more detailed than Ruth Hayhoe's research. The author concludes that Fudan's regulations embodied the ideal of general education and emphasized both foreign language study and Chinese learning. Wang also discusses student governance, pragmatism, and moral education issues in other sections. However, Wang's work is generally

¹⁰ Wangxin 王鑫, "Lee Teng-hwee's Educational Philosophy—Based on the Perspective of Early Fudan Regulation (1913-1922)," *Meitan Higher Education*, 33.

based on Qian's research and did not add much in terms of new primary materials, which limited the depth of the analysis.

1.3 Research Question and Methodology

This thesis is going to focus on the first ten years (1913-1923) that Lee served as Fudan president. These ten years were crucial for Fudan's development from a university preparatory school to a modern university, and Lee Teng-Hwee was the key individual who led this reformation. This research is dedicated to demonstrating the specific processes that Lee used to reform Fudan, and it is especially interested in the transplantation of the Yale model. As a Yale graduate, Lee had an ambitious goal—he was devoted to building an “Eastern Yale” in China.

This research is going to answer the following three questions. First, why was Lee Teng-Hwee so fascinated by Yale? Or, what was the reason for him to choose Yale instead of other American or European universities as the example to imitate? Second, how did Lee Teng-Hwee accomplish his educational dream? What is the evidence to show his effort in this direction, and what strategy did he use to reform Fudan with Yale in mind? The last question is: if Lee chose the Yale model, was his reformation based on Yale successful? What were the characteristics and contributions of the Fudan model he created, and how did it influence higher education in China. Furthermore, how did it influence Chinese society? This thesis argues that the Fudan University that Lee created was a unique institution that integrated Lee's experience at Yale with his background as an overseas Chinese to establish a unique institution of higher learning in Republican-era China.

Two main research methods will be used in this thesis. The first is primary source analysis, which is based on primary materials including Fudan's official university history collection, contemporary newspapers (i.e., the *Shen Bao*), memoir articles of related people (i.e., students and faculty), publications of Fudan in the early twentieth century (i.e., the *Fuh-Tan Journal* published by Fudan students, Alumni Journals published by Fudan alumna), and articles or books written by Lee Teng-Hwee. The second main research method is comparative research, which contains both the comparison between Fudan and Yale and between Fudan and other Chinese universities represented by Peking University.

1.4 Contributions

The contribution of this thesis includes three aspects. Firstly, in Western or Chinese academic circles, only a few scholars have paid attention to Lee Teng-Hwee and his educational philosophy. However, Fudan was one of the best universities not only in the modern age, but also in contemporary China, and Lee was the key figure who turned Fudan into an outstanding university. As the reformer of such an influential university, Lee's educational philosophy is not familiar to most scholars. His educational philosophy requires a more intensive study and the gap on this topic should be filled.

Secondly, Fudan's attempt to transplant the Yale model to China was an experiment of merging different cultures. From this research, we may see whether the American educational system and values represented by Yale was suitable for the Republic of China, a country that was simultaneously young and old just like the United States. The United States inherited a time-honored European culture and reformed its values and social system by itself, which could have

been a good case for the young Republic of China to follow. But many other Chinese universities chose the European model in following the leadership of Cai Yuanpei. Fudan was one of those schools that chose a different road, the American model. This research on Fudan helps to understand another route of cultural communication and merging in the fields of Chinese modern higher education and the Republican era of 1911-1949.

Finally, the background of Lee Teng-Hwee made him a special case among modern Chinese educators. He was an overseas Chinese who accepted westernized education and was not familiar with Mandarin or Chinese culture (he learned Mandarin only after he came to mainland China). He was also a devout Christian, which naturally made him more intimate with Western culture. Additionally, Shanghai was a cosmopolitan city with a more open and comprehensive cultural environment, making it different from other Chinese cities, especially the inland cities such as Beijing. Therefore, Lee Teng-Hwee's understanding of higher education brought a unique perspective that was different from other mainstream voices. Like many overseas Chinese, Lee had a strong tendency of preserving and promoting traditional culture, especially Confucian culture.¹¹ What he was seeking was communication and fusion between Eastern and Western culture, instead of a mere critique of traditional culture. His background and tendency caused tension between him and the more radical New Cultural Movement scholars represented by scholars at Peking University. The May Fourth Movement and the New Culture Movement were so influential as the mainstream voice in the twentieth century that many other voices, which were not so radical, were muted. Some scholars like Yeh thought that Fudan passively left the center of political movements because of pragmatic concerns; but actually,

¹¹ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 7.

even during the May Fourth Movement, Shanghai was not as radical as Beijing in strategy. Shanghai students, led by Fudan students, demonstrated an extremely disciplined and well-organized style of protest, accompanied with a rational and moderate attitude, which implied a tendency different from students in Beijing. This research will put Lee and Fudan into the context of the higher education field within all of China, and the comparison between Fudan and other universities may give us a more optimal understanding of the value of higher education, an understanding different from that commonly found in Chinese modern history texts.

1.5 Contents

This thesis has five chapters. The first one is the introduction chapter, the second, third and fourth chapters will be the main body, and the fifth chapter will be the conclusion.

The introductory chapter provided a background of the research, a literature review of previous research, a description of research questions, methodology and sources. Finally, it demonstrated the contributions of the study.

The second chapter provided an overview of Lee's life before he arrived at Fudan between 1872 and 1905, including his childhood near Batavia, his middle school education experience in Singapore Anglo Chinese School and his study abroad experience at Yale. Afterwards, he spent a few years in Dutch East Indies, his hometown, and attempted to found an English school by himself, but finally gave up this plan and decided to go to mainland China.

This chapter will be helpful in understanding the motivation of Lee for many of his future decisions and values.

The third chapter was about the foundation and development of Fudan before Lee became president (1905-1913), and the first four years of reform Lee undertook in Fudan (1913-1916). It ends in 1917 when Fudan renamed itself Fudan University from Fudan College. This chapter demonstrated the main challenges Lee faced when he became president and his effort to develop the school from a college to a university. An imitation of Yale that focused on structure, curriculum and discipline was completed in this stage.

The fourth chapter had three main topics, the May Fourth Movement, Fudan's new campus in Jiangwan, a suburb area of Shanghai, and a conflict between Lee Teng-hwee and a new professor, Guo Renyuan, which finally led to his departure from the university for a short time. A detailed research of Shanghai May Fourth Movement based on newspaper reports was done for understanding Fudan students' behavior and contribution in this event. It demonstrated how Fudan inherited Yale's spirit, instead of merely inheriting the system or structure. It also analyzed some of Fudan's unique characteristics through a comparison between Fudan and Peking University. The foundation of Jiangwan new campus in 1922 was another sign of accomplishment for reforming Fudan into a modern university. The conflict between Lee and Guo in 1923, however, exposed a potential threat that came from political intervention and which threatened the independence and freedom of the campus.

The final chapter will examine the conclusion, and provided a comprehensive answer of the research questions raised in the first chapter.

2.0 Chapter 2: Southeast Asia and the United State: Lee Teng-Hwee's Early Life

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will introduce Lee Teng-Hwee's life prior to his arrival at Fudan University and his early life which inspired his dream of developing education for the Chinese people. Knowing his background and early experiences is helpful for readers to understand his motives and thoughts. This chapter will be divided into four parts in chronological order: childhood, secondary education period, higher education period, and educational activities before taking a position at Fudan after graduation. Through this chapter, readers will see how an overseas Chinese young man who was born in a Dutch East Indies village and could not even speak the mainland language of Mandarin gradually grew into a great educator via education and struggle.

2.2 Childhood

On April 18, 1872, a baby boy was born in the village of Parmera on the outskirts of Batavia on the Island of Java in the Dutch East Indies. As the first-born male, Lee Teng-Hwee received a lot of love and attention from this wealthy business family who believed in the Chinese traditional lineage concept. His father held an exceptionally grand banquet to celebrate his birth.¹²

¹² Qian Yimin 钱益民, "Lee Teng-Hwee Zhuan 李登辉传 [A biography of Lee Teng-Hwee]" (Fudan University Press, 2005), 4.

The traditional Chinese banquet after the birth of a newborn displays how the Lee family retained some of their Chinese notions and identity. While Lee Teng-Hwee and his family had a long history of preserving their Chinese character, nevertheless there still existed a great distance between their lives and mainland China. Lee Teng-Hwee's ancestors came from Tongan, Fujian, and had moved to Java Island seven generations previously, during the Kangxi period (1662-1722).¹³ As the eighth-generation descendant of this family that had been living on Java, Lee Teng-Hwee naturally had little concept of the unfamiliar familial motherland. Like other overseas Chinese who chose to stay in the Dutch East Indies (DEI), the Lee family gradually integrated into the local culture and found their place in society. In Java, the identities of overseas Chinese were more complicated, especially those of the Lee family who treasured their identity as Chinese. They did not believe they should be loyal to the Dutch colonial government, yet at the same time they lacked actual contact with the distant motherland. According to some scholars, overseas Chinese like Lee Teng-Hwee's family should belong to the Peranakan Chinese ethnic group. The language used by Peranakan Chinese is generally a hybrid language called Melayu Pasar, which is formed by the fusion of some mainland Chinese dialects (such as Hakka and Fujian) and the Malay language. They kept many traditional cultural customs as Chinese, such as clothing, eating habits (local Muslims did not eat pork, but Peranakan Chinese did), and marriage ceremonies (refusing to intermarry with local natives, only marrying between Chinese families). Another point worth noting is that Peranakan Chinese retained their Chinese names and they also privileged male descendants in the family line.¹⁴

¹³ Ibid., 1.

¹⁴ Crystal Susiana Paruntu, *Resinification in Education for Chinese in Netherlands-indies on Early 20th Century* (Leiden University, 2016), 16.

Establishing the Dutch East India Company in 1602, the Dutch colonists arrived in the Netherlands earlier than the first generation of immigrants from the Li family. The pursuit of economic and commercial interests was the common reason for the two to come to the DEI , and it was also the bond between them. From the end of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century, Sino-Dutch trade was booming, prompting many Chinese businessmen to settle in the region. Perhaps Lee Teng-Hwee's ancestors were also among them. However, the Batavia massacre that occurred in 1740 destroyed the relationship between overseas Chinese and the Dutch colonial government. According to statistics, at least 10,000 Chinese were killed in this massacre.¹⁵ The cause of the massacre was the bankruptcy of a local sugar workshop run by overseas Chinese in Batavia in the spring of 1740, which led to an increase in unemployment and a deterioration in public security. The Dutch authorities reacted by implementing relatively strict control measures, which caused dissatisfaction among the local Chinese. The conflict between the two sides gradually intensified and eventually turned into a Chinese uprising; those frightened overseas Chinese declared war on the Dutch authorities. The final result of this conflict was the notorious Batavia massacre. In this tragedy, it was not only the relations between the Dutch government and the Chinese that deteriorated. Indeed, when the Dutch government sent a letter to the Chinese government expressing their worry that the Qing government would dispatch troops out of revenge, Beijing replied that they did not consider that the Chinese living in the DEI were still Qing citizens, thus they were not part of the Qing government's concern.¹⁶ Since then, the identity of the DEI Chinese had become contested. The colonial government obviously did not

¹⁵ Lynn Pan, *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas* (Harvard University Press, 1999), 172.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 175.

intend to give them equal human rights, while the Chinese government, far across the strait, no longer acknowledged their subordination.

Although they had suffered a tragic massacre, the DEI Chinese gradually regained their status in the Dutch colony after a period of recovery. In the eyes of the Dutch colonists, they had lower social status than the Dutch, but higher than the indigenous people of the archipelago. Chinese businessmen like Lee Teng-Hwee's father, who made their fortune by doing business in the DEI, were only able to develop such a family business with the encouragement and permission of the Dutch government. In the era when Lee Teng-Hwee lived, the Dutch handed over much of the power to do business in the DEI to the Chinese. In the late eighteenth century, the Chinese people dominated the business activities in several areas of the archipelago, including Ambon, Makassar, Batavia and Bnagka.¹⁷

As the eldest son of the family, Lee Teng-Hwee's father naturally expected him to inherit his business, for the purpose of which education is indispensable. At that time, some Chinese families would choose to hire tutors to teach their children Chinese and Chinese classics as primary education or send them to private schools. These Chinese families highly valued their Chinese identity and expected that their descendants would maintain their cultural identity as Chinese and not forget their roots. However, Lee Teng-Hwee's father did not seem to care so much about whether his children could read or write Chinese characters. He hoped that young Teng-Hwee could master Dutch in order to facilitate future trade. In 1879, Lee Teng-Hwee registered in a Dutch elementary school in Batavia¹⁸ and started his education. However, he failed to become the successful businessman that his father had expected. After graduating from elementary school, he

¹⁷ Ibid., 4.

¹⁸ Batavia was the capital of DEI at that time. It is both the political and the economic center of DEI, which was very prosperous.

went to Singapore to receive secondary education. In Singapore, he found more possibilities for his life.

2.3 The Singapore Anglo-Chinese School

The second stop on Lee Teng-Hwee's educational path was the Anglo-Chinese School in Singapore, which he attended from 1887 to 1889. Singapore was a British colony and the largest Chinese settlement in Southeast Asia at that time. As an important port and trade center, Singapore was lively and prosperous. It was not only goods and money that circulated here, but also people and ideas of all kinds and from different places. All these were completely different from what Lee Teng-Hwee had experienced in Java.

It can be said that Lee Teng-Hwee was very lucky because he happened to come to Singapore shortly after the successful opening of Anglo-Chinese School. The experience of this school was very bumpy. The earliest attempt to open a church school in Singapore was made by Rev. Robert Morrison and Sir Stamford Raffles in the 1820-1830s. As China's first Protestant missionary of the modern age, Morrison established the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca to promote the exchange and common development between Chinese and English literature. Malacca's Anglo-Chinese College was a success, and therefore Raffles hoped that Morrison would move the college to Singapore and incorporate it into his Singapore Institution.¹⁹ They made two attempts (the second attempt was made even after the death of Raffles), but ultimately both failed

¹⁹ R.L. O'Sullivan, *The Anglo-Chinese College and the Early 'Singapore Institution'* (Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1988), 49.

due to such issues as financial resources, labor, and pressure from public opinion. In the end, the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca did not go to Singapore, but moved to Hong Kong after the end of the First Opium War in 1852. The Anglo-Chinese College in Singapore was not founded until March 1, 1886 with the help of Bishop William Fitzjames Oldham from the Methodist Church.²⁰

The establishment of the Anglo-Chinese School in Singapore, however, was funded by local overseas Chinese. They hoped that their children would receive a systematic British education, be proficient in the English language, and gain a place in upper-middle class society by participating in trade with Westerners. At the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca, missionaries observed that the Chinese children studying there had a greater enthusiasm for mathematics and business-related terminology than European children of the same age. Many of them achieved excellent results and quickly entered the business world after graduation. It was said that they were “exceedingly clever in transacting commercial affairs.”²¹ It is also worth mentioning that some Chinese children were also keen to learn Mandarin, even though this did not directly help their development in Malaya. Their enthusiasm for learning Mandarin comes from their national pride. However, neither the institution’s focus on the cultivation of secular knowledge and skills nor the study of Chinese met the actual interests of the church. They wanted to expand the influence of Christianity through church schools. Local missionaries felt that young children seemed to have more potential to become believers than adults. Soon after Lee Teng-Hwee graduated from the Anglo-Chinese College, a dispute between the secular and the sectarian backers broke out over the

²⁰ Jerry Dennerline, *Lee Teng Hwee, Ho Pao Jin, and Educational Reform in Malacca, Singapore, Shanghai and Beyond, 1885-1945* (Translocal Chinese: East Asian Perspectives, 2017), 68.

²¹ R.L. O’Sullivan, *The Anglo-Chinese College and the Early ‘Singapore Institution’* (Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1988), 54.

educational purpose of school. There seemed to be some remarks in the church that belittled the Chinese funders of the school, believing that they obtained money easily, and that as wild infidels, they did not understand the real meaning of a church school. The secular funders were obviously not pleased to be evaluated in this way. They just wanted to gain education resources fairly, given that they had paid out the funds for the land.

According to the records in Qian's biography of Lee, the specific courses that Lee Teng-Hwee took at the Anglo-Chinese College in Singapore might imitate those of a British secondary school.²² Although I have not found the curriculum records of the Anglo-Chinese College in Singapore, perhaps we can gain some reference from the curriculum arrangement of Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca (the latter was also a copy of a British secondary school). The school's curriculum lasted for six years in total, and Chinese students were expected to be able to "read and understand the Chinese classics" and "read and write the English language." In addition, they were also required to learn mathematics, history, geography (including navigation), logic, ethics, philosophy, theology and astronomy. Students attended classes three times a day, prayed in Chinese in the mornings and evenings, and listened to preaching in English every Sunday. English grammar and writing skills were of great value, as was emphasized in the contract parents signed with the college. They promised parents that children completing their studies there would have an adequate ability in English.²³

We do not know to what extent students could learn Chinese at the Anglo-Chinese School in Singapore. Moreover, Lee Teng-Hwee only studied in the Anglo-Chinese School for three short years. However, what is certain is that he was able to come into contact with a systematic Western

²² Qian, 7.

²³ R.L. O'Sullivan, *The Anglo-Chinese College and the Early 'Singapore Institution'* (Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1988), 52.

education there, and he gained a more specific understanding of Western culture. Obviously, the study at the Anglo-Chinese School inspired his enthusiasm. He has not only achieved excellent results but had also converted to Christianity. He was exactly the kind of student the missionaries wanted to train: smart, good at learning, and receptive towards Christianity.

Singapore's influence on Lee Teng-Hwee can be roughly divided into two aspects. On the one hand, the school curriculum laid the foundation for him to study in the United States in the future and also sowed in him the Christian faith that affected his life; on the other hand, the cultural environment was quite different than that of his hometown. In this Chinese-populated city, he was able to get in contact with more Chinese, including his fellow Hokkien,²⁴ thus giving him a further understanding and recognition of his national identity. In the school's religious and secular controversy, his teachers hoped that he could embark on the path of being a firm believer and spread the Christian gospel; his father hoped that he would inherit the family business and become a businessman. However, after graduating from the Anglo-Chinese College, Lee Teng-Hwee did not choose any of their wished-for paths. Perhaps it was his later educational experience in the United States that formed his own choice.

2.4 Higher Education

In 1890, with the financial support from his father, Lee Teng-Hwee went to the United States and studied at Ohio Wesleyan University (OWU) as a preparatory student.

²⁴ Hokkien, also known as Fukienese, refers to Chinese people who were born in Fujian province.

OWU was established in Delaware, Ohio with community support in 1842 by the Rev. Adam Poe. He was the pastor of Delaware's William Street Church.²⁵ Therefore, the university had historic ties with the Methodist Church, which seems to be the reason why this was the first place that Lee Teng-Hwee visited in the United States. After his study at OWU, he was successfully admitted to Yale University in 1897 and was permitted to enter the third-year class directly. He then obtained his Bachelor of Arts Degree in June 1899.²⁶ Supporting his studies in America was a great burden for his family at that time, so he spent much of his time working a part-time job during his life in Ohio.²⁷

Although he only spent two years at Yale, this well-established and remarkable college had a far-reaching influence on Lee Teng-Hwee, which might be greater than any other place he had stayed during his educational development. Yale made its mark on many of Lee Teng-Hwee's educational ideas and experiments. Like OWU, Yale University was founded by a group of church members with a strong religious fervor. Moreover, it is much older than Wesleyan University, and even older than the United States of America. Yale in the nineteenth century was famous for its consistent conservatism. Yale men liked tradition and hated any change, and the Board of Trustees was always made up of clergy members. It was not until 1899, the year when Lee Teng-Hwee graduated, that Yale University appointed its first secular president, Arthur Twining Hadley. His appointment caused great chaos at Yale, and it took some time for the controversy to quiet down.

²⁵ "History and Traditions," in *Ohio Wesleyan University Official Web* (<https://www.owu.edu/about/history-traditions/>), Access April 6, 2021.

²⁶ Qian, p12.

²⁷ Ibid., p13.

Although Yale has a history of being a conservative stronghold, it is also one of the most dynamic and vital college campuses in the United States. This vitality was mainly reflected in the students' loyalty to their school, their active relationships between each other, and their strong enthusiasm for social work. Compared with Harvard's passion for seeking knowledge and truth, Yale seems to pay more attention to the cultivation of a student's personality. As Charles Franklin Thwing, the American clergyman and educator from Harvard commented in 1897, "Harvard stands as the mother of movements, and Yale as the mother of men."²⁸ In this respect, the New-England-style college had always been loyal to British tradition, "the essential object of the institution is still to educate rather than instruct, to be a mother of men than a school of doctors."²⁹

During Lee Teng-Hwee's time at Yale, there were three aspects of the university that made the deepest impression on him. These aspects were interrelated and inseparable, and together constitute a complete system that formed the base of the whole Yale education. . These three aspects were: the profound liberal arts curriculum, which had a long history; the time-honored strict discipline, which restricted the students' daily life; and the camaraderie that existed between students, who saw themselves as part of the same college.

Yale might be one of the last schools in the United States that accepted the elective system from German universities. One of the proudest traditions of Yale College was its liberal arts curriculum. The courses included some very old subjects that may lack practical value but were thought to be of great benefit to the cultivation of students; for instance, philosophy, Greek, Latin,

²⁸ George Wilson Pierson, *Yale College: An Educational History, 1871-1921, Vol. 1* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

and mathematics. It was fair to say that Yale had the nature of an upper-class university, just like its ancient predecessors from New England. Parents who liked to send their children to Yale usually came from the higher classes of society. The students Yale tended to cultivate were not professionals with certain skills, but outstanding graduates with the potential to become social leaders and achieve success in various fields. A deep understanding of these liberal arts classics could help students form good aesthetic and moral values. Strict discipline, together with the religious atmosphere of the school, provided students with excellent habits and attitudes towards life. Yale students had to get up very early every morning and go to bed at night at a certain time. They also had heavy recitation tasks during their early years in the college. Both Greek and Latin required a lot of memorizing, which was a great challenge to their memory and endurance. Finally, the brotherhood between students maximized the benefits of the first two features. The strong spirit of confirmation and solidarity made Yale students learn to cooperate with others and to devote themselves to society. More importantly, they provided Yale with a huge and efficient alumni network. Being a Yale man not only meant having some Yale-style characteristics, but it also meant the membership in the “Yale Club”—members of this “club” spread all over the upper classes of the United States, including elites in many different fields. Being a member of the “Yale Club” meant that you could seek the friendship of other alumni, and that you could be a part of that team and cooperate with each other in order to influence and promote the society in the way of Yale. These excellent graduates brought Yale many rewards, including both a huge amount of funding and great social influence that cannot be underestimated. This is one of the reasons why many elite parents, especially Yale alumni, tended to send their children to Yale.

Lee Teng-Hwee graduated from Yale with excellent grades. This was a great honor and success and showed the great effort he had made. There were more than one hundred students in

his class, of whom only twenty successfully obtained their degrees.³⁰ What Yale education brought to Lee Teng-Hwee was not only personal development and growth, but also deep thinking and understanding of a mature and ideal education system. Even his goal of developing a career in education took shape at Yale. Probably it could be said that if he had not been educated at Yale, his future educational philosophy would not have been so advanced and outstanding. However, even having graduated with such achievements and experience, Lee Teng-Hwee still had a long way to go to become a real educator. The farewell to Yale was also a farewell to his student life. After that, Lee Teng-Hwee was no longer a student walking through classrooms and waiting for guidance from others. He was about to enter society. He began to explore, to struggle, and to try to realize his ideal and create an educational career in his own way.

2.5 Yale Institution in Batavia

After graduation, Lee Teng-Hwee returned to the DEI from the United States in 1900. Over the next three years, he started the exploration of an educational enterprise. The first step was to apply the theories and concepts learned from Yale to the overseas Chinese society where he grew up.

Lee Teng-Hwee did not go back to Batavia directly. He first journeyed to Penang and served as the director of the English Department at the Anglo-Chinese School, which was also controlled by the Methodist Episcopal Church. However, this job did not last long. In less than one

³⁰ Ibid., 21-22.

year, he resigned from the Anglo-Chinese School and returned to his hometown. According to Yimin Qian's analysis, Lee Teng-Hwee worked at the Anglo-Chinese School due to financial pressure from his family. The main reason for leaving the Anglo-Chinese School, however, was his disagreement with the school's educational mission.³¹ The Anglo-Chinese School was a missionary school run by Western missionaries to expedite/pursue their missionary work. The goal was to imitate British high schools. Compared with the advanced educational concepts Lee had been immersed in while studying in the United States, they appeared to be quite backwards. Furthermore, Lee Teng-Hwee's educational ideals, according to his later actions, originated from the Chinese nation's interests. In short, judging from the fact that he quickly left the Anglo-Chinese School, even if he had been baptized as a Methodist, he did not eventually become an avid supporter of the Anglo-Chinese School's mission as the missionaries had hoped. Those missionaries who regarded Lee Teng-Hwee's success as a victory for the mission school in Singapore were disappointed by his departure.

However, in Penang, Lee Teng-Hwee still made some important advances. Fortunately, he became acquainted with a person who had a similar background and ideals as himself—Dr. Lim Boon-Keng (Lin Wenqing), the future president of Xiamen University. Lim Boon-Keng was a Chinese citizen born in Singapore. Like Lee Teng-Hwee, his ancestral home was in Fujian province. He went to the United Kingdom for higher education (University of Edinburgh) and obtained a master's degree in surgery. After returning to Singapore, Lim Boon-Keng was an avid supporter of the overseas Chinese cultural movement, calling on Chinese people there to learn about the motherland's language and culture. He himself had to study Chinese while at University

³¹ Ibid., 24.

as he had not been exposed to Mandarin in his primary or secondary education. Lim became a champion of Confucian ethics both in Southeast Asia and mainland China. In Southeast Asia at that time, with the rise of the economic importance of many overseas Chinese and their pursuit of a national identity, such a call was very popular. During Lee Teng-Hwee's stay in Penang, Lim Boon-Keng was cooperating with others to establish the Singapore Chinese Girls' School. He also organized social activities, such as establishing a women's "Tianzu Club" (天足会) to encourage Chinese women to abolish the traditional practice of foot binding. Lee Teng-Hwee participated in assisting some of Lim Boon-Keng's activities, and they also founded the "Haoxue Hui" (好学会) in Penang together.³² This organization had obvious nationalistic intentions. It encouraged local Peranakans to learn the Chinese language and culture, strengthened their ties with mainland China, and established their national identity. Due to the cooperation with Lim Boon-Keng, it was clear that Lee Teng-Hwee was developing a stronger awareness of China and a deeper sense of Chinese culture. Also, at this point Lee had chosen the modernization of his nation as his future goal.

After his farewell to Penang Island, the Anglo-Chinese College, and Lim Boon-Keng, Lee Teng-Hwee returned to his hometown in 1901. He had been away for more than ten years. In Batavia, he made his first attempt of his career to establish a school. He wanted to establish an English school for Chinese people in Batavia so that Batavia would become as modern as Singapore. He named this school The Yale Institute, which showed his ambition and ideals in education. He borrowed 2,100 guilders, hired three foreign teachers, rented a few private homes in the local area, and built a small-scale school. He did not set any restrictions on enrollment and accepted all applicants regardless of their age, gender, occupation, or education level. His plan was

³² Ibid., 25-26.

ambitious, but unfortunately, his dream of building a Yale-style school in the DEI was not realized in Batavia. Only a few months after its founding, the Yale Institute was unable to sustain itself due to various problems. The level of the students in school was uneven, and the teaching load was too much for only four teachers (including Lee Teng-Hwee himself). Furthermore, without a stable funding source, the school was soon caught in a financial crisis.³³

Just when the Yale Institute was about to close down, it fortunately received unexpected assistance. Almost at the same time that Lee Teng-Hwee founded the Yale Institute, another group of Chinese also sought to establish a school called the Chinese School (also known as Sekola Tjina) in Batavia. They came from an organization called Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan (中華会馆) (THHK).³⁴ As mentioned previously, the appearance of overseas Chinese like Lee Teng-Hwee and Lim Boon-Keng in Southeast Asia was not accidental, but due to a trend of historical and economic forces. The Chinese who formed the THHK also had a background of studying abroad. They had two intentions which are similar with Lee's and Lim's: to promote the modernization of overseas Chinese society in Southeast Asia, and to arouse national consciousness. What many upper-class overseas Chinese were looking for was the improvement of their social status, the reform of overseas Chinese society, and the prosperity of a pan-Chinese movement. THHK was the first Pan-Indonesian Chinese organization in the DEI. It was founded in Batavia on March 17th, 1900, by a group of Batavian Chinese.³⁵ They established this organization and Chinese education in general in part as a response to discriminatory laws implemented by the Dutch government, which segregated Chinese people from Europeans. According to the law, the Chinese

³³ Ibid., 26.

³⁴ Crystal Susiana Paruntu, *Resinification in Education for Chinese in Netherlands-indies on Early 20th Century* (Leiden University, 2016), 19.

³⁵ Ibid., 19.

had to live in areas appointed by the Dutch government.³⁶ Western-educated Chinese leaders believed that only by uniting the Chinese could it be possible to improve this situation. Another reason was that they wanted to take back the control of education from the Dutch. As a response to THHK's action, the Dutch also set up a series of educational institutions for Chinese people called Dutch Chinese schools (Hollandsch Chinesesche School-HCS) after 1907. These schools focused on Western-style teaching, intending to stabilize and control the Chinese in the DEI, and weaken their national consciousness and ties with mainland China.³⁷ The establishment of the Dutch Chinese schools showed the Dutch colonists' attitude towards the Chinese community and towards the Pan-Chinese movement, and also reflected the challenges that THHK faced. Therefore, to resist the racial policy of the Dutch government, unlike Lee Teng-Hwee's English school, the school managed by THHK emphasized Chinese teaching, Confucianism classics, and Confucian culture.

However, despite their different plans, THHK organizers shared many of the same goals as Lee Teng-Hwee. These goals may be one of the reasons why they were willing to help the Yale Institute. Another reason might be that they were happy to add another language to the THHK school's system. After several negotiations with Lee Teng-Hwee, on September 1st, 1901, THHK formally took over the Yale Institute and operated it as a part of THHK schools. Lee Teng-Hwee still held the position of principal and was responsible for school management and teaching activities. The Yale Institute was renamed Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan Yale Institute and added Chinese cultural courses that taught Confucian classics into its curriculum.³⁸

³⁶ Ibid., 18.

³⁷ Crystal Susiana Paruntu, *Resinification in Education for Chinese in Netherlands-indies on Early 20th Century* (Leiden University, 2016), 22-23.

³⁸ Qian, 29.

It is worth mentioning that THHK was also directly influenced by Lim Boon-Keng and the famous Confucian philosopher Kang Youwei.³⁹ The first principal of the Chinese School was Lu Guifang (卢桂舫), who was recommended by Lim Boon-Keng; the second principal was Lin Huiyi (林辉义), who was Kang Youwei's disciple. Lin Huiyi initially worked at Datong University in Yokohama, Japan, which was established by Kang Youwei himself. Kang Youwei invited Lin Guifang to Batavia to participate in the affairs of the Chinese School.⁴⁰ In September 1903, Kang Youwei went to Batavia himself and visited the Chinese School. During his cooperation with THHK, Lee Teng-Hwee came into direct contact with Kang Youwei's ideas. Previously, he had had no opportunity to systematically study Confucian culture and its role in the early Chinese nationalism movement. It is possible that many of Lee's explorations and contemplations on Confucianism culture were inspired by his experience in these two years.

Although THHK had provided Lee with great freedom and convenience since now the Yale Institute had a secure funding supply, he eventually chose to leave. There were too many restrictions in the DEI for him to accomplish his ideals, such that the Dutch government's unfriendly policies and the lack of resources were limitations upon his abilities. Southeast Asia was a platform that was just too small for the educational ideal of "building an Eastern Yale." In May 1903, Lee Teng-Hwee resigned from his position as the Yale Institute's principal.

In the winter of 1904, he set off again from his hometown. This time, his destination was another unfamiliar country, just like his ancestors hundreds of years ago, setting off from that continent by wooden ships against the wind and waves. The continent was the hometown of Lee's

³⁹ Kang Youwei (1858.3.19-1927.3.31), was the leader of the Hundred-Day political reform in 1898. He supported reforms that planned to turn the Qing government into a constitutional monarchy, and focused on the new Confucianism.

⁴⁰ Qian, 29.

ancestors, but for Lee, it was a land that he had never seen. The land of promise only existed in his imagination based on others' description and literary records. With great ideals and complex feelings, 33-year-old Lee Teng-Hwee bid farewell to his birthplace of Batavia, crossed the strait, and came to, or rather, returned to mainland China. In this country, he was going to continue his unfulfilled expectations, determined to find the mission for which he would devote the rest of his life.

2.6 The World's Chinese Student Federation

When Lee Teng-Hwee arrived in mainland China in the winter of 1904, the first place he visited was his ancestral home of Tong'an, Fujian province. However, unlike the time when he returned to Batavia in 1900, it was difficult for him to find even one acquaintance he recognized in the hometown of his ancestors. He did not spend much time in Fujian. By January 1905, he had already arrived in Shanghai. For Lee Teng-Hwee, the lack of interpersonal connections in Shanghai was a huge challenge, given that he could not even speak Mandarin. For a young man who wanted to create a career in an unfamiliar place, what else could have been worse than this? Fortunately, he quickly found a solution.

What helped him solve this problem was his identity as a Christian. Lee arrived in Shanghai in the same year. He joined the Shanghai YMCA, and thus came into contact with members of Shanghai's upper class, including foreign missionaries, returned students, and local Christians.⁴¹

⁴¹ Ibid., 32.

As a result, he gradually launched his activities on mainland China. Perhaps inspired by the organizational form of the YMCA, Lee Teng-Hwee initiated the idea of establishing an organization that could connect and unite all Chinese students at home and abroad. Through the establishment of such an organization, the strength of students scattered in various places could be united, thereby forming a powerful influence that would be sufficient to promote the progress of the entire society.

Lee Teng-Hwee quickly put his ideas into practice. At the beginning of 1905, he was invited to give a speech at the YMCA. The content of the speech was about his idea of establishing a student organization similar to the YMCA, but different from it. In his speech, he proposed that this group should be an "organization that resembles both an academic society and a welfare group," encouraging academic research, liaising with domestic and foreign countries, and absorbing advanced overseas cultures in order to pursue domestic progress and reform. In addition, like the YMCA, he advocated for some noble and beneficial entertainment that would guide young people to cultivate good character, engage in physical exercise, and thus lay the foundation for the development of the motherland. In addition, Lee Teng-Hwee also mentioned his personal experience. He said that he grew up in Southeast Asia and witnessed that overseas Chinese people were often oppressed by Westerners. He was also inspired by the ideals of the Chinese nationalist Sun Yat-Sen⁴² and others. Therefore, he came back to China to develop China's education and spread scientific knowledge.⁴³

Lee Teng-Hwee's speech inspired many in the audience. Soon, he started receiving support from all parts of society and began to plan the specific name, purpose, and articles of his planned

⁴² Sun Yat-Sen, the first president of the Republic of China, led a revolutionary party to overturn the Qing government.

⁴³ Ibid., 34.

association, and set up a board of directors. The board of directors finally determined that the name of the society would be modeled on the World Christian Students' Federation and named the "World Chinese Students' Federation."⁴⁴ The purpose of the society was to assist in promoting the modernization of the Qing Dynasty, and to help Chinese students studying abroad to connect, communicate, or unite with each other as well. In addition, it also provided the members with consulting services about employment, medicine, law, and so on. The members of the board of directors were all students who had returned to the United States, and there were many influential people on the board, including Yan Huiqing, Wu Tingfang, Song Yaoru, and Wang Zhengting. Nominated by the board of directors, Lee Teng-Hwee was elected chairman.⁴⁵

After a preparation period that lasted for about half a year, the federation was successfully established. At 2pm on July 1, 1905, at No. 15 Beijing Road, the famous Chinese scholar Yan Fu⁴⁶ presided over the founding ceremony of the Federation. Hundreds of people came to participate in it despite the rain. Since then, the Federation has developed very smoothly and attracted many outstanding young international students to participate, including many celebrities in business, politics, and academia. In 1905, the Qing government announced the abolition of the traditional imperial examinations⁴⁷ and the number of students studying abroad significantly increased. Therefore, the demand for study abroad consultation also increased rapidly. Without the past experience that told young students how to prepare and schedule for studying abroad, students

⁴⁴ Ibid., 34.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 35.

⁴⁶ Yan Fu (1854-1921) was one of the earliest translators and enlightenment thinkers in modern China. He translated many influential Western works like *Evolution and Ethics* written by Darwin and introduced them to China.

⁴⁷ The imperial examination was the traditional way for Chinese people to earn a position in the bureaucracy system, which was created in 587 C.E. This system allowed Chinese people to earn social status and wealth regardless of their social class. The most important standards for the examination were the knowledge of the Confucian classics and writing skills. In 1905, the imperial examination was canceled by the Qing government for the reason that it was unable to satisfy the requirement of Western knowledge and elites in the modern age.

were confused on these issues. As a result, the services of consultation and support in application, transportation, and other affairs provided by the Federation were welcomed by the students and helped many of them. In its heyday, there were thousands of members all over the world, and branches were established in many cities at home and abroad, such as in Qingdao, Fuzhou, Singapore, Penang, and Hawaii. It can be said that the establishment of this federation was Lee Teng-Hwee's first success in mainland China and it prepared him for his future work at Fudan. Perhaps because of the opportunity to establish the Federation, Lee Teng-Hwee met Ma Xiangbo, the founder of Fudan College under the introduction of Yan Fuqing, and began to work at Fudan University in January 1906, thus making Lee cross paths with Fudan University. This intersection brought him one step closer to realizing his ideal of "building an Eastern Yale."

2.7 Conclusion

Lee Teng-Hwee's life before coming to Fudan was long and bumpy. He had been to many places, made acquaintances with many different people, and experienced a lot. Only after these challenges did he finally clarify his ambition and possess the ability to realize it. The small village in Batavia was the starting point of his life, where he formed his identity as an overseas Chinese. Later, at the Anglo-Chinese School in Singapore, he was systematically exposed to Western culture for the first time and also developed a belief in Christianity. Although he had been active as an educator who was loyal to the Chinese nation since that time, his belief in Christianity accompanied him throughout his whole life; it was an essential principle guiding his conduct. His educational experience in the United States provided him with a broader vision and a fascination with elite universities like Yale. Although he only stayed at Yale for two years, the experience was

deeply imprinted in his heart and became his lifelong pursuit and ideal. Perhaps because of the huge impact and change brought about by his education, Lee Teng-Hwee believed in the significance of education. Bringing the Yale model and Yale culture back to his compatriots was the solution he found to promote the development of the nation and the country.

However, there was a big gap between Lee Teng-Hwee's hopes and reality. At the start of the twentieth century, Western-style education was still a relatively unfamiliar concept for Chinese people in China and Southeast Asia. At that time, most Western-style schools for the Chinese were run by missionaries. Therefore, Lee Teng-Hwee could only find the right path through gradual practice. After graduating from Yale and returning to the DEI, he spent a few years exploring the possibilities of developing education for local Chinese people. He had a deeper understanding of the Chinese people's situation and the education they needed. In the end, he realized that only by returning to mainland China could he realize his ideals. In the DEI, the overseas Chinese community's development was restricted by the government. The environment was much more friendly for him in mainland China. At the beginning of the twentieth century, China was eager for talented people with Western educational backgrounds. Young people like Lee Teng-Hwee, who were both thoughtful and passionate about saving the country, were precisely what China needed. Lee Teng-Hwee represented a group of young elites similar to himself who came from the wealthy class of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia and who had Western education experience too. They were very dissatisfied with the various colonial governments' policy of suppressing the Chinese. After being influenced by Western culture, they were disappointed with what they saw as the overseas Chinese community's backward cultural practices. Therefore, many of them, such as Lee Teng-Hwee, Lim Boon-Keng, and Tan Kah-Kee, adopted the promotion of education as an approach to promote national progress and carried out educational activities in mainland China.

After arriving in mainland China in 1904, Lee Teng-Hwee's educational and religious background provided him with many privileges, enabling him to enter the upper-class and organize the World's Chinese Student Federation quickly. On the other hand, the fact that the Federation could be organized at such a rapid speed also proved that China urgently welcomed and needed elites like Lee Teng-Hwee. It also showed the domestic Chinese intellectuals' resonance with Lee Teng-Hwee's ideas and their support of him.

In short, these experiences before his arrival at Fudan had a significant influence on Lee Teng-Hwee's educational philosophy. In the following chapters, I will analyze the specific policies and methods Lee Teng-Hwee took as the president to construct Fudan, and how they were related to his background.

3.0 Chapter 3: Transplantation of Yale Model

3.1 Introduction

After Lee Teng-Hwee arrived in Shanghai in 1904, he spent almost all of his life there. During the years when he was most active, he was known by many titles and identities. He was the founder of World's Chinese Student Federation (寰球中国学生会 Huanqiu zhongguo xueshenghui), and the president of both Shanghai YMCA and Oversea Chinese's Education Federation (华侨教育会 Huaqiao jiaoyuhui). He was keen for charity—there were several charity schools and orphanages supported by him. Additionally, he usually participated in or helped organize social activities like the Road Movement (道路运动 Daolu yundong) that supported the construction of roads in China and the Drug Control Movement (拒毒运动 Judu yundong) that dealt with drug abuse. From his social activities, it is not hard to see that Lee was a very energetic social activist. As a cosmopolitan city, Shanghai was a perfect stage for Lee to realize his social reformation ideals, and the city provided him both good opportunities and enough resources to do so.

Among all of the efforts he made, there was no doubt that the one he was most devoted to was his work at Fudan University. As the president of Fudan, Lee worked for this university for twenty-three years, which was the longest tenure of any president in the university's history. In December 1947, a eulogy for Lee was published in *Shen Bao*⁴⁸ after he passed away. The author

⁴⁸ *Shen Bao* 申报, 21 December, 1947.

summarized Lee's achievement in two Chinese characters: "love" (爱 Ai) and "concentration" (专 Zhuan).⁴⁹ The first character represented Lee's spirit of charity as a Christian, and the second one represented his long-lasting focused devotion to Fudan University. It was said that when he came to Shanghai, he continued working for Fudan University until the year he passed away. Through his efforts, Fudan finally became a modern comprehensive university with a strong reputation. It is notable that only a few years after he took leadership, Fudan was acknowledged by many prestigious universities in the United States like Yale and Harvard. Previously, it was merely a university preparatory school. Those few years were vital and decisive to Fudan's development, and as the president, Lee played a pivotal role in this process.

Lee was indispensable for Fudan. Without him, it would be hard to imagine that Fudan could become such an outstanding university. On the other hand, Fudan was indispensable for Lee. Without Fudan, it might have been impossible for him to find another platform to practice his educational idea and philosophy so successfully and thoroughly. In other words, it allowed him to realize his dream of building a Yale-style university in China. How did Lee achieve this goal? This chapter is going to discuss Lee's contribution to Fudan and his attempts to establish a Yale in China, and there will be three main aspects: finance, academic system and campus culture. By analyzing these aspects, a more specific description of Lee's educational ideals will be constructed.

⁴⁹ *Shen Bao* 申报, 21 December, 1947.

3.2 Pre-Lee Age in Fudan's History

Before depicting Lee's story as Fudan's president starting from 1913, it is necessary to introduce Fudan's history in its earlier years. On February 27th, 1903, a new school called Zhendan College (震旦学院 Zhendan xueyuan) held its opening ceremony in Shanghai.⁵⁰ The founder of this college was Ma Xiangbo, who was both a successful educator and a politician. In 1900, Ma donated all of the funds that he inherited from his family estate to the French Catholic Church in the hope that the church would establish a Western-style college for the Chinese people.⁵¹ However, it turned out that the French church would not build the college as they promised and they did not give a reason. Ma had no choice but to create another college by himself. He borrowed an old observatory from the church, and invited some members of the church to be the faculty. He named the college "Zhendan," which means "aurora of China." Zhendan's students were mostly scholars from across China who wanted to study Western knowledge, and some of them had already earned status from the imperial examination system. To satisfy their requirements, Ma stated that the college should follow three creeds: respecting science (崇尚科学 Chongshang kexue), emphasizing arts (注重文艺 Zhuzhong wenyi), and no discussion of religion (不谈教理 Butan jiaoli).⁵² An early catalog of Zhendan College in 1902 shows that the college had two areas of curriculum. One was literature, which included ancient languages like Latin and Greek, and contemporary languages like English, French, and German. It also contained some other courses like philosophy, geography and politics. The other one was

⁵⁰ *Fudan daxue zhi* 复旦大学志 [*Fudan University Record*] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1985), 1:1905–1949, 40–41.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 43–44.

science, which included physics, chemistry, mathematics, geometry, and some other science courses.⁵³

Zhendan College achieved great success. By 1904, the student population had increased to 132,⁵⁴ which was not a small number for a private college at that time. However, this college was unfortunately dissolved in the same year because of a disagreement between Ma and the Catholic Church. The church only wanted to accept young students, while Ma insisted that all people who were eager to study in Zhendan should be registered. According to Ma, in the early twentieth century, China was in urgent need of people who had received Western education and adapted Western knowledge. Adult students might feel more challenged in their studies, but could directly take advantage of their newly-acquired knowledge they developed at Zhendan to work for society after they graduated.⁵⁵ Another problem was that the Catholic Church wanted to force the students to spend more time on French study instead of English (which was more widely used and more practical for the students). Therefore, after the conflict broke out, the Catholic Church forced Ma to give up his position in Zhendan and sent Nan Congzhou (南从周), a Catholic priest, as the new president of the college.⁵⁶

The arbitrary decision of the Catholic Church aroused much anger among students. They quickly organized protests against the church and 130 (out of 132 students) signed a letter to quit the college. They brought the signature list to Ma Xiangbo and asked him to establish another college for them. Ma was greatly moved by the students' spirit, he returned their tuition, and

⁵³ Ibid., 37-38.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 47-48.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 44-45.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 30.

promised to establish a new college.⁵⁷ Thus, in 1905 a new college, called Fudan, celebrated its opening ceremony on September 14th. In the same year, Lee Teng-Hwee became the English teacher at this college, and gave a speech in the ceremony, which was the beginning of his experience with Fudan. According to Ma Xiangbo's memory, it was Yan Huiqing who introduced Lee to him. Yan and Lee were both members of the YMCA, so it was possible that Lee and Ma were connected by their religious background.

With the help of the Governor of Liangjiang (两江总督 Liangjiang zongdu) Zhou Yushan, Ma was permitted to borrow an old government office institute (衙署 Yashu) in Wusong (吴淞) area to found Fudan College. Zhou also provided Fudan 20,000 liang of silver yuan (银元) as a startup funding.⁵⁸ In 1907, the Qing government sent Ma Xiangbo to Japan to manage a student strike caused by the Japanese government's policy on overseas students. Another educator, Yan Fu replaced Ma as the president of Fudan College. In this year, the Qing government agreed to provide 1400 liang of silver dollars per month for Fudan.⁵⁹ Thereafter, Fudan was required to conform to the government's education requirements. In January 1904, the government issued the "Kuimao Educational System Regulations (癸卯学制)." According to the new policy, Fudan was restricted to being a university preparatory school since it was a public school in Shanghai because the Qing government only allowed universities, or the highest educational institutes, to exist in the capital.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Ibid., 47-48.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 58.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 78-79.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 58.

From 1907 to 1912, the presidency of Fudan frequently changed. Yan Fu stayed in this position for less than one year. At the end of 1907, he resigned from the position, and Xia Jinguang took over leadership of the college. After two years, Xia also resigned from this position. Gao Fengqian took the position for one year, and Ma came back to become the president again in 1910.⁶¹ There are not many sources about these three presidents, but all of them were well-known intellectuals who established a solid foundation for the college. They invited many excellent scholars to Fudan as faculty, and selected new students carefully, which promised a high quality of education.

The 1911 Xinhai Revolution changed both the fate of China and the fate of Fudan College. The revolution ended the government of the Qing dynasty that had lasted for nearly three hundred years. Fudan College was involved in this event from several aspects. Firstly, many faculty and students joined the revolution, in which Lee Teng-Hwee was also included. He temporarily left Fudan from 1911 to 1913. During these two years, he was the editor-in-chief of *Republican Advocate* (共和西报).⁶² His editorials that supported the republican revolution attracted some politicians' interests. In December 1912, Lee participated in the peace talks between South and North China forces after the armies ceased fire. He was invited by the leader of the revolution army, Wu Tingfang, to become Wu's counselor. Lee even attempted to organize a party with Wu and some other politicians, but this attempt soon failed because of Yuan Shih-kai's intervention.⁶³ This is the first and the last time that Lee directly participated in political events. After he returned to Fudan in 1913, he spent the rest of his career in this school.

⁶¹ Ibid., 59.

⁶² *Li denghui xiansheng aisilu* 李登辉先生哀思录 [Mournful memories of Lee Teng-Hwee], 75.

⁶³ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 72.

Many other students and faculty, like Lee Teng-Hwee, were inspired by the national revolution and joined it to become a part of the force to overturn what they considered as a rotten ancient empire. Additionally, the school buildings in Wusong were occupied by the restoration army as their headquarters. Due to these issues, Fudan had to suspend its teaching activities in 1911 until mid-December, when Ma Xiangbo found another temporary school site in Wuxi, a city close to Shanghai. The old school buildings were dilapidated and unable to be used after being occupied by the army. However, he had to move the college again only a few months later in early April, 1912. This was due to the fact that the new school location in Wuxi was close to a brothel area, and President Ma thought it was not a suitable place to establish a college.⁶⁴ Ma leased a house on Avenue Road, but this would also not be the final address of the college since the rent was high while the environment was poor—it was said that the house was very dim, which was not good for a college building.

Additionally, funding was another big issue. The Fudan Alumni Association Officer Yu Youren, who was very active during the revolution, asked the interim president Sun Yat-Sen for help. Sun kindly granted Fudan 10,000 Yuan which temporarily relieved the financial crisis.⁶⁵ Sun also helped Fudan in finding another location for the school, which was Li Hongzhang's memorial temple in Xujiahui (徐家汇). In March, the Ministry of Education of the new government issued an announcement to urge the different levels of schools to re-open. With the efforts of faculty and alumni, Fudan started admitting students and hiring professors in April and

⁶⁴ *Fudan daxue zhi* 复旦大学志 [Fudan University Record] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1985), 1:1905–1949, 87.

⁶⁵ Jin Tongyin 金通尹, “*Muxiao dashi nianbiao* 母校大事年表 [The Alma Mater Chronology],” *Fudan tongxuehui huikan* 复旦同学会会刊 [Fudan Alumna Journal], October 1938, 34.

held an opening ceremony in May at the temporary school building on Avenue Road.⁶⁶

According to the *University Ordinance* (大学令 Daxueling) regulations composed and issued by Cai Yuanpei, the Director of Education for the Republican Government, private persons and private judicial persons (私人与私法人 Siren yu sifaren) were eligible to run a university.

During the late Qing period, Fudan was not permitted to do so because only the government had the power to control which schools were “universities.” Ma Xiangbo and other Fudan faculty were very pleased about this change—they finally had an opportunity to establish a modern university as they expected in 1905. In the ceremony, they declared the future goals of Fudan college: to be a modern university. However, Fudan did not rename itself as Fudan University until 1917, and kept using the name “Fudan College” until that time. The acting provost, who temporarily took Lee’s place, explained the reason why Fudan College did not take the name Fudan University in 1913. He said that at this point, there were no good examples of modern universities in China. Therefore, they could hardly know in which case an educational institution could be called a “university.” Therefore, Fudan could only compare itself with top foreign universities to see if it was eligible. When and only when the students who graduated from Fudan were able to directly go to European universities for their further study, and all of the courses in Fudan were at university level, would they rename it as a “university.”

With fervent hope for the future, in September 1912, Fudan officially resumed classes at the new school site in Zikawei. At this time, the college had about 200 students and twelve lecturers. However, the new semester was not going well. Because of the aftermath of the Xinhai Revolution, Fudan students were still in high spirits, even a small issue could ignite a great

⁶⁶ *Fudan daxue zhi* 复旦大学志 [Fudan University Record] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1985), 1:1905–1949, 87.

explosion of emotion and reaction among them. In December, a disturbance on campus led to a students' strike. The students published an article in *Shi Bao* (时报), in which they radically criticized general secretary Ye Zaoting (叶藻廷). The article was composed in an exaggerated mode, which claimed that “an immoral person could corrupt his country, while the failure of management of schools could corrupt the academy. Therefore, the secretary of our college, Ye, was so criminal that even killing him was not enough as punishment.”⁶⁷ What exactly did Ye do to cause such a strong hatred among students? According to the record, at this time, Fudan faced a serious financial problem because of the lack of government support. The financial crisis caused some other problems, like salary arrears and the inability to maintain equipment. Ye was busy managing the financial issue and neglected the conflict between students and school workers. These two issues became the fuse of students' dissatisfaction and anger toward him, and they decided to try to remove him by striking.⁶⁸ In the *Shi Bao* article, students defended their behavior and argued that “we were upset that we wasted our time and were unable to learn any new knowledge during the strike...However, what we cared for was the whole college. So we decided to sacrifice ourselves to exclude the silverfish (Ye) out from the campus, which will benefit the college in the long run.”⁶⁹ It seems that they took to a strike as an efficient method to remove faculty that they disliked.

The strike ended soon. Nevertheless, it revealed the unsteadiness of student mood and behavior, and the loose school discipline. To deal with this problem, the board of trustees held a conference. They drew the conclusion that in order to eliminate the disorder on campus, they had

⁶⁷ *Fudan daxue zhi* 复旦大学志 [Fudan University Record] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1985), 1:1905–1949, 90.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.

to first organize a board of trustee system. They invited several famous persons like Sun Yat-Sen, Chen Qimei (陈其美), Yu Youren, and Wang Chonghui to be the members, and Wang Chonghui was appointed as the president of the board. Simultaneously, Lee Teng-Hwee, who had left Fudan for about two years, was also appointed as the college president.⁷⁰ Before 1911, Lee had served as the provost for several years. He was known for his high-quality teaching—from 1905 to 1912, he was responsible for the instruction of several different courses. In 1909, there were only nine lecturers at Fudan. Lee gave lectures for twenty-seven hours per week, which was the heaviest load among all the lecturers. As the provost, he had to deal with school affairs like course plans and faculty employment.⁷¹ All these efforts and contributions he made for Fudan provided him with the opportunity and experience to be the president. Now he could see a hope to finally actualize his dream to build a Yale-style university for Chinese people.

Even though Lee might have been excited to make the attempt, he had to face several challenges as soon as he became president. There were four main issues at this point. First, the financial problem was still serious. The Second Revolution of 1913, which forced some trustees into exile, made the situation even worse—they were important providers of funding. Secondly, Li Hongzhang's temple was good for a small college, but it was not fit for a modern university. A university should have facilities like teaching buildings, libraries, and dormitories. To build a university, Lee had to find a new location for Fudan. Thirdly, Fudan was still a preparatory school at this time, just as the faculty had declared at the opening ceremony in 1912. Lee had to consider how to expand the curriculum and how to raise the educational quality. Finally, the

⁷⁰ Jin Tongyin 金通尹, “*Muxiao dashi nianbiao* 母校大事年表 [The Alma Mater Chronology],” *Fudan tongxuehui huikan* 复旦同学会会刊 [Fudan Alumna Journal], October 1938, 34.

⁷¹ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 65.

discipline of the college was loose. Lee needed to help the students calm down from the excitement of revolution and steer the college back to an orderly state.

In the following ten years, Lee gradually solved these problems by his efforts. Unlike the Yale College he founded in Batavia, Fudan was a college on a larger scale and with more possibilities. It was possible to transform the college into a Yale-style university as he wished. Therefore, his wholehearted devotion to the college would build a brand-new path for it. This was a combination between a college that pinned the hopes of many enthusiastic patriots and a dreamy educator who had dreamed for an Eastern-Yale for more than ten years. The combination was going to produce a miracle in educational history. At the time when most Chinese people did not even understand what a “university” meant, Fudan would become one of the best and earliest private universities in China. The name of Fudan University was about to be praised by people—not only Chinese people, but also by Americans and Europeans.

3.3 Yale College in 1890s

Before talking about Lee’s strategy for Fudan, it is necessary to briefly introduce the image of Yale University in the late nineteenth century, the period when Lee was a student in Yale.

This will help for understanding Yale’s image in Lee Teng-Hwee’s mind.

Yale is one of the oldest universities in America. In 1701, a new school called Yale College was founded by several Congregational ministers in New Haven, Connecticut. Most of the colleges founded before the American War of Independence (1775-1783) had strong religious flavor, but Yale might be the one that retained this religious atmosphere the best. During its long history, Yale was always tagged with conservatism. There was not a single lay president at Yale until

1899, when Arthur Twining Hadley took this position. Generally, until the early twentieth century, Yale was still a New England style college. Yale College was its pride—the liberal education system inherited from New England tradition represented the core educational philosophy of the college. The traditional Yale system was represented by a strict training of dead ancient languages (Latin and Greek) and mathematics, which made it quite different from the modern universities people are familiar with. After the American Civil War (1861-1865) ended, a calling for wider instruction and more professional education led to the development of “universities,” instead of the traditional “colleges” which focused on liberal arts education instead of professional instruction. What American society desired was a more flexible and more practical higher education system.⁷² As a response, the elective system had stepped onto the stage of American educational history. The conservative Yale, of course, did not like the change. Faced with attacks on Latin and Greek (which detractors said were useless in modern society), Yale professors published the famous *1828 Curriculum Report* (or known as *Yale Report of 1828*). This document was one of the most influential documents both in Yale’s history and in American educational history.⁷³ There were two parts of this report, the first is a summary view of the plan of education in the college, written by Reverend Jeremiah Day, the ninth Yale president. It talked about the essence and goal of higher education. The second part is about the necessity of ancient languages in the college curriculum, and was written by professor Kingsley. Generally, the report defended the value of liberal education, which emphasized the balance between art and science education and the formation of students’ personality and character.

⁷² George Wilson Pierson, *Yale College: An Educational History, 1871-1921, Vol. 1* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), 44.

⁷³ Zhang jinhui 张金辉, *Yelu daxue banxueshi yanjiu* 耶鲁大学办学史研究 [A Research on the History of Yale University] (Beijing: Central Compilation & Translation Press), 56.

Professional skills should not be the only goal of higher education because it may lead to the imbalance of students' development. According to the *Yale Report*, an undergraduate study in college would lay a common foundation for all professional studies, instead of focusing on specific professional studies.⁷⁴ The value of liberal education in expansion and balance of the mental powers was irreplaceable, which allowed students to be successful not only in professional fields, but also in making contributions to society. They were going to be good citizens and leaders, who could be responsible for the development of the whole nation, instead of merely working for their personal interests.⁷⁵

From the *Yale Report*, it is not hard to see the nature of Yale's conservatism. Back to the college itself, how did it perform under the guidance of these values? Pierson's *Yale College: 1871-1921* provides a good observation on it. He cited a comment from a president of Harvard at the beginning of the book: "Harvard stands as the mother of movement, and Yale as the mother of men."⁷⁶ This comment accurately indicated the essence of the Yale-style educational philosophy. A "Yale man", in light of Pierson, had two features. One is believing, and the other is conformity. Unlike Harvard which had already abandoned the old rules, Yale preserved the Puritan tradition. As a visitor from Harvard depicted in 1892, Yale College was strictly disciplined. Students had to get up before eight and attend daily chapel at ten minutes past eight. After which, all students had to take the recitation to examine their reciting works. A list called "tariff of black marks" was prepared for those who violate the regulations.⁷⁷ It was said that a

⁷⁴ *The Yale Report*, 15.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁷⁶ George Wilson Pierson, *Yale College: An Educational History, 1871-1921, Vol. 1* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), 3.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

Yale professor felt surprised when he was at Harvard, because he noticed that Harvard students did not go to bed at night.⁷⁸

The discipline, in Pierson's view, was not set for building a rigid institution like a cloister or a military camp. What Yale wanted was to instill vital values into the students so that they could become a certain type of man. A typical Yale man was "an upstanding fellow, full of boyish energy and idealism, earnest not cynical, simple rather than sophisticated." Yale men were highly self-disciplined, which made them have great self-autonomy and hold an extremely contemptuous attitude of people with of lax morals, cynicism, pessimism, and skepticism.⁷⁹ Conformity, the second feature, depicted Yale men from another perspective. Yale was a united community, and Yale men tended to encourage each other to achieve honor and success. They were brave and persistent fighters, good at organizing. When needed, they could efficiently organize good teamwork.⁸⁰ They were united under the name of Yale, proudly. They loved and trusted each other, and this brotherhood would never be exclusive. They extended the collective spirit and passion to society, to their country, which led them to devote themselves to public service.⁸¹ Probably Harvard was the paradise of individualism, while at Yale, collectivism was more welcomed. Yale students were encouraged to practice their competitiveness and teamwork ability so that they could adapt to the challenging life after they graduated from the college. They imitated the organizations and competitions outside of campus (for instance, proving their

⁷⁸ Ibid., 11.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 8.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 18.

⁸¹ Ibid., 19.

abilities in miniature market place), to make themselves well-prepared for future success in society, and to understand how to cooperate with others.⁸²

Finally, the extreme loyalty of Yale men nurtured patriotism. During the Spanish-American War (1898), Yale undergraduate students showed unbelievable patriotic spirit—they did everything they could to support their country. There was a memorable night in 1898 when all of the undergraduate students packed into the College Street Hall. They had gathered to send guns, fifty-one flags, and a message from Yale to the frontline, and this meeting was held as the inspiration and expression of their loyal and patriotic hearts. A description of this meeting is as follows:

All of Yale was there... by worthy delegates and by as many of them as could crowd into the old church, body, galleries, aisles, choir loft, and vestibule. The Yale undergraduate was there, full hearted and full toned; and those who had been Yale undergraduates, one or fifty years ago, perhaps; and the teachers of Yale were there...

...To make it perfect, Yale was there from the camp as well...Just before the meeting opened, two young men in army blue were crowded unwillingly forward on the platform, and from the great crowd in College Street Hall rose a long roar of applause...

The old church was all red and white and blue...From the moment President Dwight announced "America"... the meeting was a success... When it came to the "Star Spangled Banner," later in the evening, the spirit was all the more intense...For a closing song "Bright College Years" was sung...The old church shook with it, and when the last line was reached

⁸² Ibid., 18.

the great audience took time and emphasis like a trained club and rolled it out in such a volume that people stopped on the streets blocks away to listen.

"For God, for Country, and for Yale." This last line, sung with such an emphasis and impressiveness, was the text of the whole meeting.⁸³

That night in 1898 was an unforgettable memory for many people, and may have influenced their lives. However, nobody would remember that there was a young man who had black hair, black eyes and yellow skin, standing amidst those excited students, singing the song with them. He was greatly moved by the spirit of Yale students, but he could not share the same patriotic passion as them. Because, when he sang "for country," the name that emerged in his mind was not "America."

It was China.

The young man's name was Lee Teng-Hwee, and we can be confident that Lee was among the enthusiastic students in 1898. In this year, he was a junior student at Yale. As mentioned in the first chapter, he graduated from Yale in 1899 with excellent grades. Since then, he started his odyssey of founding an Eastern Yale for his home country, for his compatriots. In 1913, when he became the president of Fudan, he immediately started his reforms. With this brief understanding of Yale, it will be easy to do a comparison between Yale and Fudan under Lee's charge. The comparison is going to show not only how Lee constructed Fudan, but also how Yale deeply influenced him in his values and character.

⁸³ Ibid., 20-21.

3.4 Revision of School Regulation

The first step of Lee's reformation of Fudan was the revision of school regulations in 1913. As soon as he was elected to be the president by the board of trustees, he started writing a new version of school regulations in January.⁸⁴ On March 1st, the new semester started. Lee announced the four school policies at the opening ceremony as follows:

- 1) Cultivating the capacity of democracy, encouraging student autonomy, and opposing feudal autocracy.
- 2) In order to rejuvenate the Chinese nation, attaching importance to the general trend of the world, and promoting sports and military training.
- 3) To cultivate professionals in science and education technology, doing academic research with Chinese Learning as Substance, Western Learning for Application.
- 4) The reformation of the society should start from the reformation of individuals, promoting moral education. In other words, personal education.

In April, the board of trustees was officially founded.⁸⁵ It seemed that Fudan was on the right track and the hard times were finally over. However, only three months later, the Second Revolution of 1913 broke out. Most of the trustees of Fudan, including Sun Yat-Sen, went abroad to evade Yuan Shih-kai's prosecution. The loss of many trustees made the financial problem even worse.⁸⁶ Under the turbulent political situation in the early years of the Republic of China, Fudan endured many ups and downs during the first two years under Lee's leadership. In

⁸⁴ Wu Yunxiang 吴云香, *Fudan daxue zhangchen de lishi kaocha* 复旦大学章程的历史考察 [A Historical Review of Fudan Regulations] (Fudan University, 2013), 25.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁸⁶ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 78.

1914, Lee signed an official lease with the custodian of Li Hongzhang's ancestral residence, which assured the university the right to continue to use the place. Although Li's ancestral residence was not the final solution, it temporarily solved the issue of the school's location.⁸⁷ In 1915, the college's environment and management were stabilized. In the spring, Lee Teng-Hwee and Wang Chung-Hui decided to initiate another revision of the regulations that focused on the curriculum. Compared with the 1913 regulations, the newer 1915 version was more innovative and initiated a great curricular reformation. From 1905 when Fudan was founded, to 1923 when Lee ended the first period of his leadership, Fudan's regulations were revised five times. Among which, the 1913 and 1915 versions were the best representation of Lee's educational philosophy with the ideal Fudan in his mind, which determined the direction of the university in the following ten years. Additionally, they laid the foundation for Fudan to learn from the Yale system. To understand the revisions, a comparison between the regulations in 1905, 1913, 1915 and the regulation of Yale University at that time will be helpful.

Before making such comparisons, however, it is important to note that in 1917 there was a revised edition of the 1915 regulation; the 1917 regulation share most of its content with the 1915 version but with only added a few extra pages about the newly founded School of Commerce. Limited by resources, the analysis of this thesis relies on the 1917 version for comparison. Another point to mention is that the title of the original regulation document was *fudan gongxue zhangchen* (复旦公学章程) or *fudan daxue zhangchen* (复旦大学章程). On the cover of the 1917 regulation, the official English translation was *Fuh Tan University: Catalogue and Directory*. It was a very comprehensive document which contained lots of information: the

⁸⁷ Ibid.

university's history, a list of faculty and professors, the school map, a listing of graduates, the school rules, and the curriculum. In general, it depicted the complete system and image of Fudan. In this paper, the author will use the term “regulation” since it is closer to the Chinese word “章程” in this context.

The similarities between Fudan and Yale, according to the two systems of regulations, can be reviewed in five different aspects. For the purposes of this analysis, we will start from the 1913 version.

In 1913, the first two problems Lee needed to solve were the financial problem and the student discipline problem. Lee and Wang officially established the board of trustees partly because of the financial problem, and Lee also wrote this decision into the regulation. At that time, it was a very innovative decision because most of the Chinese higher-education institutes imitated German universities instead of American universities. Cai Yuanpei, the Minister of Education, advocated for the use of the organization style of European Universities. Therefore, most of the higher-educational institutes followed his opinion and adopted the German system. Typically, a German university was ruled by a council that consisted of the professors. Putting theoretical research, represented by philosophy, in a position higher than practical knowledge (like engineering and politics) was another feature of German universities that differed from America universities (which were more practical),⁸⁸ but this point will be discussed later. Fudan was the first university (regardless of the fact that it still referred to itself as a “college”) in China

⁸⁸ Ruth Hayhoe, *Zhongguo daxue 1895-1995: yige wenhua chongtu de shiji* 中国大学 1895-1995: 一个文化冲突的世纪 [China's Universities, 1895-1995: A Century of Cultural Conflict] (Education and Science Press, Beijing), 22-23.

that imitated American universities and adapted a board of trustees system.⁸⁹ This decision essentially changed the direction of Fudan's development and provided a good foundation for the future imitation of Yale.

From the beginning, Fudan had always encouraged the autonomy of its students—the Zhendan students bravely rebelled against the intervention of French Catholic influences, which gave birth to the Fudan College. However, the founders might not have foreseen the problems caused by students lacking efficient supervision and guidance in the future. To deal with this problem, the 1913 regulations added some new guidelines about discipline to restrict the behavior of students. It was a reasonable decision because if the students frequently and arbitrarily initiated strikes as they did in 1911 and 1912, it would be impossible to assure the stability of normal teaching activities.

Another issue Lee had to concern himself about was students' age. In Ma Xiangbo's time, students were mostly adults because the primary and secondary educational system was not well constructed in China yet. Therefore, students who had the ability to enroll in the College were usually over twenty years old. Ma argued that the college should accept both younger and older students, including those who were over thirty years old.⁹⁰ Ma's opinion is good evidence to show that Fudan in its early period admitted mature students, which was quite different from Fudan in 1913. The 1905 regulation stipulated that the age of students who came to apply for the college should be between fifteen and twenty-three, while those who were older than twenty-three could still be accepted if they had a good academic background and were keen to study.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Wu Yunxiang 吴云香, *Fudan daxue zhangchen de lishi kaocha* 复旦大学章程的历史考察 [A Historical Review of Fudan Regulations] (Fudan University, 2013), 27.

⁹⁰ *Fudan daxue zhi* 复旦大学志 [Fudan University Record] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1985), 1:1905–1949, 44.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 68-69.

However, in the 1913 regulations, there was no longer any possibility for over-aged students. A problem here is that the younger the students, the worse their self-control. This was another reason that Lee had to revise the regulations. Also, Yale at that time was a very well-disciplined university, stressing that good discipline was vital for forming students' character, values and habits. Therefore, it was not hard to understand why Lee Teng-Hwee would add disciplinary rules to the Fudan version.

Accordingly, there were three revisions about discipline in total. The first one was the section of disciplinary punishment. In the 1905 version, there were three levels of punishment for those who violated the rules: *sijie* (private warning) for small infractions, *gongjie* (public warning) for more serious infractions, and expulsion as the final punishment. Students who faced the danger of being expelled include the following: (1) Those who were absent for courses without excuses for several times, (2) Those who were in arrears in tuition for more than one month, (3) Those who repeated a grade year for more than two years, (4) Those who had no capability in study, and could not humbly accept the instruction with patience, (5) Those who were absent for all final exams in one year.⁹²

In the 1905 regulations, the reason for expelling a student could be summarized as two points: incapability of paying tuition and being lax in their studies, and the rules were comparatively simple. In the 1913 version, an item regarding conflicts with faculty and instructors was added into the criteria for expulsion, while an incapability of keeping up with one's studies was no longer a reason. Also, the differentiation between different levels of infraction was more detailed. According to the ninth section "punishment rules," there were four

⁹² Ibid., 72-73.

kinds of punishments: *xunjie* (admonition), *jixiaoguo* (minor infraction), *jidaguo* (major infraction) and expulsion. A student might be expelled for four conditions: (1) Those who violate the regulations, (2) Those who have bad behavior and damage the school's reputation, (3) Those who insult the instructors and faculty, and (4) Those who have three major infractions. Major infractions consisted of four conditions also, which include participating in indecent games or activities, brawling with schoolmates, leaving college or staying out overnight without permission, and disrupting the order on campus.⁹³ Students would no longer be expelled for their grades, while the conflicts between instructors and faculty became a major infraction (*jidaguo*). The order on campus was now more strict; the instructors and faculty had the ultimate right to discipline the students. If students wanted to violate this rule, they had to face the risk of expulsion.

The second revision concerned dormitory rules. Fudan in Ma's time greatly encouraged students' autonomy, which was reflected in the 1905 regulations. According to section 13 "Dormitory Rules," every dormitory room should elect a leader by themselves, and then he would be responsible for dormitory discipline.⁹⁴ However, in the 1913 regulations, this rule was deleted. Instead, the 1913 dormitory rules stipulated that every night students should go to bed at ten after the bell rings, and there would be supervisors (监学 检察) who inspected the dormitory to see if everybody obeyed the rule.⁹⁵

The last revision was about the rule of speech. In 1905, Ma expected that the Fudan College would be a Platonic academy, using discussion and debate to educate students instead of

⁹³ Ibid.,101-102.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 74.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 103.

lecture.⁹⁶ Therefore, in section 16 “Speech,” it set several rules about the regular speech activities in the college. Every week, presidents and faculty would give speeches to students. Also, since China was going to adapt the constitutionalism, students should practice their public speaking skills to prepare for autonomy. Except for the weekly speech activities organized by faculty, students can start the speech conferences by themselves in any free time they had.⁹⁷ However, in the 1913 regulation, this section was completely deleted. Additionally, there was a new rule added in section 15: “Without the permission of the president, students cannot organize meetings or give speeches.”⁹⁸

The revision in the 1913 regulations created a comparatively stable environment for Fudan. It introduced the board of trustees system and added more disciplinary rules to maintain school order. These revisions reflected Lee’s conservative and pragmatic nature. He had a solid plan for Fudan’s reformation, but the strategy he applied was also very realistic and was not radical. In this age of revolution, he did not blindly encourage the autonomy of students. Instead, what he initially considered was to assure the teaching quality of the college, instead of introducing his innovations as soon as possible. Probably the temperament of caution and conservatism he possessed came from both his experience at Yale and as a college provost. Lee understood what to do in different stages, and he was going to finish the task in an orderly fashion.

One of the most obvious similarities between Fudan and Yale was the curriculum. Two years after Lee Teng-Hwee became the president, he revised the college curriculum with Wang Chung-Hui in the 1915 regulations. Both Lee and Wang were Yale graduates, and the revision was

⁹⁶ Ibid., 43.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 75-76.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 105.

based on Yale’s curriculum and the *1828 Yale Report*.⁹⁹ In July 1915, as a preparatory school, Fudan had two schools: the School of Arts and the School of Science. Under the two schools, there were eight departments. Lee and Wang adopted both the elective system and the general education system based on credits, which was similar to Yale’s own curriculum in the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁰ Although this curriculum was revised slightly in 1917, it nonetheless remained the foundation of Fudan’s student education until 1937. Moreover, in the 1917 curriculum, several new departments were added, but the general system and elective rules remained the same. Since we do not have a copy of the original 1915 regulations, we will use the 1917 version to compare the curriculum of Fudan and Yale.

In 1917, Fudan had four schools (it added a School of Chinese Literature and a School of Commerce/Business) and thirteen different departments. Before reviewing the elective system and curriculum, a comparison of course categories will be helpful to understand the similarities between the Fudan and Yale curriculums.

Table 1 Course Subjects in Fudan and Yale¹⁰¹

Fudan’s Category of Subjects in 1915	Fudan’s Category of Subjects in 1917	Yale’s Category of Subjects in 1898-99
Chinese Literature	Chinese Literature	Biblical Literature
Foreign Literature	English Literature	English
Philosophy	Modern Languages	Modern European Languages & Literature

⁹⁹ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 79.

¹⁰⁰ Wu Yunxiang 吴云香, *Fudan daxue zhangchen de lishi kaocha* 复旦大学章程的历史考察 [A Historical Review of Fudan Regulations] (Fudan University, 2013), 28.
The Yale Report, 15.

¹⁰¹ George Wilson Pierson, *Yale College: An Educational History, 1871-1921, Vol. 1* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), 708-711.

History & Geography	Ancient Languages	Ancient Language & Linguistics
Political Science & Law	Philosophy	Psychology, Ethics, Philosophy
Chemistry	History	History
Physics	Economics	Political Science & Law
Mathematics	Social and Political Science	Physical & Natural Science
Literary Exercise	Law	Mathematics
Military Drill	Chemistry	Fine Arts
	Physics	Music
	Natural Science	Physical Education
	Mathematics	Military Science
	Literary Exercise	
	Military Drill	

From the table, it is not hard to see the expansion of courses at Fudan and the similarities with Yale. The courses under these subjects also shared great similarity, and sometimes they offered the same courses, but had differences as to whether they could be an independent subject. For instance, Fudan had psychology and ethics courses too, but they were taught under the philosophy department, and do not appear on this table. Yale also had chemistry and physics courses, but they are under the physical and natural science categories. Economics, similarly, was in the political science category. In conclusion, Fudan's subject structure was highly similar with that of Yale.

It is especially worth noting that the Ancient Language Department was not common in other Chinese universities, even those universities that had similarities with Fudan. The first example

was Amoy University. This university, founded in 1921, had much similarity with Fudan. Its second president, Lim Boon-Keng shared a similar background with Lee Teng-Hwee. Lim was born in Malaysia, and he was educated in the Western educational system also. On the development of the School of Commerce/Business, Lim and Lee Coincided with each other. However, according to the curriculum of Amoy University published in 1929, Amoy University did not have classical language courses even for the students majoring in foreign languages.¹⁰² Another example was China College (中国公学), founded in 1906 in Shanghai, and one of the earliest higher education institutes established in China. In the school catalog published in 1926, China College stated that its goal was to build a university in China that was equal to Yale University in America and Waseda University in Japan.¹⁰³ Similar to Fudan, China College also adopted the America-style elective system and credit system. However, it did not have Latin in its curriculum.

There were two possible reasons why these universities or colleges did not include Latin in their curriculum. The first was a pragmatic concern. “Dead languages” like Latin or Greek did not have any practical value or application in China. Actually, as mentioned previously (in the Yale College section), a call to exclude ancient languages from American university curricula was becoming louder and louder in the nineteenth century after the Civil War. The public wanted more practical and professional courses in higher education to satisfy the educational needs of professionals to develop industry and the economy. In China, the condition was the same. What China urgently required was professionals in different fields, and slogans like “developing

¹⁰² *Minguo shiqi gaodeng jiaoyu shiliao xubian* 民国时期高等教育史料续编 [The Continuation of the Historical Materials of Higher Education in the Republic of China], vol 23 (Beijing: National Library Express), 68.

¹⁰³ *Minguo shiqi gaodeng jiaoyu shiliao xubian* 民国时期高等教育史料续编 [The Continuation of the Historical Materials of Higher Education in the Republic of China], vol 14 (Beijing: National Library Express), 18.

industry to save the country” (实业救国) were popular. However, Fudan inherited the idea of traditional liberal arts education from Yale. As Yale stated in the *1828 Yale Report*, the goal of universities was not merely the instruction of professional skills. The traditional system centered on ancient languages and logic was vital for the education of students’ character that assured that they would be good citizens and well-prepared to exert their talents in any field. The second reason was the lack of capable instructors. Both Latin and Greek were obscure and complicated languages and it was hard to find scholars who had both the opportunity and the willingness to master ancient languages. The first Fudan president, Ma Xiangbo, was one of those who could use some classical Western languages. He learned these languages when he studied at the French missionary school Collège Saint Ignace.¹⁰⁴ In 1902, Cai Yuanpei occasionally heard that Ma Xiangbo was good at Greek and Latin. Therefore, he visited the sixty-three-year-old scholar everyday at 5 am to learn Latin from him,¹⁰⁵ and this experience finally became the opportunity for Ma to establish Zhendan College. Ma thought that it was inconvenient to teach Cai so early every morning and he advised that it would be more efficient and practical to send some young students to him to learn Latin. Cai adhered to his advice. The twenty-four students sent by Cai finally became the earliest members of Zhendan College.¹⁰⁶ The story shows the challenge of finding good Latin instructors in China. It also showed that the early tradition of Fudan was congruent with Yale’s idea to some degree. Lee Teng-Hwee, similar to Ma Xiangbo, who had systematically studied Latin, Greek and some other European languages in his college years, was

¹⁰⁴ Zhang Ruogu 张若谷, *Ma Xiangbo xiansheng nianpu* (马相伯先生年谱) [Chronicle of Ma Xiangbo], (Taiwan: Wenxing Bookstore), 45.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 208.

¹⁰⁶ *Fudan daxue zhi* 复旦大学志 [Fudan University Record] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1985), 1:1905–1949, 42.

a rare person who had knowledge about these languages. Back to the point, even though other colleges or universities wanted to teach Latin, it was not easy for them to find a good instructor. The elective system in Fudan also borrowed from Yale, and the system in the School of Arts was the most similar one. The difference in the School of Science and the School of Commerce/Business will be introduced later, and the tables below will take the School of Art as the comparison.

Table 2 Yearly Credit-Hours and Elective Choices at Fudan and Yale

	Fudan School of Art, 1917	Yale College, 1901-03
Freshman Year	18 Hours (exclude Chinese and Military Drill), with Limited Option	15 Hours, with No Option (except for the choice between French and German)
Sophomore Year	19 Hours, with Limited Option	15 or 18 Hours, with Limited Option
Junior Year	Electives	Electives
Senior Year	Electives	Electives

Table 3 Freshman Year and Sophomore Year Course at Fudan and Yale

	Fudan School of Art, 1917	Yale College, 1901-03
Freshman Year	<i>Chinese Literature</i> -8 hrs	Greek-3 hrs
	English Literature-3 hrs	Latin- 3 hrs
	Advanced Rhetoric-3 hrs	French or German-3 hrs
	Composition (Narration)-1 hr	English-3 hrs
	Modern Language (French or German)-3 hrs	Mathematics-3 hrs
	Logic-2 hrs	
	Civics-2 hrs	

	History†-3 hrs	
	Commercial Geography*-3 hrs	
	Mathematics†-3 hrs	
	Literary Exercises-1 hr	
	<i>Military Drill-3 hrs</i>	
Sophomore Year	<i>Chinese Literature-8 hrs</i>	Latin- 3 hrs
	English Literature-3 hrs	Greek-3 hrs
	History of English Literature-3 hrs	French-3 hrs
	Composition (Exposition and Argumentation)-1 hr	German-3 hrs
	Modern Language (French or German)-3 hrs	English-3 hrs
	Latin-3 hrs	Mathematics-3 hrs
	Economics-3 hrs	Physics-3 hrs
	Psychology-3 hrs	Chemistry-3 hrs
	Law*-3 hrs	History-3 hrs
	Mathematics*-3 hrs	Psychology and Ethics-3 hrs
	Physics*-3 hrs	Philosophy-3 hrs
	History*-3 hrs	
	Literary Exercises-1 hr	
	<i>Military Drill-3 hrs</i>	

Note: † - One of two must be taken. * - Electives. *Italic* - Not counted in the required credit hours, but was mandatory.

Simply speaking, the elective system in Fudan had two stages. The first stage was in the freshman and sophomore years. In these two years, most of the courses were required and few of them were optional. Freshmen were required to take eighteen credits except for Chinese and Military Drill, and the sophomores needed to take nineteen. Both years had language study in Chinese, English, French or German and Latin as mandatory (which could also be found in Yale curriculum, except for Chinese), and the sophomores had law and some science courses as extra electives. At Yale, it was the same case that students were going to have more freedom in course choice when they went to higher grades, but the freshmen at Yale had fewer options than Fudan students. Lee and Wang slightly revised Yale's curriculum based on the actual conditions and context in China. That the Chinese literature course counted for eight hours per week was especially conspicuous. Fudan used English in lectures, and in nearly all of the courses, the textbooks were written in English.¹⁰⁷ In this context, the intensive Chinese course seems to show the dedication to Chinese learning and respect for Chinese culture. Therefore, it may avoid the risk of being criticized as “too Westernized.”

Another interesting point here is the interaction of science and art courses. The liberal education idea Yale promoted insisted on broadening student's horizons, as is stated in the *1828 Yale Report* as follows:

In laying the foundation of a thorough education, it is necessary that *all* the important mental faculties be brought into exercise. It is not sufficient that one or two be cultivated, while others are neglected...The mind never attains its full perfection, unless its various

¹⁰⁷ Wu Yunxiang 吴云香, *Fudan daxue zhangchen de lishi kaocha* 复旦大学章程的历史考察 [A Historical Review of Fudan Regulations] (Fudan University, 2013), 30.

powers are so trained as to give them the fair proportions which nature designed...In the course of instruction in this college, it has been an object to maintain such a proportion between the different branches of literature and science, as to form in the student a proper balance of character. From the pure mathematics, he learns the art of demonstrative reasoning. In attending to the physical sciences, he becomes familiar with facts, with the process of induction, and the varieties of probable evidence. In ancient literature, he finds some of the most finished models of taste. By English reading, he learns the powers of the language in which he is to speak and write. By logic and mental philosophy, he is taught the art of thinking; by rhetoric and oratory, the art of speaking. By frequent exercise on written composition, he acquires copiousness and accuracy of expression. By extemporaneous discussion, he becomes prompt, and fluent, and animated. It is a point of high importance, that eloquence and solid learning should go together.¹⁰⁸

Fudan's curriculum faithfully inherited the liberal education spirit. There were mathematics and physics in the first two years' course list of the School of Arts, while in the first-two-year curriculum of the School of Science, English literature, composition, modern languages and even Latin were all available. Although there were not many options for the students, which was probably caused by practical concerns (i.e., the capacity of course load), the attempt to build a liberal education system was innovative enough in that age. Nearly all of the courses in junior and senior year at Fudan were elective. The regulation stipulated that students from the School of Arts in the junior and senior years were required to take seventeen credits,

¹⁰⁸ Yale Report, 7-8.

excluding Chinese and Military Drill. Also, students in the Senior class could take coordinated courses if they desired.¹⁰⁹ The coordinated courses would form the major studies, which needed to be ten credits at least out of the seventeen credits. The rest of the credits, then, consisted of minor studies. The elective system in the higher grades was close to Yale's distribution and concentration policy, with one major and two minors in higher years. At Yale, junior and senior students were required to choose one major and two minors. They needed to complete at least seven credits out of the fifteen or eighteen yearly credit hours in one division of study out of three (major), and complete at least five credits in two other divisions (minors). Still, Fudan imitated Yale's system to some degree, but revised it also to satisfy the requirement of Chinese students in accord with Fudan's actual situation. The School of Science in Fudan, however, did not have the major or minor requirement. They only needed to take nineteen credits with electives, and they had a broad range of options in courses as well.

The School of Commerce/Business that was established in 1917 was not in the elective system. All of the courses for business students were required and there was not any flexibility. Obviously, the education idea and purpose for the business school was different from arts or science schools. Graduates from the School of Commerce needed to grasp specific professional knowledge and skill to support their future careers. The completely different arrangement in the School of Commerce showed Lee's personal concern for Fudan. It was true that he wanted to build an Eastern Yale, but after all, the Eastern Yale was not Yale. The similarities between Yale and Fudan represented Lee Teng-Hwee's understanding of Western higher education, while the

¹⁰⁹ Fudan Regulation (1917-1918), 17.

differences represented his understanding of Chinese society and higher education that Chinese people needed.

The fourth revision was the honors system. In the 1915 regulations, Fudan added a new section called “Prizes and Honors,” which stipulated the rule of graduate honors and prizes. There were three classes of honors. The first-class honor was given to those whose average marks during the four years of the academic period reached 85% or above. Those who reached 75% or above were placed on the second-class honor list, while those who reached 65% were placed on the third. Average marks between 60% and 65% were classed as ordinary graduates. The prizes could be classified into two groups. The first-group prizes were given to those who possessed academic achievements. The golden scholarship medals were given to those whose average marks during an academic year were over 90%, the proficiency prizes were given to the first, second and third men of the graduating class, and the individual prizes were given to those who got the highest marks in specific subjects (Chinese, English, Mathematics and Modern Languages). The second-group prizes were given to those who had achievements in activities. The special prizes were awarded by the President to the best debaters and essayists. Athletic prizes in the form of silver cups were awarded for the champions in athletics and tennis. Finally, two silver shields were to be awarded to the best troop of the military cadets and winning patrol of the Boy Scouts in the annual competition as a group honor.¹¹⁰

The purpose of constructing an honor system was to increase students’ passion for study, and to offer some guidance to their academic exploration. Yale, just like many other American universities, had general honors called the Appointments list that were awarded on the basis of

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 62-63.

students' four-year average marks. There were three ranks, which were the *cum laude*, *magna cum laude* and *summa cum laude*.¹¹¹ However, in the nineteenth century, they added another honor because the general honor could not satisfy students' interests after the elective system was introduced. The Appointments required an overall achievement in all courses over four years, while the elective system encouraged students to focus on smaller fields, and the elective courses were only offered in the last two years. To ignite the ambition of students, Yale added a new honor system called Special Honors. The characteristic of Special Honors was shorter evaluation time and concentration on smaller study fields. Students could get Special Honors based on their effort in one- or two-year programs, and they could concentrate on one specific branch of study. At the start, Special Honors in Yale were awarded to students who had achievements in seven fields: Philosophy; Political Science, History and Law; English; Ancient Languages; Modern Languages; Natural and Physical Sciences; Mathematics. To earn these Special Honors, students needed to take courses in the specific course-group no less than the required yearly credit hours. Additionally, they need to complete a meritorious thesis. By the Special Honors, Yale could properly encourage students to make reasonable coordinated selections in the fields in which they were interested. The course-groups were carefully designed by the faculty to make sure that students made the proper selection of courses most beneficial to their concentration.¹¹²

¹¹¹ George Wilson Pierson, *Yale College: An Educational History, 1871-1921, Vol. 1* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), 320.

¹¹² George Wilson Pierson, *Yale College: An Educational History, 1871-1921, Vol. 1* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), 322-323.

Apparently, Fudan's honor system resembled Yale's. The Honors in Fudan corresponded to the General Honors of Yale, while the Prizes corresponded to the Special Honors of Yale. However, although the requirement of General Honors was generally the same, Fudan's requirement on Special Honors was not that similar. They were based on the grades, and students did not need to write a thesis. There were fewer subjects that could be evaluated to award honors. In another case, students won prizes for superior caliber in some activities, which was not necessarily based on academic achievement. The reason for these divergences might be the academic level of the two institutes. Yale was a time-honored college which had strong academic offerings, and it was not hard for it to support students to do deep research in different fields. Fudan, however, having not possessed the title of "university" until 1917, did not have enough resources for students to do research. The primary objective of Fudan was to educate professionals to provide the Western knowledge and skills that most Chinese people did not have. Therefore, at that time, grades were enough for Fudan to evaluate whether a student was eligible to win honors or prizes. Moreover, instead of academic achievement represented by a thesis, the ability of writing essays or debating that could directly influence Chinese society had more practical value. The prizes that were awarded to athletics and groups encouraged students to exercise and cooperate with each other. This was an inspiration for students and helped to form an active and energetic campus environment, much like at Yale. In conclusion, the honors system represented the value that the university wanted to promote. Fudan's honors system gave a hint of the characteristics and abilities that Fudan hoped its students would have: being enthusiastic, hard-working, and competitive, being good at expressing one's opinion by writing or debate, having a strong body and being keen for sports, and being cooperative with one another. At Fudan in 1917, students were expected to have these features. To some degree, it

may represent Lee Teng-Hwee's expectations for students and his philosophy about how to educate the students.

The last revision to the regulations dealt with campus culture. Except for academic work in the classroom, Fudan students had colorful after-school activities. Furthermore, they were more and more united, and had a sense of belonging to the school that was gradually formed after Lee became the president. Yale was known for the conformity and loyalty of its students, and students at Yale were bound with each other by friendly competition, cooperative activities, and mutual encouragement. Lee attempted to construct a similar environment for Fudan students, thereby necessitating a serious revision to enrich the after-class activities and inspire students' loyalty to the Fudan community.

In 1915, a new section called "Publication" was added to the regulations. Fudan was preparing to publish a college magazine called the *Fuh-Tan Journal* each semester. According to the regulations, the aim to compile the magazine was not only to encourage original thought and the art of adequate expression in print, but also to communicate the views of the students in the college as well as those who had graduated. The regulation specially emphasized that Fudan alumni were also invited to send contributions to the magazine.¹¹³ The *Fuh-Tan Journal* was reminiscent of the *Yale Literary Magazine*, which was often referred to as "the Lit." by Yale faculty and students. *The Lit.*, founded in 1836, was the oldest literary magazine in the United States. It was published every semester and was completely edited and composed by students. Since its first issue in 1915, *Fuh-Tan Journal* has been continuously published every year, and continues to be published even today. In the preface for the first issue, Lee wrote that it was a

¹¹³ Fudan Regulation (1916-1917), 65-66.

pity that Fudan had not had a magazine to chronicle the accomplishment of the school during the past ten years, and many other schools around China had already created their own school magazines. Therefore, Fudan should issue its own school magazine too. Lee also said that the magazine should contain both arts and science contents, which were different from the *Yale Literary Magazine*.¹¹⁴ As the only publication in Fudan, the *Fuh-Tan Journal* was expected to be a stage for students to express their opinions and ideas about society, and to spread new ideas and knowledge in different fields, both humanities and science.

Another new regulation was about student governance. In section 23 “Self-Government,” rules that encouraged student governance came back. It said that “While students are obliged to subscribe to the rules and regulations of the College, as much encouragement as possible is given in the way of self-government in matters relating to the welfare of the students as well as their relation to the College.”¹¹⁵ It pointed out that the purpose of self-government was to encourage students to obey the school rules. It was possible that the campus environment was much better and the students’ disciplinary sense was stronger two years after Lee had become president, and Lee decided to return self-government rights to the students. As stated previously, what President Lee wanted was not a troop, a group of people who only knew how to follow orders. From the founding of a school magazine to the honors given to those who were good at debating, it is not hard to see that Lee expected his students to think independently, to be self-disciplined and well-organized. What he did not want to see was that students were controlled by their irrational emotions, nor by laziness and selfishness. Once the condition was ready, he would give the rights back to the students and teach them how to use it. According to the 1917 regulations, each class

¹¹⁴ Lee Teng-Hwee, *Bianyan* 弁言 [Preface], in *Fuh-Tan Journal*, Vol 1, 1.

¹¹⁵ Fudan Regulation (1917-1918), 65.

and each room could elect their own representatives for the purpose of maintaining order, good behavior, and tidiness. There was also a student Advisory Board whose duty was to cooperate with the management committee in matters relating to the students' welfare in college such as food and sanitation. The members of the Advisory Board were nominated and elected by all of the students. This part of the regulation embodied the spirit of democracy, which was an essential value for Fudan at that time.

Additionally, there were several different kinds of activities added to the regulation. Section 25 "Athletic Association" encouraged students to participate in sports events. Fudan had a tennis club, football club, basketball club, volleyball club, ping-pong club and the Field and Track Athletic Club. The management of these clubs was charged by committees elected by the students. The College encouraged inter-class and inter-college competitions, and every May, Fudan would hold the Annual Field and Track Competition Games. Again, the athletic association encouraged both the competition and cooperation between students. Section 26 "Dramatic Association" and section 27 "Philharmonic Association" were about drama and music, which enriched the after-class life of Fudan students. Also, since Fudan did not add music into their curriculum as Yale did, the philharmonic association could be compensation for that. Finally, the English Debating Society referred to in section 28 allowed students to practice their oral English and to learn how to "conduct public meetings."

Having reviewed Fudan's regulation revisions, a clear map emerges of the ideal university that Lee Teng-Hwee pursued. It was a copy of Yale, but not an exact copy. The revision of regulation and the college's management system was a structure reformation, the foundation for future development. The campus discipline issue and the education quality problem were partly solved. From 1915 to 1917, students were encouraged to become more self-disciplined, and

compared with 1913, Fudan's curriculum was closer to a modern university. However, there were two other problems Lee needed to deal with: the financial issue and the school site problem. Actually, these two problems were tightly related to each other. Under the tight financial situation, how would it be possible to find a site to build the school buildings and establish a beautiful campus like Yale? Also, how would the new regulations influence the students, and how were they going to influence Chinese society? These questions would be answered in the subsequent years.

4.0 Chapter 4: Embodied the Sprit: May-Fourth Movement

4.1 From College to University: A New Stage

1917 was a crucial year for Fudan. That year, Fudan formally announced its new name: “Fudan University,” and ended its years as a preparatory school. An old bronze bell collected in Fudan Archive witnessed this event. The bell was cast, according to its engraved inscription, in the winter of 1916. The inscription “School Bell of Fudan University” (復旦大學校鐘) indicated that in the winter of 1916, Fudan already had a plan to change its name. The cover of the 1917 school regulations is also prefaced with the words “Fudan University” on it, while in most of the texts the name they continued to use was “Fudan College.” The contradiction implied the transformation from college to university was still in progress and was not completed yet. But in conclusion, all of these changes evidenced that 1917 was the year when Fudan made this great change.¹¹⁶



Figure 1 The Bronze Bell in Fudan Archive

¹¹⁶ Qian Yimin 钱益民, interview by author, Shanghai, June 15, 2021.

There were two major reformations in Fudan's school and departmental composition. The first was the founding of the School of Commerce. It was an innovation decision at that time, since there was not a single university that had a School of Commerce. The purpose for Fudan to found the School of Commerce was to "teach modern business management and experience, so that to train business professionals (for the country)."¹¹⁷ The establishment of a commercial school was not only advanced in China. It was an advanced development among the whole world—Fudan's School of Commerce was founded only nine years after the famous Harvard Business School, which was founded in 1908. At this time, Europeans were still generally unfamiliar with commercial schools.¹¹⁸ In the beginning, the Fudan School of Commerce only had a general commercial department, with specific departments gradually developing in the following years. The foundation of the School of Commerce may have been influenced by Lee Teng-Hwee's overseas Chinese background. Lee's father was a merchant, and their family business could be traced back for several generations. Many of the most successful overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia were merchants, whose living style and values were different from their compatriots living in mainland China who regarded business as a career with no dignity. Confucianism encouraged the learning of classics and striving to become a public servant. Therefore, naturally, Lee understood the importance and value of business to society much better than some of his peers. Additionally, his connection with overseas Chinese provided him resources of faculty, students, and opportunities for internships for students. Based on his

¹¹⁷ Fudan daxue zhi 复旦大学志 [Fudan University Record] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1985), 1:1905–1949, 350.

¹¹⁸ *Li denghui xiansheng aisilu* 李登辉先生哀思录 [Mournful memories of Lee Teng-Hwee], 18.

practical educational philosophy, it was not surprising to see his early attempt to found a commercial school.

Another new department founded in 1917 was the Chinese Literature Department (国文部), which was parallel with the Schools of Arts, Sciences, and Commerce. Since 1905, Fudan had listed Chinese courses as mandatory courses for all students. However, it did not have an independent department of Chinese or Chinese literature until 1917. According to Qian, this change was a reaction to some faculty and students complaining of insufficient attention to Chinese in Fudan's English-speaking environment—they thought that Fudan placed too much emphasis on English.¹¹⁹ Lee adopted their advice and founded the Chinese Literature Department as an independent department. The courses offered by the department had three different levels. The preliminary courses (*benji kecheng*) courses included: Chinese readers; ancient classics (i.e., *Sun Ce's Historical Essays*, *Chuang-tze's Essays*, *Lieh-tze's essays*, *Lu Jiuyuan and Wang Yangming's Philosophy*); composition; general lectures on moral-cultivation (*xiushen*); Chinese geography, history, and other subjects. The preliminary courses adopted several government designated textbooks. Except for satisfying the government's requirement, it mainly focused on moral education, and practical application of Chinese literature skills based on the familiarity of traditional culture.¹²⁰ The advanced courses (*teji kecheng*) did not adopt any official textbooks at all. Instead, they taught the traditional Confucian classic text represented by the *four books* (*sishu*), and also included some other classics like *Miscellaneous Scholars' History* (*zaxuan zi shi*), *Book of Rites* (*lijì*) and poetry.¹²¹ Compared with the preliminary

¹¹⁹ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 84.

¹²⁰ Fudan Regulation (1917-1918), 89-92.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 90-93.

courses, advanced courses provided more readings on classics, and they were closer to the courses offered by a classical Chinese academy (*shuyuan*). The highest level was the advanced courses (*zhuanxiu kecheng*). Advanced courses provided a very profound study of Chinese literature, classified into eight categories: Confucian Classics (*jing*), History (*shi*), Confucian Scholars' Works (*zi*), Chinese Philosophy, Confucian Primers (*xiaoxue*), Chinese Literature History, Official Documents (*gongdu*), and Composition. The preliminary and advanced courses both had thirty-two credits in a four-year curriculum, while the complete courses had fifty-four credits in a three-year curriculum. The footnote for the complete courses in the curriculum was "courses offered for those who have the will to do further study to fully master Chinese literature after they complete the preliminary courses."¹²² The complete courses provided an opportunity for those students who had great interests in classical Chinese learning. Generally, Fudan's Chinese literature courses followed the traditional structure of classics-learning curriculum. It did not place Chinese literature under the research framework of modern Western-style literature education as scholars do in the contemporary age. The traditional *guoxue* study was a combination of academic research and moral-cultivation. The Confucian education taught that there were four stages in a successful scholar's life: personal moral-cultivation (*xiushen*), a good management of family relationship (*qijia*), a successful governance of the country (*zhiguo*) and the moral unification of all under heaven (*pin tianxia*). Acquiring the moral characteristics was the first step for a Confucian scholar and would finally lead him to the ultimate purpose— to educate all of the people under heaven. This concept coincided with Lee's educational philosophy, which could partly explain why he supported an education in classical literature. As

¹²² Fudan Regulation (1917-1918), 91-94.

Christianity played the moral education role in the Western world, Chinese classics were also helpful to moral education on the Fudan campus. Lee did not pay much attention to the Western-style academic research on Chinese literature, which would treat the texts as objects and ignored the original educational function of the system. The skill of authentically using classical Chinese, and the teaching of ancient sages that could help his students to become moral people were also what Lee really cared about.¹²³

In 1917, the new decree of the university (*daxueling*) was published. According to these regulations, a university should provide advanced academic training and cultivate scholars and professionals in accord with the requirements of the country. It should have at least two departments among art, science, law, business, medicine, agriculture, and engineering. Additionally, students enrolled in the university should have the academic ability that is equal to the graduates from the preparatory school for university. Fudan was able to satisfy this requirement at this point, even though the board of trustees management system was different from the convocation management system required by the decree. For Fudan's own expectations, the faculty proposed that Fudan compare itself with Western universities. When Fudan students were eligible to go directly to Western universities for further research and study, Fudan was simultaneously eligible to be called a university. In 1915, the first graduates of Fudan preparatory school were graduated, and there were only seven of them. Three of them went abroad to America and directly enrolled in the second year of Yale and the University of California. There were twenty-two undergraduate graduates between 1915 to 1917 in total, and about one-third of them directly went to American universities for further study. Obviously,

¹²³ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 104-105.

Fudan had achieved its own expectation in 1912, when the faculty did not agree to change the name into “university” for their incapability to use the title.¹²⁴ They expected that in the future Fudan would be eligible to be called a university, and Lee accomplished their dream. Since it had already satisfied both the requirements of the Ministry of Education and its own faculty, it was natural for Fudan to rename itself as Fudan University in 1917. The first step of reformation led by Lee Teng-Hwee was finished, which pushed Fudan closer to a modern university. However, this was not the end of the reforms. In light of Huang Huabiao’s memory in *Grieving dedication to the memory of President Lee Teng-hwee* (李登辉校长哀思录), Fudan was not yet a famous university in China. People overlooked Fudan because of two reasons. The first reason was Fudan’s location. Lee rented Li Hongzhang’s temple to be the school site as noted in the last chapter, and Fudan actually did not have its own campus like other universities (i.e., St. John’s University or Nanyang College). Secondly, Fudan had very limited financial resources, which meant that it could only engage a small group of faculty. Fudan could not afford to establish more departments, doing further research as other universities did.¹²⁵ Lee was aware of these problems, and after the success of the first step of his reforms, he turned his sights to the financial problems and started to look for an independent campus for Fudan. On the other side, Fudan still needed an opportunity to show its impact on society—and this opportunity was approaching soon.

¹²⁴ *Fudan daxue zhi* 复旦大学志 [Fudan University Record] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1985), 1:1905–1949, 87.

¹²⁵ *Li denghui xiansheng aisilu* 李登辉先生哀思录 [Mournful memories of Lee Teng-Hwee], 14.

4.2 May Fourth Movement

On January 23, 1918, Lee Teng-Hwee temporarily left Fudan and went to Southeast Asia for fund-raising. He brought a document entitled *The Petition for Expanding Higher Education*.¹²⁶ The petition was written by Lee Teng-Hwee in 1917, and the main argument was about the necessity to expand the scale of Chinese higher education. Lee argued that education was the key to China's survival, and all of the developed countries, represented by Germany, had complete and well-developed educational systems. However, most of the higher education institutes in China were founded by the Western church, and sending students to other countries for higher education could cost a lot. Therefore, from both economic and political concerns, education development was necessary for the mission of saving the nation.¹²⁷

Lee's mission in Southeast Asia was very successful. He returned to Shanghai in June with 150,000 yuan. It was a great amount of money at that time, but the names of the donors were not recorded, so we do not know who donated the funds. Qian has speculated that one possibility was Lee Teng-Hwee sold his own family business in Batavia, but he covered the truth because of his Christian belief which encouraged selfless devotion.¹²⁸ Nonetheless, it successfully solved the financial crisis of Fudan. With the new funds, Lee started to buy lands in the Jiangwan district for Fudan in 1919. Jiangwan was an undeveloped area in the North of the International Concession. A road between downtown and Jiangwan had not been built yet at that time. People

¹²⁶ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 94.

¹²⁷ Lee Teng-Hwee, *Kuochong gaodeng jiaoyu qingyuanshu* 扩充高等教育请愿书 [The Petition for Expanding Higher Education], Shanghai Archives, Y8-1-644.

¹²⁸ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 104-105.

travelled to Jiangwan Town by Songhu railway first, and then took a rickshaw for about half an hour to go to Jiangwan from Shanghai City. There were many abandoned tombs near the campus area, which made it look very desolate. There were many criticisms of Lee's campus building plan at that time because of the environment of Jiangwan, but Lee insisted on his plan.¹²⁹ The lands Lee bought in Jiangwan finally became the current school base of Fudan. The new lands provided a foundation for Fudan's future development and greater reputation.

However, another big event occurred in 1919 that attracted Fudan faculty and students' attention away from the new campus—the May Fourth Movement. As Huang said, Fudan University was not well-known throughout the whole country until it participated in this event.¹³⁰ The May Fourth Movement might be one of the most influential and widely discussed events in modern Chinese history. It was not only a turning point for modern China, but also opened a new age for Fudan University.

In 1919, when the Chinese diplomatic mission attended the Paris Peace Conference as victorious country members met to participate in the negotiation after World War I, they were treated unfairly and faced a crisis of losing Shandong's sovereignty—Japan wanted to take charge of this land which was formerly controlled by Germany, and the other three countries (England, America, France) agreed with this idea. When the news from Paris was sent back to China, the whole country was shocked by the unfairness of the conference. On May 4th, 1919, students in Beijing started a great protest movement to express their dissatisfaction with the unfair treaty. The movement soon spread widely across the country, triggering a wave of strikes by students, merchants and workers in many cities. This great protest and its subsequent

¹²⁹ *Li denghui xiansheng aisilu* 李登辉先生哀思录 [Mournful memories of Lee Teng-Hwee], 11.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

influences were known as “the May Fourth Movement.” The May Fourth Movement was not simply a political movement, but was also an intellectual movement. Students who led the movement promoted concepts of science and democracy from the West, lashed out at the traditional culture, and attempted to inspire patriotism.¹³¹ In conclusion, the two main impetuses for the May Fourth Movement were the patriotism triggered by the *Twenty-One Demands* and the Treaty of Versailles, and the ideal for intellectuals to build a modern Chinese society by introducing the democratic and scientific spirit from Western civilization.¹³²

In his seminal book, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*, Chow Tse-Tsung discusses the merchant strike that happened in June in Shanghai led by Shanghai students. The May Fourth Movement in Shanghai successfully united several different classes—students, merchants, workers and the press, which greatly supported students who pressured the government in Beijing. The unification between students in different places and other social classes started from Shanghai, and finally turned the May Fourth Movement into a nationwide movement.¹³³ However, Chow’s story focused more on events that occurred in June, and did not mention how exactly the movement started in Shanghai. Actually, Shanghai had an instant reaction to what happened in Beijing on May 4th. More specifically, there was an immediate reaction centered by Fudan University and spread with astonishing speed to nearly all of the schools in Shanghai. It was the highly efficient unification of Shanghai schools that finally allowed the merchant strike to succeed in such a short time period. The merchant strike started on June 5th, and there was only one month between its start and the date of May Fourth. It was

¹³¹ Tse-tsung Chow, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 1-2.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 6.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 224.

fair to say that students led Shanghai's May Fourth Movement, and Fudan led Shanghai students. From the process of the movement in Shanghai, Fudan students demonstrated their excellent leadership and organizational skills, and people would soon see just how influential and active they could be when the country faced a crisis.

Around 11 pm on May 4th, 1919, Fudan's alumni Shao Lizi rushed to Fudan, woke up Wu Mian (the president of Student Advisory Board) from his sleep and told him that several Fudan graduates at Beijing University (Luo Jialun, Gao Jiayao, Deng Baiyan) had been arrested and needed their help. Students, including Wu, were shocked by the news. They went to ring the school bell (the one pictured in the last section) and woke up all of the students, convened them together, and Shao reported on what he knew about the May Fourth Movement in Beijing. Shao explained why the students in Beijing held their protest march, and encouraged them to support their brethren. Students were angry and concerned about what had happened in Beijing, and could not wait to do something to help. That evening they were destined to not be able to sleep peacefully again.¹³⁴

Lee Teng-Hwee did not blame the students who broke the university regulations and gathered at night. Contrarily, on the morning of May 5th, he participated in the conference students held to discuss the May Fourth issue together. Students decided to send about seventy people to contact other schools, which included universities, women's colleges, preparatory schools, and some middle schools. The messengers from Fudan successfully completed their mission. Only several hours later, representatives from thirty-three different schools came to Fudan and held a meeting to discuss how they would help the Beijing students. They could not

¹³⁴ Li denghui xiansheng aisilu 李登辉先生哀思录 [Mournful memories of Lee Teng-Hwee], 14.

agree on a solution within one day, so they just sent a telegraph message to the Beijing government expressing their support for the students. Finally, Lee Teng-Hwee and Shao Lizi gave some advice to the students. They suggested that the Shanghai students were not yet powerful enough to influence the Beijing government. They must establish a long-term organization to unite all of the schools to support their future plans.

Lee's advice was accepted by the students. On May 6th, they invited the representatives from other schools to talk about Lee's proposal, and the meeting was held in the World Christian Student's Federation (WCSF).¹³⁵ The WCSF was founded by Lee Teng-Hwee in 1905 when he had only just returned to China, and it had a very close relationship with Fudan.¹³⁶ Students using the WCSF building as their meeting place proved that Lee's support for the May Fourth Movement was enthusiastic, sympathetic and supportive. In the following two months, there would be several other meetings, and most of them were held in either Fudan or the WCSF building, which showed that Lee most likely participated and certainly supported the movement in some form.

Nevertheless, not all of the other university presidents' attitudes were as positive as Lee's. The meeting on May 6th irritated several church university presidents. They did not support the students' movement, and even expelled some students who were extremely active.¹³⁷

Zhendan University, a school controlled by the French Catholic Church that had a relationship with Fudan ten years earlier, made the decision to expel students. St. John's University, which was founded by the American Anglican Church, did so as well.¹³⁸ Some expelled students went

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 168.

¹³⁷ *Li denghui xiansheng aisilu* 李登辉先生哀思录 [Mournful memories of Lee Teng-Hwee], 14.

¹³⁸ *Shen Bao*, 5 June, 1919.

to Fudan and asked for help, and Lee Teng-Hwee approved for them to transfer from their original school to Fudan. Zhang Yi, one of Lee Teng-Hwee's best students was among them. According to his memory, he felt helpless after he was expelled by St. John's and could not see any hope for his future. Then, someone told him that President Lee Teng-Hwee in Fudan was sympathetic with the young men who participated in the protest, and that he should ask for Lee's help. Since he had no other choice, Zhang decided to go to Fudan and see President Lee. He felt nervous when he arrived, but he was quickly received by Lee. He wrote in a memoir that "[President Lee] gently comforted me, asked for my situation and kindly encouraged me. My transfer request was approved by him immediately... Later during the May Fourth Movement, the backbone of the movement was mostly Fudan students, and we usually ask for President Lee's advice and help when we face important decisions or problems. He was always very willing to give instruction to us, and his support influenced us greatly."¹³⁹

The first meeting for organizing the "long-term organization" was held in Fudan, on May 8th. Lee Teng-Hwee named the organization the "Shanghai Students' Union" (*Shanghai xuesheng lianhe hui*).¹⁴⁰ There were eighty-one representatives from thirty-one schools at that meeting, which included nearly all of the famous Shanghai schools. Ho Pao-Yeng was elected as the president, and Chen Tianfang was elected as the temporary secretary. Both of them were Fudan students. After Ho declared the purpose of the meeting, representatives voted to pass the proposal to establish the students' union and they all agreed. Later, Chen wrote the draft of the union's constitution on the blackboard. After the revision finished by the representatives, the constitution was passed as well. The meeting also discussed the address selection issue. Some of

¹³⁹ *Li denghui xiansheng aisilu* 李登辉先生哀思录 [Mournful memories of Lee Teng-Hwee], 11.

¹⁴⁰ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 90.

the students wanted to choose the YMCA building, while others wanted to choose the WCSF building. They did not come to a conclusion, and the question remained for the next meeting.¹⁴¹ The second preparation meeting was still in Fudan. Representatives increased to ninety-six people who came from forty-four different schools, and they made the final decision. The official founding conference would be held on May 11th at the WCSF building. Finally, on May 11th, the Shanghai Students' Union was founded.¹⁴² Ho Pao-Yeng was elected as the president (会长 *Huizhang*), and He Shizhen was elected as the Advocate (*Pingyizhang*). He Shizhen had been a Fudan student before he transferred to Soochow University of Law. On May 14th, they held another meeting and published a declaration. The declaration stated that from May 15th, if the Beijing government did not support Cai Yuanpei's status and protect the universities' dignity within seven days, Shanghai students were going to strike. The declaration emphasized the discipline of the strike. During the strike, any amusement activities were not allowed. Students were to organize public speech groups, distribute printed documents, and strive to increase patriotic awareness. Additionally, they also proposed that they should use the summer vacation time to make up for their absent courses.¹⁴³

Seven days passed. However, the Beijing government did not follow the students' wishes. On May 22nd, students decided to begin the strike, but with the Jiangsu Education Association and some faculty mediation, they agreed to postpone the strike for three days. Two days later, another meeting of Shanghai Students' Union discussed the detailed arrangement of the propagation activities during the strike. On May 25th, an announcement of the strike decision

¹⁴¹ *Shen Bao*, 10 May, 1919.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Shen Bao*, 16 May, 1919.

was sent around Shanghai, and the strike started on the 26th. More than 20,000 students from seventy schools joined the strike, and their march attracted about 300,000 Shanghai citizens.¹⁴⁴

After the strike, students understood that their power was still not strong enough. Therefore, they intentionally built connections with merchants and other social groups. On May 7th, Tsinghua University student Guo Qingguang died from lung disease in Beijing after he participated in the May Fourth Movement for several days.¹⁴⁵ He immediately became a martyr figure and students promoted patriotism by mourning him. Guo Qingguang's case provided an opportunity for Shanghai students to gain social sympathy and encourage the other citizens to join the movement. On May 27th, the students' union sent some students to the Chamber of Commerce to ask the merchants to hang a white flag outside their shops on the 31st to commemorate the martyr Guo Qingguang. Some other students went to conduct research on the Japanese goods' market situation to prepare for a boycott of Japanese goods. Additionally, they tried to contact students from other cities, and asked for cooperation or support from overseas students and from the consulates of different countries in Shanghai. The union requested a 0.5 yuan membership fee from each member to collect funds for running newspapers and sending telegrams. From these activities, we can see a clear and well-organized plan of unifying different groups.¹⁴⁶

The Remembrance Meeting for Guo Qingguang held on May 31st was very successful. It was held at the Ximen Public Stadium, and most of the participants were students and scholars. The

Figure 2 Shanghai Students in the Remembrance Meeting of Guo Qingguang

¹⁴⁴ Tse-tsung Chow, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 208-209.

¹⁴⁵ *Li denghui xiansheng aisilu* 李登辉先生哀思录 [Mournful memories of Lee Teng-Hwee], 14.

¹⁴⁶ Tse-tsung Chow, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 209.

meeting was organized by the students' union, and Ho Pao-yeng was the moderator. At the



全場狀況

追悼郭欽光烈士攝影(其一)

beginning, Ho gave an opening speech. Then, a student representative from Beijing, Xu Deyan, also gave a speech to introduce Guo Qingguang's story and the May-Fourth Movement in Beijing. Xu Deyan was one of the first group of students who started the movement on May 4th, and he was one of the 32 students who were arrested that day.¹⁴⁷ Following Xu's speech, Ho announced that the moment of silence started. After the silence, students sang a mourning song, and many of them cried with strong emotion. According to Huang's memory, Guo Qingguang had died because of disease, instead of being persecuted by the government or committing suicide as some other patriotic martyrs. Logically and faithfully speaking, he did not die for the May-Fourth Movement. However, it did not matter for those students who gathered at his remembrance meeting. What they needed at that time point was a figure that could represent their anger, their patriotic passion, their determination, and their sacrifice spirit. Guo satisfied their needs, and it was not hard to understand that why he was depicted as a martyr by the May-Fourth students. Students gathered under his name, they automatically assigned tasks for themselves to their expertise. For instance, students from art school painted the portrait of Guo,

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 200.

students who were musicians formed a band to play at the memorial, and students from medical school organized the ambulance team.¹⁴⁸

The remembrance meeting was a climax of the May-Fourth Movement in Shanghai. It was the first time that all of the Shanghai students had an opportunity to gather in one place and see each other as a union. It also showed the power and will of the students, which greatly moved the citizens who watched or heard about the event and inspired their sympathetic mood to the movement. Many shops mourned Guo at half-mast as students requested on May 27th, which demonstrated their support to students. After the end of the remembrance meeting, enthusiastic students made the next move. They sent several groups to different places where the business leaders shall be, to petition for the merchant strike that could force the government to accept people's demands. They went to four different places in total: A team led by Fudan student leader Ho Pao-yeng went southward to the Shanghai County Chamber of Commerce; a team led by Nanyang College and St. Johns' students went to the president of Chamber of Commerce, Zhu Baosan's house. Another group of students led by Fudan representative Zhu Chengxun and some other representatives from schools like Chengzhong Middle School and Zhendan University went to the Federation of Commercial Corporations (*Shangye gongtuan lianhe hui*). The petitions on this day did not go well. Except for Ho, who was received by the chairman and vice chairman of the Shanghai County Chamber of Commerce, none of the other students who visited business leaders met the people they wanted to meet. Zhu Baosan refused to meet the students, and students who went to the federation also did not hear any response. After which, they turned northward, crossed the French Concession and went to the Public Concession to visit

¹⁴⁸ *Shen Bao*, 1 June, 1919.

the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce (*Shanghai zongshang hui*). The response from the General Chamber of Commerce was also negative. When students arrived, the important staff were not present. The students called to ask them to come, but no one responded. At the end of this day's event, the greatest progress students have made came from Ho Pao-yeng and his accompanying representatives. The chairman and vice chairman of the County Chamber of Commerce agreed to hold a meeting with students for the negotiation of strike issue, and according to the chairman's followed-up performance, agreed to hold the meeting the meeting was also a delay of conflicts rather than a positive response.¹⁴⁹

However, the students were not discouraged by the failure of the first-day petition. To some extent, the brave presenting of the petition itself was more important than the results of the petition. The activities inspired the students who participated and made their organization more united. Moreover, people witnessed the students' power and heard their patriotic voice from these activities. Huang Huabiao was part of the petition team on that day, and he emotionally described the exciting memory when he marched crossing the French Concession with other Fudan students in his article. He wrote:

“Fudan students took the initiative to participate in the action of crossing the concession to the North (General) Chamber of Commerce...Chinese people were not allowed to wear the uniform to act collectively in the concession at that time...Many people said that it might lead to injury or death to cross the concession, but we were not afraid. Step by step we proceeded in harmony, miles and miles were overwhelmed by our determination, even the onlookers were moved. There were so many onlookers that

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

they even blocked the road. The police in the French Concession did not embarrass us, either. They automatically stepped aside so that we could pass through. We went smoothly all the way and successfully reached the General Chamber of Commerce finally...The whole Shanghai society was shocked by our courage.”¹⁵⁰ His memory showed that Fudan students were very active in the petition on May 31st, and it also demonstrated that how influential their brave behaviors were. On the other side, Fudan students were very well-organized, instead of being reckless and chaotic. They were a closely integrated group, it was patriotism and brotherhood that tied them together.¹⁵¹

On June 1st and 3rd, the Shanghai Students' Union held two other meetings with commercial leaders, as Ho and the chairman agreed on May 31st. There was a disagreement during the meetings. At the meeting on Jun 3rd, the president of the Chamber of Commerce still hesitated to agree with the students' petition. However, some merchants represented by an overseas Chinese merchant in Russia, Ling Youguang, gave a speech to support the students, and encouraged other merchants to join them. The president argued that the strike may be harmful for the coolies and workers, since they would lose their incomes. Therefore, they needed more time to discuss and find a more reasonable way to conduct the protest. The merchants did not accept his idea, and insisted that they should start the strike and pressure the Beijing government. The debate continued until 8 p.m., and finally ended with no conclusion. It seems that most of the merchants already stood by the students' side while the president was still unwilling to agree with the petition. They agreed that there will be another meeting on June 4th to continue the discussion.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ *Li denghui xiansheng aisilu* 李登辉先生哀思录 [Mournful memories of Lee Teng-hwee], 14.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *Shen Bao*, 4 June, 1919.

Nevertheless, the meeting on 4th was blocked by the military police from the Songhu Police Agency. There was an order that without the permission from the Police Agency, any meetings were not permitted. Afterwards, the military police even patrolled the area to prevent the re-organization of meetings. There were thousands of people who waited outside the entrance of the meeting place, and they were greatly disappointed by the police restriction. Students were also angry. They proceeded around to give speeches and distribute leaflets that criticized the actions of the police for undermining the democratic rights stipulated in the *Republican Statutes*.¹⁵³ In the afternoon, breaking news arrived at Shanghai from Beijing: from June 2nd to 4th, the Beijing government arrested about 1150 students.¹⁵⁴ The government's actions completely angered Shanghai students. They changed their strategy and no longer sought the assistance from the Chamber of Commerce, but directly negotiated with the shop owners. (In fact, the Chamber of Commerce had compromised finally—the president and vice president submitted their resignation letter on the same day, stating that they were unable to handle the student's request and hoped to give their position to someone more capable¹⁵⁵) They gave lectures on the streets, and visited shops in the south market one by one, asking the shop owners to sign to agree joining the strike from the 5th. In view of the fact that most businessmen had been sympathetic with the students during the previous meeting, the sincere requests of the students received the active support from nearly all of the shop owners. According to the report on *Shen Bao*, only one silver shop owner refused to sign. However, after seeing the students kneeling outside his store to beg,

¹⁵³ *Shen Bao*, 5 June, 1919.

¹⁵⁴ Tse-tsung Chow, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 221.

¹⁵⁵ *Shen Bao*, 5 June, 1919.

he changed his mind. He lifted up the student who was kneeling outside the store, and finally agreed to sign.¹⁵⁶

With the efforts of the students and the positive response from the businessmen, none of the shops in the South Market opened in the early morning of June 5. What was even more surprising was that only a few hours later, the strike spread from the Southern Market to the French Concession, which was adjacent, and then affected the International Concession. At noon, the entire downtown area of Shanghai joined the strike.¹⁵⁷ The May-Fourth Movement in Shanghai achieved a great success.

The strike in Shanghai started on the 5th and lasted until the 12th. It was worth mentioning that during the strike, Shanghai's public security was exceptionally good. The students spontaneously went outside to the streets to maintain order, making the crime rate in Shanghai much lower than usual.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, the strong law and order during the strike may have come from the unification of all social classes in Shanghai. On June 5th, Shanghai Students' Union invited more than two hundred representatives from different social groups to participate in a meeting. Most of them were students, workers, journalists and merchants. Again, the meeting was still hosted by Ho Pao-yeng from Fudan University. At this meeting, the main topics were as follows: Firstly, the representatives agreed to continue the strike to support the students until the government agreed their petition. Secondly, they established an organization called "The Workers, Merchants, Students and Journalists' Federation" (*Gong shang xue bao lianhe hui*) as a permanent joint organization for future's movement.¹⁵⁹ In addition, the students particularly

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Tse-tsung Chow, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 226.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 234.

¹⁵⁹ *Shen Bao*, 6 June, 1919.

emphasized public security issues. They gave speeches that asked their compatriots to abide by the law and not use violence, and the Boy Scouts (童子军) would be responsible for maintaining order on the streets. In addition, they also emphasized the nature of the strike: a strike was not an exclusive movement. What the movement called for was peace and order.¹⁶⁰ In fact, it was not just the social groups participating in the Federation that were united. According to Chow, a large number of citizens who were not workers or merchants also participated in the strike. Residents from the bottom of society, such as beggars, thieves, and prostitutes, joined the movement as well. In the end, even some public officials (such as post office staff, police and firefighters) stood out to support the students and threatened the government.¹⁶¹ All these people's effort help constructing the good order in Shanghai during the strike.

There was no doubt that Lee Teng-hwee and his students played a key role in the May Fourth Movement in Shanghai. First of all, Fudan students were the initiators of the movement who spread the news from Beijing, and were the first who built the connection between schools in Shanghai. Secondly, almost all important student conferences in May were held in Fudan or the World Christian Student's Federation, and both of these two organizations were controlled by Lee Teng-hwee. Finally, not only did Fudan students actively participate in the movement, but many student leaders also came from Fudan (such as Ho Pao-yeng, the chairman of the Shanghai Student Federation; Zhu Chengxun, the representative of Fudan students; Chen Tianfang, the first secretary of Shanghai Students' Union). According to Huang Huabiao's memory, after the May Fourth Movement, Fudan finally gained national attention and attention, regardless of its

¹⁶⁰ Tse-tsung Chow, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 227.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 231.

simple campus facilities and lack of economic conditions.¹⁶² People began to pay attention to Fudan University, and even compared it with Peking University, calling it “Beida (Peking University) of Shanghai.”¹⁶³

It should be pointed out that Fudan's achievements in the May Fourth Movement were inseparable with Lee Teng-hwee's educational policy after he became the president—the Yale-style education system he adopted in Fudan was successful. In the previous chapter, we mentioned that Lee attached great importance to the cultivation of both student discipline and student autonomy. He hoped that the students could possess strict self-discipline ability, but at the same time could be strong in independent thinking. They would be able to be responsible for both themselves and the community, and therefore be able to assume the responsibility of democracy. In the preface of the Fudan Annual in 1925, Ho Pao-yeng wrote that “The best universities in China generally have the advantages of discipline (训练) or freedom (自由), but only Fudan has both of these two characteristics. People thought that discipline and freedom were contradictory that cannot coexist...However, Fudan students' thoughts were free, while their behaviors were well disciplined...Fudan students valued freedom, so they would not be restricted or lack of thinking; They also valued discipline, so they would not waste time and opportunity casually.”¹⁶⁴ The special characteristic combined freedom and discipline explained that Fudan students demonstrated such strong efficiency, autonomy, and judgment during the May Fourth Movement.

¹⁶² *Li denghui xiansheng aisilu* 李登辉先生哀思录 [Mournful memories of Lee Teng-hwee], 14.

¹⁶³ Timothy Weston. *The Power of Position : Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1929* (California: University of California Press, 2004), 179.

¹⁶⁴ *Fudan daxue zhi* 复旦大学志 [Fudan University Record] (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1985), 1:1905–1949, 137.

Another point was, Lee has always encouraged students to care about current national affairs and intentionally cultivated students' speech skills. Among the scholarships he set up, there was one that was awarded to students who were particularly good at giving speeches. In the *Fuh-Tan* magazine, students' articles that discussed social issues were frequently published in the *Classwork* (课艺) session. Fudan encouraged students to establish connections with society and cultivated their ability to influence the society. Fudan students were expected to be a group of people who were enthusiastic about social affairs and had the ability to participate in these affairs, rather than just sitting in the study room and focusing on textbooks. Therefore, Fudan students demonstrated excellent leadership, strong sense of responsibility and were influential in the May-Fourth Movement. They could, therefore, unite with other social groups quickly and efficiently.

Finally, Fudan itself was a community with high conformity. Fudan alumni had deep brotherhood between each other. Even after graduation, the identity of the alumni still maintained the connection between them. The arrested Fudan alumni in Beijing actually became the trigger for Fudan to participate in the May Fourth Movement. Fudan students were good at cooperation and were very loyal to their school, and the loyalty to the school eventually developed into the loyalty to the nation and the country. Therefore, in social activities such as the May Fourth Movement, the dedication and cooperative spirit of Fudan students could inspire and connect with other social groups.

Fudan's characteristic that consisted of freedom, discipline, conformity and strenuous spirit were highly similar to Yale, as discussed in the last chapter. In the preface of *Yale College: 1871-1921*, Pierson concluded that "(Yale) was not only the preservers of our European inheritance

but the makers of much that we value most in American civilization.”¹⁶⁵ His understanding of Yale’s value to America was based on the radical education reformation that challenged the traditional education value in America, while it was also a good revelation to Fudan in its own context. According to Pierson, a college as Yale needed to both inherit the past of the civilization and create the new value in the new age. Fudan’s responsibility to Chinese civilization in early 20th century was to assemble Yale’s responsible to America. For Lee Teng-hwee, founding a “Eastern Yale” did not merely mean the transplanted of Yale’s system, but also Yale’s spirit. More specifically, “Eastern Yale” means “a university for Eastern world that played a similar role with Yale for Western world,” instead of a mere copy of Yale. At this standing point in China, higher education was one of the most sensitive and advanced institutions that searched for the future of the nation and the culture. How to deal with the heritage of traditional culture, and what new value shall be produced? There were many different answers to these two questions from different educator. As Fudan represented Lee Teng-hwee’s answer, other universities’ decisions and reactions in social events like May Fourth Movement also represents their presidents’ answers based on their own background and values. Among them, perhaps Cai Yuanpei and Peking University was one of the most well-known and widely-influential cases. A comparison between Fudan and Beida (Beijing University) might be helpful to understand Fudan’s position on the higher educational field in that age.

¹⁶⁵ George Wilson Pierson, *Yale College: An Educational History, 1871-1921*, Vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), x.

4.3 Evaluation and Comparison: Difference between Shanghai and Beijing In and After the May Fourth Movement

After the May Fourth Movement, Beida became the most famous symbol of anti-autocracy in China,¹⁶⁶ and there is little wonder as to why people tended to think of Beida and Cai Yuanpei instead of Fudan and Lee Teng-Hwee when they think about symbolic Chinese universities of China's "new value." However, judging from the role Fudan played in the May Fourth Movement in Shanghai, the influence of Fudan on the Chinese education circles and even the whole of Chinese society cannot be ignored. According to Zhou, it was Shanghai's movement that pushed the May Fourth Movement to a new stage. The May Fourth Movement was no longer just a movement among students, and it developed into a patriotic movement that affected all classes and groups across the country and aimed to change China's economy and society after the Shanghai's merchant strike.¹⁶⁷

Compared with Beijing, Shanghai's movement was more peaceful, more moderate. Beijing students were more radical and even more violent during the movement. Of course, many students were orderly and wanted to petition in a peaceful way, but that was not what all of the students thought. Some of the students were more emotional and impulsive—on May 4th, some students burned the Minister of Communications Cao Rulin's mansion, and beat fiercely Zhang Zongxiang, the ambassador to Japan. The violence was not planned, it was an accident that got

¹⁶⁶ Timothy Weston, *The Power of Position: Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1929* (California: University of California Press, 2004), 175.

¹⁶⁷ Tse-tsung Chow, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 224.

out of control after students' petition encountered resistance¹⁶⁸—nobody accepted them positively after they marched to the embassies demanding to see the foreign ambassadors. They suddenly turned direction and went to Cao's mansion.¹⁶⁹ Their action astonished the whole country, and some of the students were arrested for the violence. Beijing students did not think that the violent action should be condemned. Instead, the students who committed the violence were highly respected and called themselves martyrs. Guo Qingguang, the student who died after May Fourth and who was widely mourned among student communities in cities all around the country was depicted as a martyr who died from the violence of troops guarding Cao's mansion.¹⁷⁰ Guo's story earned sympathy from the whole country including Shanghai. Nevertheless, according to some student leaders' confession several years later, his story was made up by some other students. He actually died from disease.¹⁷¹

Both the violence Cao Rulin and Zhang Zongxiang suffered from and the fake story of Guo demonstrated Beijing students' strong tendency to control the story line of May Fourth. They did not care much about whether their behavior would break the order—all they wanted was to attract more attention from the society, and to portray themselves as patriotic martyrs and representatives of the public's anger at the government's policy. In Shanghai, we see a different story. Fudan students had some frustrated moments as well. When they marched to the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, none of them were accepted (excluding Ho Pao-Yeng and his entourage. Shanghai students even marched to the mansion chairman of the Chamber of Commerce also,

¹⁶⁸ Timothy Weston, *The Power of Position : Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1929* (California: University of California Press, 2004), 177.

¹⁶⁹ Tse-tung Chow, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 158.

¹⁷⁰ Timothy Weston, *The Power of Position : Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1929* (California: University of California Press, 2004), 177.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 178.

and they did not meet the chairman as they had wished. However, during the whole process, they stayed rational and several times used negotiation rather than violence to solve the problem. When they asked for the signatures of shop owners for the merchant strike, they kneeled down to the merchant who did not want to sign and entreated for his help, which finally convinced the merchant. When Shanghai's military force intervened in the students' meeting with merchant representatives, there was not any unexpected violence. In the news reports, descriptive words as *orderly, well-organized* (秩序整齐), and the call for peace, order and discipline were not rare. You can even see their automatic requirement of making up for their absent courses during vacation days or the rules during students strike that forbid any amusement activities. The Shanghai May Fourth Movement was controlled under a clear plan and good leadership, students negotiated with people from different social groups and quickly reached a cooperative relationship with them. You may also see the cautious characteristics of the students. They were very careful and wanted to avoid any possible and unnecessary conflicts with any forces, including the foreign forces in the concessions. The declaration that emphasized the non-exclusion of foreign people during meetings¹⁷² demonstrated students' careful concern for the relationship between foreigners, who may have had worried about their safety and their interests that might have been damaged by the movement.

Except for the behavior during the May Fourth Movement, the afterwards reactions of May Fourth of Fudan and Beida was different, too. In Beijing, the May Fourth Movement was not only an anti-imperialism patriotic movement. Because of the conjunction with the New Culture Movement that promoted the reformation and critique of traditional culture, May Fourth in

¹⁷² Tse-tsung Chow, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 277.

Beijing also started a radical attack on the tradition, or the “old culture.” Although there were some representative traditional figures like Gu Hongming and Huang Kan who still preserved their influence and voice in Beida, the trend of New Culture was nearly unstoppable.¹⁷³ The voice of the New Culture Movement was louder and louder after May Fourth, and more and more radical “ism” ideas became popular among scholars, and some left-wing Chinese youths were lost in the mania of revolution. They believed that advanced Western political theory could solve all of the problems in China instantly. Some liberalists, however, believed that it was impossible to solve all of the problems together. They thought that problems should be solved one by one, independently. The conflicts between left-wing and liberalist scholars dragged them into politician issue finally.¹⁷⁴

Nonetheless, in Fudan, the radical critique on old culture and political debates were rarely seen even after the May Fourth. The first evidence was the preservation of the study of Chinese classics in Chinese Literature Department until 1924. As mentioned formerly, Fudan’s Chinese Literature Department had a very complete and classical curriculum for Chinese learning, which obeyed the traditional value of classical study that emphasized not only academic research, but also the cultivation of morals and character. Beida reformed its Chinese literature curriculum in 1919. The new curriculum was totally under the Western literature research frame, focused on the expansion of academic scale, instead of traditional characteristic cultivation.¹⁷⁵ Besides,

¹⁷³ Timothy Weston, *The Power of Position : Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1929* (California: University of California Press, 2004), 170.

¹⁷⁴ Tse-tung Chow, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 320.

¹⁷⁵ Yang Rongrong 杨蓉蓉, *Xuefuneiwai—Ershi shiji ersanshi niandai shanghai xiandai daxue yu zhongguo xinwenxue guanxi yanjiu* 学府内外——二十世纪二三十年代上海现代大学与中国新文学关系研究[Inside and Outside the Campus: A research on the Relationship Between Shanghai Modern Universities and Chinese New Literature (1920-1930)] (Fudan University, 2006), 35.

students' classical Chinese poems and essays could still be found in the *Fuh-Tan Journal* published in 1920, and the essays about students' new ideas under the *yanlun* (言论) section were not as radical and controversial as articles published in Peking University's journals. They were concerned more with practical problems rather than philosophical ideas. Here were the titles of the seven articles published in 1920's *Fuh-Tan Journal*, their themes and tendencies demonstrating Fudan students' interests at that time:

A Research on Contemporary Society Reformation (现代社会改造的研究)
John Locke's Category and Methodology of Education (约翰卢克之教育分类及方法)
A Research on Greek Educational Philosophy (希腊教育哲学之研究)
Children Education (儿童教育)
Rational Patriotism (理性的爱国思想)
China's Hygiene (中国的卫生)
The Recent Situation of Shanxi's Education (山西教育之近况)
Social Survey of Huo Er Qian (社会调查“火儿钱”).

Four of the articles were about education, which showed the great passion of students for this topic. The other articles, about society reformation, hygiene and social survey, were more practical and had a closer relationship with social reality. Still, as their rational behavior during the May Fourth shows, they emphasized rational patriotism, which focused more on practical issues rather than radical “isms” in political debates at Peking University.

It is not a far-fetched deduction that Fudan students' subsequent reaction to May Fourth Movement was influenced by Lee Teng-Hwee's educational philosophy. In his essay *The Essence of Education*, Lee indicated that the tragedy of the modern age (i.e., the wars) was caused by a great development of material culture or scientific technology and the flawed development of morality. The social problems in China, similarly, should be attributed to the lack of moral education. Students who accepted advanced intellectual or physical education did not have the corresponding moral cultivation, and those educated elites were even more harmful

to the society than the illiterates who never accepted any higher education. Therefore, education was one of the most important issues in China, and morality was the most important part of education.¹⁷⁶ Lee did not tend to solve the social problems by Western political theories, or “isms.” His strong faith in education could be attributed to his religion. In this article, he argued that according to history, education originated from religion, and moral education was naturally contained in religious belief. However, in the modern age, religion was gradually separated from education. It was intellectual education that replaced religious education. Therefore, to make up for the gap caused by the absence of religion, moral education was now vital.¹⁷⁷ In Lee’s book *Vital Factors in China’s Problems (Zhongguo wenti zhi zhongda yinsuo)*, there were eight lessons in total. Following the first lesson/chapter, “General,” the second chapter “Ethics” and the third chapter “Education” demonstrated his concern on these two topics. The other topics, “Industry and Agriculture,” “Roads,” “Capital and Labor” were all practical concerns. “Politics” was put in the last chapter, which may imply Lee’s cautious attitude toward that area. Since the book was composed for students, he may have hoped that students focus more on the ethical and practical issues rather than political issues. Even in the “Politics” section, the articles he chose could be generally classified into two categories. The first was about peace, which included articles such as “The Way to Permanent Peace” and “Peace Through Democracy.” The second was about practical issues, which included articles such as “The League of Nations, A Historical Sketch of Early Chino-Japanese Relations” and “Japan’s Position in Manchuria.” According to these articles that he picked, we may speculate that Lee’s attitude toward politics in education was moderate and neutral, since he did not participate in the debates between left-wing thinkers

¹⁷⁶ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 194.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 196.

and liberals. Thus, it was not surprising to see Fudan students' moderate attitude from their articles after the May Fourth Movement. Fudan intentionally kept a distance from the center of political debates or radical trends; they had their own independent ideas on social issues. Since Yale took a similar attitude on educational reformation and never made any radical moves, we may argue that Fudan did inherit the conservative and rational spirit of it, together with the idea of moral education.

4.4 The New Birth: Jiangwan Campus

In the Fudan school song composed in 1925, there were a few lines as follows: "Fudan, Fudan, day after day. Standing tall in Shanghai, we are the best university in southeast. Educating the great scholars for the country, inspiring the learning enthusiasm and expanding the academic scale. The name of our school is going to shock Europe and stun the United States, what an excellent reputation we have!" (复旦复旦旦复旦 Fudan fudan dan fu dan/沪滨屹立东南冠 Hubin yili dongnanguan/作育国士 Zuoyu guoshi/恢廓学风 Huikuo xuefeng/震欧烁美声名满 Zhenoushuomei shengmingman) The lyric exactly describes Fudan's image in the 1920s. In 1920, Lee received letters from the presidents of American universities, including Harvard, Yale, California, Michigan, and Washington, that promised that any graduates from Fudan University who had a bachelor's degree could directly enroll into those universities without any examination. Moreover, students who earned more than a 70 on the final examination of their courses could directly transfer those credits into those American universities. Fudan's credits

were accepted.¹⁷⁸ The recognition from American universities demonstrated that Fudan's education level had achieved Lee's (and the faculty's) expectations when he became the president. Fudan's reputation in China was also largely enhanced after the May Fourth Movement. The only mission that Lee had not yet completed was the school site problem—to become an outstanding modern university, Fudan needed an independent campus.

In June 1920, the lands Lee purchased at Jiangwan had reached seventy mu (about 11.5 acres), and the groundwork for the new campus could finally begin. At the 1920 commencement, Lee reported the result of fundraising. The Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company (南洋兄弟烟草公司 Nanyang Xiongdi Yanco Gongsi) donated over 40,000 yuan, and the university Board of Trustees and students donated over 60,000 yuan. On December 18th, a groundbreaking ceremony was held for the new Jiangwan campus, and the building officially started. According to the design paper, what Lee planned to build was a campus that combined both Chinese and Western styles.

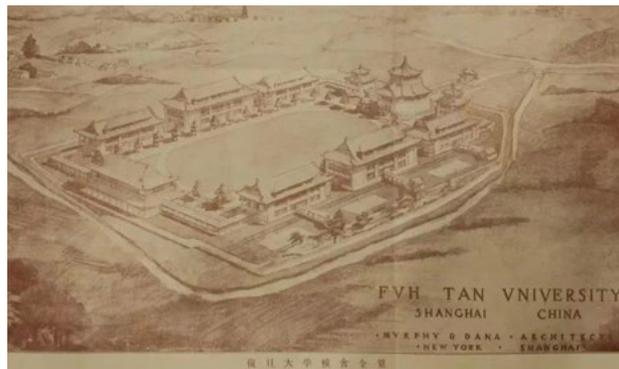


Figure 3 Jiangwan Campus Design Draft¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 82.

¹⁷⁹ *Fuh Tan Banner* (Shanghai: Fudan University, 1922), 18.

From the design paper, we can see the Chinese style roof, which showed a strong tendency towards traditional architectural aesthetics. The campus was symmetric, concise and well-designed, an open quadrangle was surrounded by the buildings. Around the campus, there was a beautiful natural view without other buildings. The new campus was far away from the city center, which satisfied Lee's idea that the university campus should sit in a suburb area so that the students would not be disturbed by the noise of the city, as many famous American universities did. As Pierson depicted in his book, at Yale's old campus, "the whole block suggested a 'true college quadrangle.'"¹⁸⁰ It was the traditional campus architectural structure inherited from Britain, which could be found in old universities like Oxford or Cambridge. The feature of a traditional quadrangle was its compactness and enclosure,¹⁸¹ and Fudan's campus design obviously followed this tradition.

Another notable fact was, in the design picture, we can see the name "Murphy." This was Henry Murphy, an architect who graduated from Yale College in 1899, the same year Lee Teng-Hwee graduated—they were classmates. After he graduated from Yale College, Murphy continued at Yale Graduate School for his future career as an architect.¹⁸² Was there a connection between the Yale alumni that helped Lee when he prepared for the Jiangwan Campus? The background of the architect could explain why Fudan's campus was similar to Yale's. Murphy was an architect who was especially interested in combining Western and Chinese styles in architecture, and he was one of the most influential foreign architects at this

¹⁸⁰ George Wilson Pierson, *Yale College: An Educational History, 1871-1921*, Vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), 6.

¹⁸¹ Richard Guy Wilson, "Human Imprint and Spatial Projection. An Interpretation of the Evolution of Paradigms of University Architecture as Inhabited Landscapes: Quadrangle, Yard, and Campus," in *Space and Culture* (May 2020), 4.

¹⁸² Laura Tatum, Ronel Namde, and staff of Manuscripts and Archives, *Guide to the Henry Killam Murphy Papers* (New Haven: Yale University Library), 4.

point in Chinese architecture history. From the end of the 1910s, Western architects started showing a tendency of adding Chinese architectural styles into their works, and Murphy was a very representative figure among them. He designed many campus buildings for Chinese universities in Beijing, Shanghai, Changsha, Fuzhou and Nanjing, which included the famous Tsinghua University, Yenching University, Hsiang-Ya Medical College and Ginling College. When he worked for Tsinghua, he spent time conducting research on Chinese traditional architecture, which allowed him to explore the possibility of a new architecture style that combined two different cultures.¹⁸³ He once said that, "...the Chinese architecture arts had such a long history and such a strict structure, which always charmed me."¹⁸⁴ He was the perfect candidate for Fudan to design a campus which represented the spirit of cultural communication and fusion.

In 1922, the first three buildings were completed. They were Jiangong Tang (简公堂), the teaching building; Yizhu Tang (奕柱堂), the office building and the first student dormitory. Fudan University moved to the new campus in the spring, which was the first higher educational institute in Jiangwan. This area gradually developed after Fudan moved there. There were new roads, a new bridge, and several other private schools built in this area near Fudan. The campus area also had a very nice view, since Lee insisted that a beautiful environment was beneficial to students' spiritual development.¹⁸⁵ Perhaps this concept came from his experience and memory of the beautiful old Yale campus as well.

¹⁸³ Pan Xigu 潘西谷, *Zhongguo jianzhushi* 中国建筑史 [Chinese Architecture History] (Beijing: China Construction Industry Press), 412-413.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 413.

¹⁸⁵ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 97.

At the end of 1922, the basic foundation of Fudan as a modern university was completed. Fudan had developed the good discipline and campus spirit that would support and lead a large-scale social movement; the excellent quality of education that was accepted by top Western universities; the independent, well-designed campus that was far away from a noisy city. Except for the continued financial problems (Fudan's funding was not as sufficient as public universities), Lee had solved all four problems he faced when he became the president ten years earlier.

4.5 Epilogue: A Conflict with Guo Renyuan

In 1923, Fudan hired a new instructor whose name was Guo Renyuan. In 1918, he ended his studies at Fudan and went to Berkeley, and received a psychology undergraduate degree.¹⁸⁶ According to the name list in the 1917 regulation, Guo only finished the first-year study in college preparatory school at Fudan.¹⁸⁷ His experience indicated that he was a very talented scholar. He was accepted into a Ph.D. program after he finished his undergraduate study, and he published a series of radical behaviorism papers which earned him an international reputation. However, he was not satisfied with his academic achievements. In 1923, he gave up his dissertation defense and returned to China to pursue an education career that would allow him to directly apply his theory to society.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 144.

¹⁸⁷ Fudan Regulation (1917-1918), 31.

¹⁸⁸ Emily Baum, "Controlling Minds: Guo Renyuan, Behavioral Psychology, and Fascism in Republican China," *The Chinese Historical Review*, 145.

When Guo returned to China, he received an invitation from three universities: Peking University, Northeast University and his Alma Mater, Fudan University. He personally wanted to go to Peking University, which had the best resources as a public university. However, Lee Teng-Hwee had a strong desire to invite Guo to back to Fudan. He sent twelve students to persuade Guo, and they showed great sincerity in their discussions with the prospective faculty member. Finally, Guo accepted the invitation from Fudan, and became the first full-time psychology instructor.¹⁸⁹

Guo had an ambitious plan for the foundation of a psychology department at Fudan. Unfortunately, his education philosophy conflicted with Lee Teng-Hwee's plan. Guo wanted to build China's psychology research center at Fudan and develop it into a comprehensive research-intensive university. However, Lee was influenced by American pragmatism and believed that university education should be in line with social needs, so he focused on the development of practical disciplines represented by commerce, education, etc. In addition, as a private university, Fudan did not have enough funds to support Guo's ambitions. Its main income was student tuition, and it did not have enough funding to support much research. Therefore, Lee followed in Yale's footsteps and focused on undergraduate education instead of research in a graduate school. At the same time, he also emphasized the quality of the preparatory school to provide excellent students for undergraduate school. It seems that such a conservative and slowly developing strategy was not advanced enough in Guo Renyuan's view. Guo wanted to add more departments, especially in psychology. He wanted to build an independent School of

¹⁸⁹ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 104–105.

Psychology, which paralleled the schools of Art, Science and Commerce, and it would contain biology, physiology, anatomy, animal psychology, applied psychology, developmental psychology, abnormal psychology, social psychology and general psychology; all of these would be very comprehensive and research intensive. The psychology department, in Guo's view, was going to have independent rights regarding finance and administration. Guo's proposal was passed, but Fudan was not capable of realizing it at the time.¹⁹⁰

The conflict between Lee and Guo finally led to a split at Fudan, which forced Lee to leave Fudan temporarily for one year. In Lee's life, there were only two times he left Fudan. One of them was after the 1911 Revolution, and this was the second. The chaos was caused by a misunderstanding. According to Qian's analysis, the misunderstanding was schemed by the opponents of Lee, and they intentionally took advantage of some students to create chaos. At this time, Lee Teng-Hwee's wife, Helen Tang, was responsible for the purchase of coal for the university. In the winter of 1923, some professors told the students that the budget for coal purchasing was not in accord with the actual amount of coal purchased. This intimated that Mrs. Tang might have some corruption issues. The rumor was widely spread across the campus, and some students proposed that the Student Advisory Board should ask the president to disclose the financial information of the university. Students desired to inspect whether there was any corruption. Lee Teng-Hwee was insulted by the students' demand. He understood that it was an attack from his opponents. He encouraged student governance, but he would not allow the students to be incited by people with ulterior motives and who took advantage of the student governance system to challenge him. He even wanted to expel student representatives who asked

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 107.

for the accounting disclosure, but he rescinded that decision after nine instructors represented by Shao Lizi and Chen Wangdao discouraged him from doing so.¹⁹¹ There is some evidence that showed that the chaos was influenced by political conflicts. In January 22nd, 1924, a new Executive Yuan (*xingzhengyuan* 行政院) was established in Fudan, and Lee was appointed the president of this organization. The new Executive Yuan held several meetings, which approved Guo's plan to reform Fudan university and elected an account examiner to audit the accounts. At the end of March, Lee requested for a vacation from the new organization because of political issues (Lee dissolved some student assemblies that he thought had too much political tendency, and some in the Executive Yuan believed that this action challenged their authority), and his request was approved. Several days later, Guo was elected to be the acting president of the Executive Yuan. On April 3rd, the Yuan organized a temporary meeting in Fudan, and Lee was not notified for this meeting. When he arrived at the meeting place, he was late. This meeting was supervised by Guo Renyuan, which differed from past meetings where Lee had always presided. The meeting's topic was the financial issue in the middle school and the university. During the meeting, some participants accused Lee and his wife of not their accounts. Lee understood that the meeting was a plot to undermine his position. He quickly made a decision—he requested for another long vacation from the Board of Trustees, with the excuse that he wanted to return to Southeast Asia to visit his family. The trustees approved his request on April 23rd, and Guo Renyuan finally became the acting president. On June 1st, Guo announced that

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 108.

any contract Lee signed for Fudan was invalid, except for those that had already been approved by Guo. He became the highest executive of Fudan.¹⁹²

The conflict was difficult to solve during the normal operation of the university. Therefore, Lee chose a moderate solution and made a concession. He needed to guarantee that the university's funding was secure in the first place. When he set sail back to Southeast Asia, he did not notify anybody except for his beloved student Zhang Yi, who was expelled by the St. Johns University and transferred to Fudan with Lee's permission. Zhang Yi arrived to bid him farewell. After Lee's departure, Zhang also left China. His destination was Washington State University in America. He once planned to study politics, but following Lee's advice, he eventually chose pedagogy and psychology as his majors. Lee hoped that Zhang could found a pedagogy department in Fudan, which he believed that Fudan needed to organize as soon as possible to satisfy the urgent requirement of education development for society.

After Lee left Fudan, his wife's corruption issue was soon clarified as a misunderstanding. She forgot to reimburse nineteen invoices that were worth 503 yuan, which caused the mistake. Both Lee and his wife were confident that there was not any corruption in the accounts. In December 1924, the Executive Yuan urged Lee to return to Shanghai no later than the end of March in 1925. When Lee returned to Shanghai on April 27th, university affairs were still being run by Guo Renyuan.

The conflict between Lee and Guo was not merely a personal disagreement. From the records, it is obvious that Guo had the new administrative organization, the Executive Yuan, as his patron. Unlike Lee Teng-Hwee, he was a scholar who was very active in politics, and we can

¹⁹² Ibid., 299-300.

see a lot of connections between his academic research and high politics. He was appointed to take multiple positions in the Nationalist Party.¹⁹³ Guo finally left Fudan in 1936, but the years where Lee could make decisions for Fudan by himself without outside consultation would never return. Fortunately, Lee had already completed the reformation of Fudan as he wished, and Fudan was developing into an outstanding modern university in China. Lee's dream to build an Eastern Yale in China was, at least to some degree, accomplished.

¹⁹³ Emily Baum, "Controlling Minds: Guo Renyuan, Behavioral Psychology, and Fascism in Republican China," *The Chinese Historical Review*, 142-143.

5.0 Chapter 5: Conclusion

Since the Opium war of 1844-46, China has experienced a disturbed and chaotic period in the modern age. The nation's frequent failures in diplomacy and wars undermined the Chinese people's confidence, which made them doubtful about their own culture. They started a reevaluation of traditional culture as represented by Confucianism, and the admiration of Western culture developed. More and more Western values, knowledge, and technology were introduced to China, and some radical scholars believed that the only way to reform Chinese society and culture was Westernization.

However, Lee Teng-Hwee's childhood in Southeast Asia provided him an experience that was quite different from the scholars and educators who grew up in China. Lee grew up in the Dutch East Indies, which was governed by Dutch colonizers. He attended his middle and higher education in an English-speaking educational environment. He developed an in-depth understanding of Western culture, which was far beyond the reach of most Chinese scholars who had never left China or only studied in foreign countries for a few years. On the one hand, he had experienced the most magnificent part of Western civilization and was touched by it. One aspect was the noble spirit and moral teachings of Christianity, and the other was the education he received at Yale. Both greatly influenced him, and there was much evidence to show their impact during Lee's lifetime. On the other hand, Lee also experienced the evil and cruel part of Western civilization. He saw the inhumane exploitation that the indigenous people suffered from Western colonizers, and also experienced the change in American society at the end of the nineteenth century. Lee's experience provided him an attitude, or ability, to hold a more critical view of

Western culture. Accordingly, he was able to keep a sober, objective and rational view when he introduced it to China.

Another point was that even though Lee was familiar with Western civilization, he was still an outsider among Westerners. As an overseas Chinese, he was the seventh generation who had been born in Southeast Asia within his family, but he still felt a strong bond and conformity between him and the Chinese culture that was inherited from his family. In the Dutch East Indies, the Chinese people were placed in a second-class status as “Foreign Orientals.” They were not in the lowest position, but they were nonetheless oppressed by European colonizers who forced them to form a racially-separate social community that was highly united and exclusive. Members of the Chinese community emphasized their Chinese identity, which also built a connection between them. They were eager for the development of both China and Chinese culture so that they could occupy a higher position in Southeast Asia and oppose Western culture. Lee Teng-Hwee was unable to use Mandarin, but he nonetheless favored traditional Chinese culture and felt proud of it. The moral discipline of Confucianism provided him an opportunity to find the connection and similarity between Western Christianity and Chinese culture. In Lee’s view, both Confucian and Christian morality had a universal value; they had a potential to guide humans to a new world that was harmonious, peaceful, and equal. Nevertheless, we still have to notice that however deeply Lee identified with Chinese culture, overseas Chinese were not included in the center of the Chinese culture. From this perspective, he was also an outsider of Chinese culture, no matter whether he admired it or not.

Therefore, Lee became a person who stood in a middle place between two different cultures. He could not completely identify as a Chinese, and he could not be completely identify as a Westerner. His values were influenced by both Christianity and Confucianism, and he also

agreed with American pragmatism. It was the morality and patriotism in his mind that coordinated all of these different values and helped him to decide how to weigh them in different contexts. Finally, his ideas were embodied in his educational philosophy. At Yale, he felt that this old college was still very energetic. Yale men had diligent and pure characteristics, positive and optimistic will, innocent and strong brotherhood, and their spirit to sacrifice and serve for God, country, and society. From observations of his schoolmates, Lee realized that such a university could create infinite value for the development of one's country and nation. He therefore had an idea to build an "Eastern Yale" for Chinese people in the Eastern world.

As an educator, Lee Teng-Hwee had a unique perspective on China's modern issues. In some senses, for his compatriots, he was a "foreigner." His social connections and networks were mainly around overseas Chinese and Christians, which made him naturally distant from other Chinese educators such as Cai Yuanpei. He did not have the radical nationalist enthusiasm they developed, and his promotion of Western civilization was also not so strong. When he dealt with cultural conflict, his attitudes were more moderate and neutral. Furthermore, it seemed that he never provided any dramatic positions for this conflict. In Fudan, you may see a harmonious and natural fusion of Chinese and Western culture. Although Fudan had a complete American educational system that imitated Yale, Fudan never abandoned Chinese learning. Lee inherited a Chinese learning tradition which had existed in Fudan ever since since Ma Xiangbo founded the Fudan college, and Lee insisted on preserving an option for students to study classical Chinese learning. Even after the May Fourth Movement in 1919, Fudan still preserved its classical Chinese learning courses, at least until Lee Teng-Hwee temporarily left Fudan in 1924. Indeed, in the *Fuh-Tan Journal* you may still see the classical Chinese poems written by his students.

Lee Teng-Hwee did not get involved in any political activities, nor did he encourage his students to get involved. Instead, he emphasized moral education and pragmatism. He demonstrated a pragmatic spirit when he reformed and developed Fudan—in only ten years he enhanced the quality of education and established several different departments for Fudan, and also built a beautiful campus in Jiangwan. Moreover, Fudan encouraged students to be disciplined, hardworking, and to care about the country and be ready to devote themselves to society. These characteristics showed Lee's understanding of higher education—in his mind, it was not the primary purpose for modern Chinese universities to cultivate political and academic elites. The first purpose for a university should be the cultivation of young men who were both moral and capable to serve society. Lee believed that if the students were not moral enough, then the advanced knowledge and technology they mastered would only increase their threat to society. Therefore, moral education was the most important place in Lee's educational philosophy. Additionally, he was the first educator who founded a school of commerce in modern China, which broke the tradition of Chinese scholars overlooking business development. It may have been influenced by his overseas Chinese background—many of the overseas Chinese were good merchants. Afterwards, he founded several other pragmatic departments such as civil engineering, pedagogy, and journalism which were in accord with the requirements of society. It is not hard to see that Lee's views on reformation were both moderate and practical. He rarely discussed political ideas at Fudan. Instead, he encouraged his students to work to develop education after they had graduated from Fudan and to promote the development of the country by education and moral improvement. His ideas provided another mode for Chinese universities that was different from Peking University which focused on intensive academic research or revolutions.

Lee's experiment in Fudan was certainly successful. Firstly, Fudan achieved strong academic results after it developed into a university. The acceptance of Fudan's undergraduate degree by American universities like Harvard and Yale proved that the quality of Fudan's undergraduate education had generally achieved the same level as top American universities. Many Fudan graduates became active figures in social movements and achieved high social status. It is notable that Fudan cultivated a group of university presidents. Among Fudan graduates, twenty five served as university presidents.¹⁹⁴ Interestingly, Yale University had earned the title of "mother of American colleges." In American history, there are forty universities whose first presidents were Yale graduates.¹⁹⁵ According to this case, Fudan not only accomplished Lee's idea of developing Chinese higher education, but also surpassed Yale.

Secondly, Fudan adopted many good characteristics from Yale. Fudan students were known for simultaneously emphasizing discipline and freedom, which was similar to Yale's conservatism that was calm, disciplined, and cautious. Even in the rushing stream of May Fourth and the New Cultural movements, Fudan still insisted on its moderate and neutral position that was never dragged into the center of the political and revolutionary debates. On the other hand, the excellent leadership, strong patriotic enthusiasm, and selfless sacrificing spirit that Fudan students demonstrated proved that their calmness did not mean that they had an attitude of indifference towards social affairs. On the night of May 4th 1919, the Fudan students who gathered by the ringing bell demonstrated an astonishing patriotic spirit, which was no less than the spirit Yale students demonstrated in their impressive patriotic meeting for the Spanish-

¹⁹⁴ Qian Yimin 钱益民, *Li Denghui zhuan* (李登辉传) [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2005), 208.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

American War in 1898.¹⁹⁶ Perhaps Lee would feel proud of his students on that night in 1919, and it would not be strange to see that the students' meeting he saw in Fudan reminded him of what he experienced at Yale. According to his support of Shanghai's May Fourth Movement, he was definitely on the students' side. With the effort of Lee and Fudan students, Shanghai's May Fourth Movement achieved a great success and the great strike finally became a crucial event that forced the Beijing government to make the concession and agree to students' demands.

In conclusion, Fudan earned the moniker of being an "Eastern Yale." From the management structure to the university spirit, Fudan was highly similar to Yale. However, Fudan was not simply a replica of Yale. Lee Teng-Hwee did a very careful and in-depth observation on the actual reality of Chinese society, which allowed him to adapt while he was reforming Fudan. Finally, Fudan became a university that truly catered to the needs of Chinese society. Fudan university was also an answer given by Lee Teng-Hwee as an overseas Chinese and a Christian who was educated in the Western world when he faced the cultural conflict between Eastern and Western worlds. With his unique cosmopolitan view and a sympathetic, inclusive spirit, Lee Teng-Hwee provides us a new way to understand and deal with the cultural communication problem. The Fudan University he formed was not only an institute that cultivated a group of people who could become the pillars for the nation; it was also a successful example for the fusion of Chinese and American culture. The contribution that Lee and Fudan made cannot be ignored. In his contemporary age, Lee's educational philosophy was enlightening and deserves further research in the future.

¹⁹⁶ George Wilson Pierson, *Yale College: An Educational History, 1871-1921, Vol. 1* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), 21.

Bibliography

- Bailey, Paul J. *Reform the People: Changing Attitudes Towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-Century China*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990.
- Bastid, Marianne. "Servitude or Liberation? The Introduction of Foreign Educational Practices and systems of Education to China from 1840 to the Present," in *China's Education and the Industrialized World*, ed. Ruth Hayhoe and Marianne Bastid, 10-34. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1987.
- Baum, Emily. "Controlling Minds: Guo Renyuan, Behavioral Psychology, and Fascism in Republican China." *The Chinese Historical Review* 22.2 (2015): 141–159.
- Campos, Pablo, Richard Guy Wilson, and Paul Venable Turner. "Human Imprint and Spatial Projection. An Interpretation of the Evolution of Paradigms of University Architecture as Inhabited Landscapes: Quadrangle, Yard, and Campus." *Space and Culture*, (May 2020). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331220916403>.
- Chauncey, Helen. *Schoolhouse Politicians: Locality and State During the Chinese Republic*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992.
- Chow, Tse-tsung. *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Cook, James A. "Currents of Education and Identity: Overseas Chinese and Minnan Schools, 1912-1937," *Twentieth Century China*, 25.2 (April 2000): 1-31.
- . "Rethinking "China": Overseas Chinese and China's Modernity," in *Visualizing China: Image, History, and Memory, 1750—Present*, ed. James Cook, Joshua Goldstein, Matthew Johnson, and Sigrid Schmalzer, 127-143. New York: Lexington Press, 2014
- Dennerline, Jerry. "Lee Teng Hwee, Ho Pao Jin, and Educational Reform in Malacca, Singapore, Shanghai and Beyond, 1885–1945 (李登辉、何葆仁和麻六甲、新加坡、上海各处的教育改革及其它,一八八五-一九四五)." *Translocal Chinese: East Asian Perspectives* 11. 1 (2017): 57–89.
- Fudan daxue xiaoshi bianxiezu 复旦大学校史编写组. *Fudan daxue zhi 复旦大学志 [Fudan University Record]*. Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1985). Vol 1, 1905–1949.
- Fudan Regulation*. 1917-1918.
- Fuh Tan Banner*. Shanghai: Fudan University, 1922.

- Hayhoe, Ruth. "Towards the Forging of a Chinese University Ethos: Zhendan and Fudan, 1903-1919," in *The China Quarterly*, June 1983, 339.
- and Marianne Bastid, eds. *China's Education and the Industrialized World*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1987.
- . *Zhongguo daxue 1895-1995: yige wenhua chongtu de shiji 中国大学 1895-1995: 一个文化冲突的世纪* [*China's Universities, 1895-1995: A Century of Cultural Conflict*]. Beijing: Education and Science Press, 1999.
- Laura Tatum, Ronel Namde, and staff of Manuscripts and Archives. *Guide to the Henry Killam Murphy Papers*. New Haven: Yale University Library, 2021.
- Lee Teng-Hwee 李登辉. *Vital Factors in China's Problem: Readings in Current Literature*. Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1934.
- . *Bianyan 弁言* [Preface]. *Fuh-tan Journal*, Vol 1, 1 (1915).
- . *Kuochong gaodeng jiaoyu qingyuanshu 扩充高等教育请愿书* [*The Petition for Expanding Higher Education*]. Shanghai Archives, Y8-1-644.
- Li denghui xiansheng aisilu 李登辉先生哀思录* [*Mournful memories of Lee Teng-hwee*], 1946.
- Li Sen 李森. *Minguo shiqi gaodeng jiaoyu shiliao xubian 民国时期高等教育史料续编* [*The Continuation of the Historical Materials of Higher Education in the Republic of China*], vol 14. Beijing: National Library Express, 2016.
- . *Minguo shiqi gaodeng jiaoyu shiliao xubian 民国时期高等教育史料续编* [*The Continuation of the Historical Materials of Higher Education in the Republic of China*], vol 23. Beijing: National Library Express, 2016.
- Lohanda, Mona. *Growing Pains: The Chinese and the Dutch in Colonial Java, 1890-1942*. Jakarta: Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, 2002.
- Ohio Wesleyan University Official Website (<https://www.owu.edu/about/history-traditions/>) Accessed April 6, 2021.
- O'Sullivan, R. L. "The Anglo-Chinese College and the Early 'Singapore Institution.'" *Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 61. 2 (1988): 45–62.

- Pan Xigu 潘西谷. *Zhonguo jianzhushi 中国建筑史 [Chinese Architecture History]*. Beijing: China Construction Industry Press, 2015.
- Paruntu, Crystal Susiana. *Resinification in Education for Chinese in Netherlands-Indies in the Early 20th Century*. Master's These, Leiden University, 2016.
- Pan, Lynn. *Sons of the Yellow Emperor: A History of the Chinese Diaspora*. New York: Kodansha America, Inc., 1994.
- . *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Peake, Cyrus H. *Nationalism and Education in China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932.
- Pierson, George Wilson. *Yale College: An Educational History, 1871-1921, Vol. 1*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952.
- Purcell, Victor. *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*. London: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- Qian, Yimin 钱益民. *Li Denghui Zhuan 李登辉传 [Biography of Lee Teng Hwee]*. Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2005.
- Report of the Course of Instruction in Yale College by a Committee of the Corporation and the Academical Faculty* (New Haven: Yale College, 1828).
- Shen Bao* 申报.
- Siang, Song Ong. *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore*. Singapore: University Malaya Press, 1967.
- Suryadinata, Leo. *Peranakan Chinese Politics in Java, 1917-1942*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, 2005.
- Weston, Timothy. *The Power of Position: Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1929*. California: University of California Press, 2004.
- Wu, Yunxiang 吴云香. *Fudan daxue zhangchen de lishi kaocha 复旦大学章程的历史考察 [A Historical Review of Fudan Regulations]*. Shanghai: Fudan University, 2013.
- Yeh, Wen-hsin. *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- . *Shanghai Splendor: Economic Sentiments and the Making of Modern China, 1843-1949*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Yang, Rongrong 杨蓉蓉. *Xuefuneiwai—Ershi shiji ersanshi niandai shanghai xiandai daxue yu zhongguo xinwenxue guanxi yanjiu* 学府内外——二十世纪二三十年代上海现代大学与中国新文学关系研究 [*Inside and Outside the Campus: A research on the Relationship Between Shanghai Modern Universities and Chinese New Literature (1920-1930)*]. Fudan University, 2006.

Zen-Sun, E-Tu. "The Growth of the Academic Community, 1912-1949," in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 13, Republican China, 1912-1949, Part 2*, ed. John K. Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker, 361-420. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Zhang, Jinhui 张金辉. *Yelu daxue banxueshi yanjiu* 耶鲁大学办学史研究 [*A Research on the History of Yale University*]. Beijing: Central Compilation & Translation Press, 2009.

Zhang, Ruogu 张若谷. *Ma Xiangbo xiansheng nianpu* 马相伯先生年谱 [*Chronicle of Ma Xiangbo*]. Taiwan: Wenxing Bookstore, 1965.