



Transitions in Chinese Higher Education: the case of St. John's University, Shanghai

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Shanghai**

Abstract:

This dissertation uses St. John's University, Shanghai, as a case study to explore developments in the Chinese higher education system from the late 1800s to the 1950s. St. John's University was founded in 1879 and a study of its historical record offers a useful template against which to examine the historical transition of the Chinese higher education system. The history of St. John's was divided into three periods, each would reflect crucial social changes in China: 1879 to 1911, 1911 to 1946, and 1946 to 1952. What if each period is marked by distinct social and cultural determinants, and "Nationalism" spurs them all and is seen as a critical factor in igniting the formation of the Chinese higher education system? In this, students play a crucial role. The dissertation, therefore, examines Chinese student movements during the republican period and the early PRC. It shows how the social and cultural environment significantly affected the consequences of student movements.

Chapter 1

Introduction:

In recent decades, Chinese higher education has expanded significantly. From 1998 to 2004, Chinese undergraduate students increased from 1.08 million to 4.47 million (Wan, 2006). In the 2023 CWTS Leiden Ranking (Van Eric, 2023), eight Chinese universities are among the ten universities with the most academic outputs. The rise to prominence of Chinese universities has sparked enormous curiosity and research on the Chinese higher education sector is rapidly increasing. Marginson (2011) classified the Chinese higher education system as a kind of Confucious Model, which has a strong nation-state driver and close supervision.

This dissertation is particularly situated in the role of the nation-state in the shaping and reshaping of Chinese HE. As national geopolitical relationships have become more intensive, governments everywhere have begun to take a more protective approach in the education sector. For instance, the 10043 Presidential Proclamation (2020) restricted several Chinese students from studying in the U.S., and it still applies nowadays. Also, starting in 2022, Russia began to quit the Bologna Progress. But this runs contrary to how students in these countries view the freedom associated with HE. From the student's perspective, the unstable social environment drives them to think more about social structures and participate in political activities. In recent years, more and more students appeared in protests and conflicts. Regardless of their motivations, institutions' different responses lead to broader discussions about the relationship among students, universities, and the government. For instance, the Trump administration used to plan to kick off all international students but finally stopped because of the students' and universities' protests. What happened after the Gaza military conflicts among Western universities further proves that people should look from multiple standpoints to explain the current problem.

Nationalism and the shaping of HE is not a new phenomenon. Take the history of Chinese higher education system as an example. We can see these trends from the late-1800s to the mid-1900s. The modern Chinese higher education system began in

the late 1800s, a chaotic period. Since China lost most defensive wars, the colonized powers forced China to open the country for further trade. In the 1900s, China experienced two enormous social changes and at least three wars. During these periods, students were active in political activities. The May Fourth Movement in 1919 is a classic example. Governments, institutions, and social members held different attitudes toward student movements. These conflicts shaped the modern Chinese higher education system. In essence, the current conflicts in global higher education come from responses to different factors within the system.

The main reason for writing this dissertation is to find an explanation from the historical records for the current Chinese higher education system and conflicts in global higher education systems in recent years. This dissertation applies St. John's University, Shanghai, as a case to explore the transitions of the Chinese higher education system. As "the Harvard in the East," St. John's greatly impacted Chinese education in the 1900s. However, it received less attention than other Christian universities at the same time. Most related research focuses on Yenching University and its principal, John Stuart. This dissertation seeks to deepen the understanding of the Chinese HE.

Method:

This dissertation is situated in the field of the history of education, which in itself underpins much of our understandings of Comparative Education (See Phillips (2002), Philips & Michael (2007)). It applies archival analysis, following a chronological order, and divide the history of St. John's University, Shanghai, into three periods: the foundation to 1911, 1911 to 1946, and 1946 to 1952. The first chapter will focus on the beginning of Shanghai St. John's University. The second chapter will introduce its developments and conflicts about the university. The third chapter will emphasize its "centralization" after the foundation of the PRC. These periods also represent the progress of Chinese modernization in education. The 1911 Revolution overturned the

Qing dynasty and reshaped the social structure. 1946 was the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War, and in 1952, the central government reorganized the Chinese higher education system to fit the need for economic development.

From the institutional level, the multiple identities of St. John's put it at the center of social conflicts in Chinese society in the early 1900s. Its interactions with different social aspects could exhibit a general trend within the Chinese higher education system.

Each chapter will offer a detailed analysis of St. John's drawing on academic articles, books, and historical archived papers, such as the university journals of St. John's University, Shanghai, and Chinese newspapers in the 1900s. Because of the translations, there might be different explanations for the Chinese resources. Also, since most original St. John's documents are in Shanghai Municipal Archives and U.S. private institutions, the lack of accessibility to some archives might have potential impacts to this dissertation. The analysis will go through multiple levels to ensure clarity.

This dissertation has two main goals. First, it aims to explain the formation of the modern Chinese higher education system and second, to explore the role of student movements in the shaping of the national character.

With the failures of defensive wars in the late 19th century, China began its modernization. Christian universities made significant progress in founding the modern Chinese higher education system in its early period. Shanghai St. John's is one of the most famous ones. It led to a new English teaching model among Chinese universities in the 1900s. Many famous people like Zhang Boling (the founder of Nankai University) and V. K. Wellington Koo (a Chinese diplomat who participated in the Paris Peace Conference) also studied at Shanghai St. John's during the Republican period. At the same time, since Shanghai St. John's has a close relationship with the American Anglican Church, its position in Chinese society changed as the social and political environment changed. After the 1952 Chinese Higher Education

Reorganization, Shanghai St. John's University was eliminated and divided based on its department setting. The majority helped found the East China Normal University. At the same time, the rest of the departments now contribute to other famous Chinese universities like Fudan, East China University of Political Science and Law, and Shanghai Jiao Tong University. Generally, the division of Shanghai St. John's University helped build the foundation of many famous Chinese universities. Shanghai St. John's history could reflect the relationships among different factors in the Chinese higher education system. Its experiences could exhibit the historical background of Chinese society and help researchers explore the primary driver of the development of the Chinese higher education system as time goes on. Meanwhile, St. John's responses toward different aspects could reflect the basic structure of the Chinese higher education system and its changes from the early 1900s to 1952.

Until the mid-20th century, China experienced several significant social changes. The Republic of China's (ROC) foundation and the Second Sino-Japanese War are good examples. The unstable social environment shaped students' identities and affected their behaviors during that time. For instance, the diplomatic failures in the Paris Peace Conference inspired student protests like the May Fourth Movement. Their relationship with the government and universities reflects a kind of ideology in Chinese society during that period. In the case of Shanghai St. John's, students' responses are more typical since they are both students from an American Christian university and Chinese citizens. As a foreign education institution, interactions between Shanghai St. John's and its students could explain the essence of similar conflicts during that period. Looking back on the current student activities, the similarities and differences could inspire further discussion about students' position in the education system nowadays.

Chapter 2

Period 1 1879 - 1911: Beginning

This Chapter will focus on the inception period of Shanghai St. John's University

until the break-up of the Revolution of 1911. Generally, the foundation of Christian universities expanded Chinese people's visions of the world and changed the centralized Chinese education system. The following paragraphs will introduce the history of Shanghai St. John's and its administrative system, accompanied by analysis from historical and social backgrounds.

Shanghai St. John's University was founded in 1879 by Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, the third missionary bishop of the American Church Mission in China(Xu, 2006). At first, Shanghai St. John's worked as a private college. In 1906, it registered as a formal university. As a Christian university, its primary goal is to educate potential Christians and to preach Christian ideas. For bishop Schereschewsky, higher education could make significant progress in preaching Christian ideas among the Chinese (Xu, 2006). Because of the impacts of Confucianism, Chinese people highly emphasize education. For instance, Confucius claimed "six arts" (*Liu Yi* in Chinese), or six essential skills for a gentleman. Besides, education is the most crucial tool for ensuring social mobility in China. Since the 5th century, the Chinese government has begun to use imperial examinations to select officials. During the Qing Dynasty, the exam had strict limitations on the context, which comes from the traditional Chinese classics. Besides, only the central government had the power to hold the exam. In brief, the Imperial Examination bounded education with the chance to move upward for all the people. From this side, educational opportunities are attractive to all Chinese people. Preaching through education in China will be more acceptable than other methods.

After the First Opium War, Shanghai became a foreign trade port. As time moves forward, Shanghai's foreign community rises to no less than 58 nations (Yeh, 2020). On the other hand, when the Taiping Rebellion broke out, many people from southern cities moved to Shanghai, which inspired the city's development since the 1860s (Yeh, 2020). Historically, Shanghai in the late 1800s was the best place to build a Western

university. With the emersion among Chinese citizens and foreign communities in Shanghai, we could argue that there was a need to understand different cultures. Compared with inland cities like Beijing, Shanghai has more accessibility to foreign cultures, building the foundation for spreading Western ideas. For instance, many firms on Nanjing Road and cotton mills along Yangshupu were financed with foreign capital (Yeh, 2020). The commercial needs create the market for foreign language training. Chinese merchants who wanted to do business with foreigners needed enough language abilities. Besides, in the 19th century, both Beijing and Shanghai had institutions for translating and transmitting Western knowledge- Tongwen Guan and Guangfangyan Guan. However, Shanghai's educational atmosphere was more open than Beijing's, which brought more talented people to Guangfangyan Guan than Tongwen Guan(Xiong, 1994). The differences between Beijing and Shanghai could exhibit the division of Chinese people's attitudes toward foreign culture. As the Chinese political center, Beijing is conservative in its cultural traditions, while Shanghai's close connection with Western culture makes it more modernized. The American Church Mission thought that education was the best way to contact the Chinese leaders(陳祥美(Hsiang-Mei Chen) & 洪雅琴(Ya-Chin Hung), 2016). In this way, they could spread Christian ideas via Chinese leaders' social impacts. All these factors help the foundation of St. John's University, Shanghai.

For Bishop Schereschewsky, higher education institutions might be the best medium for preaching Christian beliefs. Regardless of different attitudes toward Western knowledge during this time, a new school meant more education opportunities. However, St. John's was not able to reach the requirements of a higher education institution in the beginning period. St. John's first group of students was 39 from poor Christian families from the lower Yangzi region (Yeh, 2020, p.59). It was closer to a private college. In essence, Shanghai St. John's University worked as an evangelical institution more than an educational institution in its early times, even after the reforms later. For instance, the rules and regulations of the students in 1910

still required all students to attend daily morning prayer regardless of their religious beliefs (1910). Moreover, the university provided more scholarships to Christian students than other students. There were 22 types of scholarships only for Christian students(1910). However, as Lin (1936) claimed, the Chinese ideal of life is based on Confucianism, which is more materialistic than Christian beliefs and concentrates on their daily lives. Different living attitudes make evangelical works difficult. For most Chinese people in the 1800s, becoming an official via imperial examinations was the top achievement and Western knowledge was unimportant (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.4). Besides, Schereschewsky is better at academia rather than the university administration. It is said that Dr. Schereschewsky spent most of his time translating biblical scriptures(Xu, 2006). St. John's had not developed its reputation in Chinese society.

In the summer of 1881, Bishop Schereschewsky suddenly got ill and left China for help(Lamberton, 1955, p. 22). He resigned his position in 1883. In 1886, Rev. F. L. Hawks Pott became the President of St. John's. Compared with Bishop Schereschewsky, F. L. Pott holds a different attitude toward the role of education in Church work. He regarded "missionary education not only as a mean to an end, but an end itself"(Xu, 2006, p.24). Looking back to the objective of the American Missionary to open a Western university in China, Pott concentrates more attention on ordinary individuals. For him, a successful missionary education is an efficient method to preach Christian ideas and an essential part of helping potential Christians. It also means that Pott would apply education more practically than Bishop Schereschewsky. Based on Lin's statements on the characteristics of Chinese people, the Chinese social environment could help F. L. Pott practice his educational theory since most Chinese people could become potential Christians. Under the guidance of such an education philosophy, Pott leads great reformations inside Shanghai St. John's.

Before Pott's administration, St. John's follows the Chinese educational system.

Most courses served the imperial examinations and were taught in traditional Chinese(陳祥美(Hsiang-Mei Chen) & 洪雅琴(Ya-Chin Hung), 2016). Subjects included “*memorization of texts, practice in writing characters followed by explanation of the meaning of the characters, reading of commentaries on the classics, and composition of essays and poems* (Lutz, 1971, pp. 62-63).” The above subjects shows that traditional Chinese education focused more on memorization rather than the individual’s thinking ability. However, most Christian universities did not have enough resources for enormous reformations. The core of Christian universities was still missionary work. Since the mid-1890s, St. John’s has begun to teach all subjects (except Chinese) in English(Xu, 2006). Changing the teaching language was the most reformative decision and led to broad discussions among Chinese Christian universities in the late 1800s. Rev. Sheffield claimed that English training was only valuable to students’ commercial success and moved beyond religious work (Yeh, 2020, p.63). For Pott, applying English teaching was essential to importing modern scientific education into China. It is also a kind of mind training (Yeh, 2020, p.62). In the annual report of 1890, Pott wrote:

“The teaching of the Natural Sciences is very important for understanding the unity and revelation of God... Scientific training is the enemy of superstition and the best form of mental training one can give(Lamberton, 1955, p.24).”

The report exhibits Pott’s belief in building a humanistic Christian education system. For Pott, scientific education could develop a spontaneous belief in Christianity among Chinese people, which further built the Christian cultural foundation of Chinese society. From a practical viewpoint, importing scientific training in Chinese education could accelerate the progress of Chinese modernization. Compared with the official bureaucratic institutions like Tongwen Guan and Guangfangyan Guan, St. John’s education was more systematic and accessible to ordinary people as a private education institution. For the Chinese education system, St. John’s reform could represent the bottom-up education reforms in Chinese society, even if it was a Christian education institution.

The discussion reemphasized the conflicts between religious pursuits and Chinese social interests. It explored Dr. Pott's professional life as an educator. Looking over the St. John's history, its social success was more obvious than the evangelist achievements. For Chinese students, applying English as the medium of study could lead to more difficulties. It helped them to get in touch with a different world.

“By teaching English St John's reached ‘a class to which access is gained in no other way in China, but it is confessedly a hard class to make converts from.’”(Xu, 2006)

Besides, Pott imitates the American university administrative system to get in touch with global education such as applying the credit system and highlighting foreign language courses(陳祥美(Hsiang-Mei Chen) & 洪雅琴(Ya-Chin Hung), 2016). In 1890, Dr. Pott founded *St. John's Echo*, the official St. John's student publication with both English and Chinese articles (*Fifty Years of St. John's*, 1929). Students could get awards by publishing valuable articles in official journals (1910). It further inspired the cultural fusion at St. John's. Around 1903, St. John's decided on its school motto, “Light and Trust,” and Dr. Pott translated it into Hebrew words “Urim and Thummim”(Lamberton, 1955, p.50). This is one of the earliest school mottos in Chinese society. Dr. Pott's translation reflects his expectations of students' individual achievements in their pursuits of knowledge and beliefs. Although the later student movements show that students might have different definitions about the school motto, it significantly affected thousands of St. John's students in the 1900s. After 1906, Shanghai St. John's registered as a university in the US and is also one of the earliest Western higher education institutions in China (Yeh, 2020). With the introduction of the American higher education system, Chinese people began to get in touch with the latest knowledge. Registration in the US gives Shanghai St. John's the ability to provide Bachelor's and Master's Degrees.

Since Chinese society experienced significant social changes during the early 1900s, western knowledge became more accepted by Chinese people. Those titles could provide great convenience to people who want to study abroad. As for St. John's, the official permission gives Shanghai St. John's more flexibility in raising funds from the U.S. society. In brief, the social environment gives enough space for Christian universities to develop. On the contrary, it is also a kind of cultural colonization. The foundation of Christian universities was driven by religious pursuits but not educational beliefs. Undoubtedly, English education makes Shanghai St. John's unique among all the Chinese Christian universities. At the same time, for most students, the lack of specific Chinese training might lead them to have higher cultural recognition of Western culture than Chinese culture, regardless of their nationalities. The number of English resources is about seven times of Chinese resources in the university library(Zhang & Li, 1982). The library collection could reflect students' and teachers' preferences. Although the university requires all the students to take some Chinese courses (1910), it does not make significant progress. Dr. Lin Yutang, a St. John's Alumni, claimed that he knew that Joshua blew down the walls of Jericho but did not know the traditional Chinese mythology until he was thirty (Lin, 2005). In some way, students' Chinese education foreshadowed its future division.

In discussing the administrative system, Ren (2016) claimed that during the late 1800s and the early 1900s, Chinese Christian universities were directly controlled by the board of trustees in their home countries. Lutz (1971, p.51) also mentioned that most Christian universities had both a board of managers in China and a board of trustees in the West. The university administrators worked as the representatives of the Board of Trustees and did not have the right to make decisions. So does Shanghai St. John's. The *Catalogue of the Officers and Students ... and Rules & Regulations of St. John's* (1910) claimed its relationship with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the US and the Missionary Bishop of Shanghai. There is a massive overlap between the

members of the Board of Trustees and the leaders of the US Anglican Church(Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.32). Generally, the US Protestant Missionary directly controlled the university. Meanwhile, none of the university administrators are Chinese. It said,

“The Council of Advice of the Shanghai District even believed that ‘no Chinese can be trusted and that if you grant them the slightest measure of influence, they will demand the whole thing’”(John, 1926, as cited in Xu, 2006).

Even if Christian universities desired to root in the Chinese society, they would not cede the administrative power to Chinese citizens during this time. The core of related statements was still the cultural conflict. Politically, keeping the unity of the administrative institution could increase the working efficiency. However, these policies were somehow discriminative to Chinese people, especially the Chinese faculty members at St. John’s.

Although Shanghai St. John’s was founded in China, it did not register with the Chinese Ministry of Education until 1947. The Shanghai Missionary’s attitude exhibits their pursuits in keeping the independence of Christian universities from the Chinese social structure. For thousands of years, the Chinese educational system has been highly centralized. However, with the Qing government’s failures in the defensive wars in the late 1800s, Chinese society has become semi-colonized. From this side, the foundation of Shanghai St. John’s exhibited the loss of educational sovereignty for the Chinese government. The conflicts around educational sovereignty became more intense as nationalism rose up in the later decades.

Speaking of finance, until 1899, more than 40% of the university funds came from the US Missionary(Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.50). Also, more than 35% of the funds for students’ living came from fundraising in the U.S.(Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.61). The resources of funds defined Shanghai St. John’s as a private educational institution. As more students applied to St. John’s since the 1900s, the university relied less on the US Missionary. During the 1910 academic year, students’ annual

tuition was \$216, while the uniform cost \$25 (1910). During the Qing dynasty, Chinese people used silver as the main currency. For most families, \$216 is a massive amount of money during that time. Besides, all the students should pay for their textbooks themselves (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.63). The high tuition is a response to the lower funds from the US Missionary. However, the economic barrier makes Shanghai St. John's a school for elite people, although it was not Dr. Pott's expectation. As previously stated, only Christian students could access most financial support at Shanghai St. John's. Although St. John's will provide debt to some poor students, most students were from the Shanghai upper-middle classes. Students' family backgrounds helped Shanghai St. John's to build a solid social network, further spreading its good reputation.

To ensure education quality, Shanghai St. John's had high requirements for students and a small student population. All students needed to pass the Chinese and English exams before entering the university (1910). Many of St. John's educational faculties had Master's or Doctoral Degrees from famous US universities like the University of Pennsylvania or Columbia University (1910). The strong faculty team built the foundation of Shanghai St. John's as "the Harvard in the Far East." Faculty members' connections with U.S. higher education institutions also provided convenience to students who planned to study abroad and international academic cooperations. By 1908, many American quality institutions like Harvard, Yale, Cornell, and Chicago would accepted St. John's graduates for further studies without examinations(Hawkins, 1973). These acknowledgments from American universities testified to St. John's education quality in the early 1900s. To ensure education equality, students who received financial aid should maintain their marks above 70 out of 100 (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.68), regardless of their religious backgrounds. Also, St. John had strict regulations on students' behaviors. For instance, Dr. Pott expelled eight students in his first year at St. John's because of their violation of conduct (Xiong & Zhou, 2007b).

Compared with other Christian universities, St. John's was more secularized in its course design under Dr. Pott's administration. Shanghai St. John's had four Schools until 1910: School of Art and Science, Theology, Medicine, and Chinese Literature (1910). The course time was three to four years on average(Lamberton, 1955, pp.40-41). As previously stated, St. John's highly emphasized theological education. Because of the Chinese social environment, Pott argued that Theological School should focus more on educating religious leaders rather than training evangelists(Xu, 2006). Students in theological school should complete two years of college courses in addition to theological education (Xu, 2006). It was similar to the Core Curriculum in the U.S. higher education system, which developed students' general humanistic viewpoints besides their major selection. Though Shanghai St. John's Theological Department was small, it had eleven CHSKH (Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, or Holy Catholic Church in China) bishops and some Chinese YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) leaders (Xu, 2006). Since cultural conflicts were inevitable, training religious leaders would be more effective than evangelists in preaching Christian ideas. Because of the top-down social structure, religious leaders could help the foreign missionaries root in different classes. Also, St. John's students must study a second foreign language from French, German, and Latin (1910). Languages are necessary for understanding foreign cultures. Since the Western world was leading the scientific developments, a second foreign language could help St. John's students build connections with other cultures directly. Moreover, St. John's provided international law learning classes (1910). With these trainings, St. John's students were more suitable to international businesses than others.

On the other hand, the student and faculty communities remained small. Before 1910, the number of students was at most 150(Xiong & Zhou, 2007a). The high tuition might be one reason. Also, as a Christian university, it was interesting that St. John's Christian student community was comparatively small. From 1906 to 1926,

there were 194 baptized students out of 1448 in total(Xu, 2006). Solid Confucious cultural foundation became the barrier to direct evangelistic works. Dr. Pott also acknowledged that “as regard the spread of Christianity, the indirect result in such an institution as St. John’s, are greater than the direct one.”(Lamberton, 1955, p.44) For the faculty community, in 1888, St. John’s only had eight teachers (Lutz, 1971, p. 61). The small faculty community means that most teachers must take on multiple responsibilities. For instance, from 1906 to 1907, Dr. Pott worked both as the president of St. John’s and as a professor of Ecclesiastical History and Policy and Metaphysics (Lamberton, 1955, pp.66-67). Nevertheless, students and teachers were able to quickly build a friendly relationship with the small community. As time moved to the 1900s, St. John’s recruited more people. From 1902 to 1905, St. John’s got five new Chinese faculties and four foreign faculties(Lamberton, 1955, p.50). Although the number of faculty was still low, it was a reflection of St. John’s increasing reputation.

As the Imperial Examination system ended in 1905, a new education system was necessary for social development. Under that situation, Shanghai St. John’s reformations provided an example for other Chinese higher educational institutions. More and more Chinese universities began to highlight the importance of English training and Western knowledge. After 1905, the main goal of many new Chinese colleges was to teach new subjects along with the classical curriculums, although they lacked enough equipment and faculty(Lutz, 1971, p.98). Generally, these changes reflect a cultural fusion in Chinese Higher Education. The higher need for Western education further increased the value of Christian universities. With the acceptance of the Western education system, Chinese higher education become more diversified and modernized. There were also many Chinese students who chose to study abroad. In the case of St. John’s, more than thirty graduates chose to study in America and more than ten in British (Lamberton, 1955, p.63). Most Chinese early educators, like Cai Yuanpei, have foreign education backgrounds. They brought the new culture back to

China and led new reforms in the Chinese education system. From a practical viewpoint, Chinese higher education institutions have more space to explore the latest knowledge and technology. However, because of the 200 years shut down by the Qing Dynasty, Chinese higher education still needs a long time to develop. Somehow, Shanghai St. John's reformations positively correlate with the Chinese social environment.

In brief, the inception period of Shanghai St. John's University exhibits the reformations in Chinese higher education. Because of external pressures, Chinese people have begun to accept Western knowledge. The foundation of Shanghai St. John's is a good example. With the absorption of the Western education system, Chinese higher education starts its modernization. It broke the centralized education system, which has been maintained for thousands of years. On the other hand, the relationships between Shanghai St. John's, the US Missionary, and the Chinese government reflect the cultural conflicts between the Church and the Chinese government. As time went on to the Republican period, these potential problems exploded and significantly affected all the Christian universities.

Chapter 3

Period 2: 1911-1946: Developments and Conflicts

The Revolution of 1911 overturned the Qing Dynasty and built the People's Republic of China (PRC). For Christian universities, it was a chance to expand their influence. In the case of Shanghai St. John's, 1911-1925 is the developing period of the university. On the other hand, because of the turmoil in the Chinese social environment, there are conflicts among the government, universities, academic faculties, and students. As time went on to 1925, the division of Shanghai St. John's significantly undermined its power. It also represented the cultural conflicts in Chinese society during that time. Although Mr. Pott tried his best to maintain the daily activities of Shanghai St. John's, the Northern Expedition led by Kuomintang (KMT)

and the Second Sino-Japanese War further affected people's lives at St. John's. This chapter will explore the experience of Shanghai St. John's from 1911 to 1925 and 1925 to 1946, analyzing how they affect the life of Shanghai St. John's.

1911-1925

After the Revolution, Shanghai St. John's expanded significantly. From 1888 to 1913, the number of students rose from eighty to five hundred (*Fifty Years of St. John's*, 1929). Besides, St. John's purchased several arcs of new land in different sites for the campus' expansion. In 1911, St. John's bought a private garden and built a new library north of the garden (*Fifty Years of St. John's*, 1929). These resources partially testify to the developments of Shanghai St. John's during that time. Until 1925, 793 people graduated from Shanghai St. John's, most from human arts, natural science, and medical studies (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, vii-viii). To fit the social developments after the revolution, St. John's made new changes in its course design. Starting from 1911, St. John's began to add more practical subjects like international politics and psychology (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.90). Until 1919, there were about 25 subjects in total (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.96). The increasing number of subjects showed St. John's preference for participating in Chinese society. Although the student body was still tiny, the academic studies of St. John's had significantly improved compared to its early period.

But, the revolution had increased the national confidence of Chinese society, and St. John's ignorance of Chinese studies led to several critiques, especially from its alumni. Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo (Gu Weijun), a diplomat who studied at St. John's for four years since 1900, claimed that St. John's never taught Chinese history before new Chinese teachers came (Koo, 1983, p.21). Besides, in his memoirs, he mentioned that Chinese teachers' salaries were one-tenths or one-twentieths of their American colleagues (Koo, 1983, p.21). The previous chapter mentioned Lin's critique of St. John's Chinese studies. All these opinions testified that St. John's defined Chinese

studies as a tool to serve religious works in China. After the New Culture Movement, while other universities hired reformers like Yan Fu and Liang Qichao to lecture Chinese, the Chinese Department of St. John's still followed the conventional style (Yeh, 2020). Take the article from *St. John's Echo* as an example. As the student journal, *St. John's Echo* could partially reflect the education quality of the university. In volume 29, 1918, Chinese articles like *Jin Ren Cai Zhi Jiao Yu* (今人才之教育) still followed the traditional writing format (Liu, 1918), while articles in other university journals had begun to apply a new writing style promoted by the New Culture Movement. Yeh (2020) claimed that the Chinese Department of St. John's was comparatively weak since it was isolated from the cultural concerns of other Chinese Departments like Tsinghua, Fudan, and Peking University. In 1920, St. John's led another reformation to improve Chinese education. Starting in 1921, St. John's hired several Chinese scholars (especially its alumni) and increased its requirements for students' Chinese studies. Without enough credits from Chinese literature, students could not get a diploma (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.247). This rule forced students to pay more attention to Chinese studies.

St. John's also bought more Chinese books. It said that until 1922, there were 11,800 English and 8000 Chinese books in St. John's Library (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, iv). The vast gap between the English and Chinese resources has decreased. These data show Dr. Pott's interest in reducing the gap between St. John's Chinese and English education. These reformations help St. John's reputation reach its peak.

However, cultural conflicts have become more intense. After the May Fourth Movement, the anti-Christian movements rose and significantly affected students. Tatsuro and Yamamoto (1953) mentioned that the executive committee of the Young China Association (most members were social activists, like Li Dazhao, and had massive influence among students) would eliminate the membership of people with religious beliefs after 1920. At the same time, several leaders of the New Culture Movement and those of the May Fourth Movement stated that Christian beliefs were

on the opposite side of reforming Chinese culture (Hodous, 1930). For them, absorbing Western culture is applying scientific and rational thinking to save China, and religious beliefs could build another social hierarchy. In 1922, there was also a call to students by the Anti-Christian Student Federation, which claimed that Christianity has a close relationship with “the evils of capitalism” (Hodous, 1930).

Generally, it is one of the consequences of rising Chinese nationalism. Ng (1925) emphasized that the core of nationalism is the increasing social consciousness. He looked over Chinese history from the tribal period to the 1800s and applied several cases, like the Portuguese lures of workers in Ningbo during the Ming Dynasty and the burning of the Old Summer Palace (Ng, 1925). For Chinese people, the centralized system and long history build the foundation of nationalism. It never disappears. Ng (1925) contributed to the loss of nationalistic people to the Qing Dynasty’s suppressions. In the case of Republican China, the diplomatic failures inspired the May Fourth Movement in 1919 and the call for rationalism to lead social reformations. In 1922, Cai Yuanpei, the chancellor of Peking University, wrote an article and claimed that education should be independent of politics and religious beliefs (Tatsuro & Yamamoto, 1953). What Cai wants is to keep the independence of higher education. For him, political or religious beliefs could affect individuals’ critical thinking and educational stability, which are vital for social reforms. Cai’s ideas stood with individual development. However, it was idealistic under a tubulous society. For anti-Christian supporters, such a statement is a valuable tool against Christians. Religious beliefs were bound with political positions in the social environment. In that way, Christian schools became the major targets of anti-Christian people during that time. Regardless of the will of these universities, their relationship with the American Anglican put them in conflict. Even though there were few students directly participating in the Anti-Christian Movement at St. John’s, it was a shock to students’ beliefs.

In the meantime, the foundation of the new government inspired the call to

reclaim education sovereignty. As Chapter 1 stated, Chinese people had few powers in the Christian universities' administrative systems. In 1921, the Minister of the Chinese Ministry of Education claimed that Christian universities were independent from the Chinese education system (Ren, 2016). For policymakers, the rise of the Anti-Christian Movement was a chance to found a Chinese-controlled education system. In 1925, the Beiyang government published *Wai Ren Juan Zi Xue Xiao Qing Qiu Ren Ke Ban Fa* (外人捐资学校请求认可办法) to put Christian universities under the Chinese government's control (Ren, 2016) which claimed that all the foreign universities should register within the government and Chinese people must participate in the school administrative system. It regulated that Chinese people should take at least half of the foreign university's executive committee seats (Xiong & Zhou, 2007a). The new terms represent the transition of the Chinese government's attitude toward Christian universities. Starting from this point, the government has become more active in regulating private universities in China. However, because of the chaotic social environment, the executive power was not severe until the Nanking government got the power.

There were different opinions toward registering with the Chinese government among Christian universities. St. John's continued against the new terms during that period. The Shanghai American Anglican Church and Dr. Pott stated that Shanghai St. John's should not register with the Chinese government to keep its religious attitude (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.205). In essence, it comes back to the conflict between the government and religion. Rejecting the registration insisted on the original purpose of the foundation of Shanghai St. John's but put the university in a passive position. In the 1920s, only graduates from registered medical schools could get a working certificate (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.205). Although Shanghai St. John's students had high professional abilities, such limitations would significantly affect their careers. The university's lack of official recognition would also limit its ability to fundraise. More importantly, it might have brought uncertainty to the university's long-term development once the social environment changes in the future. All the education

institutions have to rely on a nation-state. As a Christian University, Shanghai St. John's was a representative of Western culture. For nationalists, the existence of Shanghai St. John's would undermine the central government's authority. Since the social environment was unstable during this period, as a foreign institution, Shanghai St. John's must find a balance among its different identities. The registration problem was a long-lasting problem for St. John's until the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War.

The conflicts between the university administration and students were also rising. During this period, St. John's students were active in discussing political problems. For instance, Ma (1920) used to call for St. John's students to build a summer school to provide compulsory education for ordinary individuals. Although there were no direct conflicts on the university campus, what happened in St. John's affiliated middle school still affected Dr. Pott's reputation and exhibited the general belief among students. In essence, the affiliated middle school is a middle school division, and Dr. Pott was the highest leader. As the May Fourth Movement¹ broke up in Beijing in 1919, students from Shanghai St. John's and its affiliated middle school planned to participate in protests in Shanghai in support of activities in Beijing. In response to students' activities, John Randall Norton, the Dean of St. John's affiliated middle school, warned middle school students not to participate in those events and claimed that Chinese students have no freedom in an American Christian school (Xiong & Zhou, 2007a). From St. John's perspective, students should be away from political activities to keep St. John's neutral position as an educational institution. However, in the anti-colonialism social environment, such a response denied students' patriotic ideas and inspired the conflicts between students and the school administration. Dr. Pott acknowledged students' patriotic motivation but needed to

¹ The May Fourth Movement is a student movement against the Treaty of Versailles in dealing with the Shandong problem. On May Fourth, 1919, students in Beijing gathered to protest against the government's response that allowed Japan to take control of Shandong province during the Paris Peace Conference. It was the first student movement in Chinese history and represents the beginning of students' participation in nationalistic movements.

maintain the benefits of the American Anglican Church in Shanghai (Xiong & Zhou, 2007). Since there was no direct conflict between the student group and St. John's, he agreed to students' participation in the protest about the Paris Peace Conference.

On the night of May 7th, 1919, while St. John's was holding a concert, students back from the protests felt that it was not suitable and had direct conflicts with Norton. The next day, Norton dismissed two student representatives without any specific explanations ('Yue Han Da Xue Jin Shi,' 1919). In the notification to dismissed students' parents, it said that the main reason was the violation of school rules, while other students wrote another report, claiming that they did not offend Norton and followed school rules, and published in *Shun Pao* on May 10th, 1919 in support of dismissed students (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.184-185). Regardless of the responses from students and the school later, it represents the increasing conflicts between the student body and the school administration. During this period, most Chinese students were passionate about student activities. St. John's student group was one of them. However, as a foreign institution, St. John's should prioritize its benefits to survive. Dr. Pott was in an embarrassing position as the leader of St. John's. As an educator who worked in China for over 30 years, he acknowledged students' activities and believed they could make Chinese society more progressive. In the letter to his friend, he claimed that students were protesting for all the Chinese people's benefits (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.189). Meanwhile, he must maintain the benefits of the American Anglican Church. In his 1918-1919 academic year report, he exhibited the will to avoid conflicts with the government and concerns about whether students would form a political organization that would affect the university later. For the American Anglican Church, Bishop F. R. Graves claimed that those students' protests were closer to political activities rather than students' movements and that the school should prevent similar events to avoid blame from Japan (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.191). Looking back to the conflict between the student and Norton, since the school never changed the decision, tens of students left. Consequently, St. John's canceled

the graduation ceremony and closed the campus earlier than the original end of the academic year (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.191).

St. John's response exhibited a conservative attitude toward student movements. Since schools are in the middle of the government and students in the education system, it is hard to evaluate the rightness of this decision. For St. John's students, their actions could represent the attitude of the university. As a Christian school, St. John's tried to prevent further chaos inside the university and maintain the teaching order. Giving students vacations helps Shanghai St. John's to avoid direct conflicts with the government. At the same time, since most students from St. John's affiliated school would directly move to the university after graduation, the protest would also shape the student body of Shanghai St. John's University later.

From historical viewpoints, protests at St. John's affiliated middle school further testify to the spreading of anti-colonialism and nationalism in China. Traditionally, knowledgeable people would get the most respect from others. Students could build the bridge between normal individuals and the upper layer as a unique group. Their pursuits reflect a general demand of the whole society. The unstable social environment allowed the student body to lead social movements. In the case of Shanghai St. John's, identity recognition is the core element. Students prioritized their identity as Chinese citizens compared with their relationship with St. John's. Meanwhile, there might be some passion for reforming society since they continuously experience cultural shocks.

Although the conflict between St. John's and its affiliated middle school students ended comparatively peacefully, the division between Chinese and foreign university members never disappeared. All the conflicts broke up in 1925.

1925-1946

1925 is the transition point of Shanghai St. John's. The June Third event caused enormous destruction to the reputation and academic power of Shanghai St. John's. It was the breaking point of all the conflicts related to St. John's. After this event, 262 college students (58% of the student body), 290 secondary-school students (75% of the middle school students), and 17 Chinese faculty members cut ties with Shanghai St. John's enterally (Perry, 2013). It significantly affected St. John's reputation and financial situation. In essence, the accumulation of conflicts among different sectors caused this event together. Three months later, those students and teachers found Guanghai University with the support of social groups. The direct translation of "Guanghai (光华)" is the shining moon and sun. It could also represent "restoring China" in Chinese. The name exhibits students' and academic staff's expectations of the Chinese social environment. Besides, it highlights the main driver of the foundation of this university.

The direct reason for St. John's division is the conflict between the students, Chinese faculty members, Dr. Pott, and Bishop F. R. Graves about lowering the Chinese flag to half-staff in memory of the May Thirtieth Movement. The May Thirtieth Movement began as a protest against the Japanese killing Chinese workers on May 15, 1925, in a Japanese-owned cotton mill in Shanghai (Perry, 2013). On May 30th, 1925, while protesting students marched down Nanjing Road, foreign police arrested about fifty students and fired them, causing seven students to die and tens of students wounded ('Zuo Ri Xue Sheng Yan Jiang Zhi Da Feng Chao,' 1925). It shocked Chinese society and led to many protests later. Students participated actively in these activities. For instance, the Shanghai Student's Federation formulated twelve demands on June 4th for the negotiation with the British and Japanese. They also worked with other social organizations to raise funds for general strikes later (Ku, 1979). Looking at the macrosystem, the May Thirtieth Movement further inspire nationalism among different Chinese social groups. Since the student group was the main victim, and students were potential reformers of the society, the incident pointed

out the common enemies among the major Chinese social groups and unified them. In essence, it was a political conflict.

In the case of St. John's, after the massacre happened, a student who witnessed the tragedy on Nanjing Road came to St. John's campus and shared his story with St. John's students (Perry, 2013). The previous chapters have explained Dr. Pott's perspective on political activities. After he knew this event, he rushed into the assembly and expelled the speaker from St. John's (Perry, 2013). In response to Dr. Pott's attitude, St. John's students organized a student association and planned an all-student strike on June 1st (Perry, 2013). This time, students' pursuits directly violate the university's benefit. During the negotiation between the university administration and students one day later, President Pott denied the students' requests and gave them a seven-day vacation (Xiong & Zhou, 2007a). In response, students sent a letter to all the faculties, explaining their goal was against the massacre by the police of the International Settlement and had no hostility toward the foreign faculties at St. John's to get the faculties' support (Perry, 2013). Compared with the conflict around May 7th, most Chinese faculties stood behind students this time. With further negotiation among the President, Chinese faculties, and students, Dr. Pott agreed with the student's plan for lowering the Chinese national flag to half-mast in memory of the victims on Nanjing Road on June 3rd but insisted that the campus should be closed during the progress (Perry, 2013).

The reputation of St. John's University, Shanghai, was its most significant capital helped students to explain their pursuit to hold a strike on campus. On the contrary, the university administration insisted on avoiding any political activities related to Chinese society within the campus. In 1920, the university administration had claimed that once they agreed to use St. John's University as a center of political activity, it would be a violation of laws ('Selected Documents on a Student Movement of St. John's University During the May 4th Movement', 1999). For Chinese faculty

members, students' pursuits triggered the accumulated conflicts between the Chinese faculty and the university administration. As previously stated, the university administration prioritized the benefits of foreign academic faculties. Besides the unfair salaries to Chinese and American faculties, it said that "Chinese teachers either did not appear at all at the faculty meetings or, if present, took no part in the discussions which were conducted almost entirely in English." (Perry, 2013) Under the nationalistic social environment, the Westernized culture within St. John's University divided its members into several groups. There were no agreements among the students, university administration, and teaching faculties. Students' pursuits of the May Thirtieth Movement allowed Chinese faculty members to express their opinions. Maybe they also desired to get more power from the university administration. As Dr. Pott called a meeting of faculty and student representatives to discuss students' actions, 31 out of 50 members supported students' activities, most of which were Chinese faculties (Pan & Shi, 1928). Although President Pott agreed to lower the Chinese national flag, he did not tell Bishop F. R. Graves before (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.197), meaning that the American Anglican Church still held their opinion. It foreshadowed the conflicts on June 3rd, 1925.

On June 3rd, when students gathered to salute the Chinese national flag, President Pott removed both the Chinese and American flags (Perry, 2013). Pott's regression exhibited the impact of the American Anglican Church. As previously stated, he prioritized his religious role over an educator's. After Bishop Graves noticed the students' actions, he claimed that lowering the Chinese flag would represent the university's attitude (Shi, 2011, p.245). Although students negotiated with Dr. Pott, he refused to return the flags and applied the university protocol to support his actions (Perry, 2013). Later, students tried to raise another national flag. Dr. Pott came again, grabbing the flag and eliminating the assembly (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.197). He also claimed that the university was closed and all the students should return home immediately (Pan & Shi, 1928). Dr. Pott's responses triggered the permanent

withdrawal of large-scale students and faculty from St. John's. The participating graduated student also voluntarily abandoned their degree certificate. In their declaration of refusing degree certificates (Pan & Shi, 1928), they claimed that accepting St. John's degrees would violate their personalities. Since almost half of the students and the whole Chinese Department left the school, St. John's experienced the most extensive damage to its reputation and financial situation. Based on Xiong Zhou's calculation (2007, p.60), from 1884 to 1929, about 20% of the university fund came from St. John's students and alumni. The sudden decrease in student numbers caused a vast impact on tuition. Dr. Pott returned to America to raise funds.

Generally, the June Third Event reflects a new peak of the student movements in the republican period. For this event, the conflicts within St. John's related to ideology and benefits. The 1920s in China is a reforming period. Many Chinese students and scholars have tried to find new methods to reform Chinese society. From 1919 to 1921, John Dewey came to China² and made more than 200 speeches (Shi, 2011, p.49-50). Dewey's emphasis on "learning by doing"³ and practical education was suitable for the Chinese people's pursuit of reformation. St. John's responses exhibited their insistence on the religious attitude. However, it is hard to avoid political impacts altogether for St. John's as one of the most famous universities in China in the 1900s. St. John's responses were contrary to the social pursuits during that period. From this side, the conflicts within St. John's could be classified as the division between conservative and reformative ideology.

Meanwhile, nationalistic ideas directly impacted the actions of students and

² On April 30th, 1919, Dewey came to China and made several speeches with the invitation of Chinese scholars like Dr. Hu Shi, one of the leaders of the New Cultural Movement. Several days later, the May Fourth Movement broke up. We could assume that Dewey's speeches finally sparked students' motivations for political activities after decades of accumulation of national conflicts.

³In *Experience and Education* (1938), Dewey defined two kinds of education models: traditional and progressive. Progressive education is based on students' experiences through multiple activities. In China, the traditional education model has been testified to not achieving social needs.

Chinese faculty members. Generally, the national flag is a sign of the nation's spirit. Under that social environment, President Pott's actions were aggressive toward students. In the declaration of St. John's leaving students (Pan & Shi, 1928), they exhibited great anger toward the university and claimed that Dr. Pott's actions insulted the ROC and all the Chinese people. The conflicts on May 7th had testified to students' passions for political activity. The university's responses offended the redline. Since there had been an accumulation of conflicts, St. John's students' activities finally broke the balance.

For Dr. Pott, his background and position limited his actions. During his 40 years in China, Dr. Pott held a conservative and objective attitude toward Chinese culture and society. For instance, in his letter to Walter Buckner Nance, the President of Soochow University, he claimed that leading disgusts of patriotic students with the Church would be a mistake ('Selections of Francis L. H. Pott's Correspondence (1919-1920)', 1999). In 1924, he claimed that "a change in the spirit of people" was more critical than military unification to Chinese society (Pott, 1924). To achieve "a spirit of unity," Chinese people should work on education and religion (Pott, 1924). From this side, progressive political movements would only lead to violence, which Dr. Pott disagreed with. Dr. Pott's statements came from his religious studies in the U.S. Although he exhibited his kindness toward Chinese people, as an American, he had inherited privileges based on the U.S. impacts on China during that period. Dr. Pott's pursuits were idealistic since the social environment was full of national conflicts during that time. That also explains why he chose to maintain the order.

Moreover, the June Third Event was related to conflicts about collective benefits. The St. John's University administration pursues the benefit of the Anglican Church, while students and Chinese faculties pursue that of the Chinese society as a social participant. At this time, the university's actions violated the personal rights of the protected group, which helped form the common sense among those group members.

Cutting ties with St. John's exhibited their resolution to abandon personal benefits within this system and prioritize the collective benefits of Chinese citizens. For Dr. Pott and other St. John's faculties, their actions maintained the rights of foreign concessions in Shanghai during that time. Although St. John's was one mile from the International Settlement, many St. John's faculty members believed that they relied on the authority of the British International Settlement (Shi, 2011, p.258). Looking back to the faculty meeting discussing students' activities, one American faculty claimed that St. John's was under the protection of the International Settlement and students' anti-British propaganda was treasonous (Perry, 2013). Pott was also a member of the Education Committee of the International Settlement (Shi, 2011, p.258). Allowing students to protest would reduce his impact on the committee. Either the individual or collective statement could explain Dr. Pott's actions toward the protestor.

The final result did not meet the protestors' expectations since their impacts were comparatively small within that system. It still did some work. Looking at the Christian educational system, Chinese students were on the lowest hierarchy. Without the faculty's support, the June Third Event might repeat failure on May 7th. No direct conflicts with the national authorities gave St. John's students more space to work on. The unstable environment decreases the efficiency of forceable interventions. Since these protestors voluntarily left St. John's, the university administration has no legal right to punish them. During the progress, students' passion was a sign to promote the social revolution during that period. It built the connections among different social groups and inspired the common sense in Chinese society.

From the social level, the division of St. John's University, Shanghai, inspired the unification among Chinese social groups and the development of Chinese universities. Although those students abandoned their degrees at St. John's, the President of Fudan University claimed that those students could get a degree from Fudan by finishing the missed courses during the strike and passing the exams (Xiong & Zhou, 2007a). Also,

many parents raised funds to support the foundation of Guanghai University(Xiong & Zhou, 2007a). Besides Guanghai University, many new Chinese private universities have appeared since 1924, such as the Great China University (also called Daxia University) and Sun Yat-sen University. The Chinese-dominated higher education power was blooming. Moreover, most Christian universities have become more localized. Take Yenching University as an example. As another famous Christian university that founded the Harvard-Yenching Institute with the Harvard University in 1928, Yenching University directly blamed the massacre in Nanjing Road after they confirmed the information on June 3rd (Shi, 2011, p.255). As the government published laws to regulate Christian universities, Yenching University was one of the earliest supporters of registration in the Chinese government. St. John's experience could represent the fall of traditional Christian universities in China. As St. John's reopened its campus in September 1925, only 200 students registered at the affiliated middle school and 207 at the university (Shi, 2011, p.261). Also, the foundation of Guanghai University could testify to how social conflicts and nationalism inspired the development of the Chinese higher education system.

For the government, it accelerated the progress of reclaiming education sovereignty. The cultural conflict also reached its peak. The June Third division caused several blames and attacks toward St. John's and Dr. Pott. Regardless of the proclamations from the leaving people, since August 22nd, Shun Pao, one of the largest newspapers in Shanghai in the 1900s, never updated the advertisements of St. John's University and its affiliated middle school (Shi, 2011, p.261). As the Northern Expedition began in 1927, St. John's closed the campus again because of political considerations (Xu & Han, 2003, p.27). After the Nanjing government gained power, they became more active in reclaiming education sovereignty. In 1929 and 1933, the Nanjing government published additional laws that required private universities to be registered with the Chinese government. The new law claimed that Chinese people should take two-thirds of the university's board of trustees, and schools must not

make religious classes mandatory (Shi, 2011, p.275). To enforce those schools, the Nanjing Government also published additional restrictions on students from those private schools, including a ban from participating in political institutions' exams and moving into the next grade or transit to public school (Shi, 2011, p.281). Educational institutions must have a positive relationship with the national authorities since they do not have executive power. The Nanjing government's actions exhibited their confidence. It was also a part of restructuring the Chinese higher education system.

In the case of St. John's, the new government's actions forced Dr. Pott and the Anglican Church to consider the registration problem. In previous decades, St. John's applied a "cooling down" strategy in response to the registration problem. As St. John's experienced the June Third division, Dr. Pott's attitude toward the registration had changed. In 1926, Dr. Pott claimed that there were three solutions to the current difficulties of Christian universities: abandoning all the Christian schools, the policy of compliance, or keeping independence (Pott, 1926). These statements testified to the passive position of St. John's in dealing with the registration problem. Although Dr. Pott tried to push St. John's to register with the Chinese government, the counterforce from the Church was strong. In 1928, the Church claimed that the Chinese government could not authorize Christian universities to register because of the unstable social environment (F. L. H. Pott, "President's Annual Report, 1927-1928", as cited in Shi, 2011, p.285). It returned to the ideological conflict between the American Church and the Chinese government. Under that situation, St. John's must find a balance to maintain itself.

A private institution could not challenge the national authority. Ironically, St. John's responses to the registration problem partially overturned this statement. Although the Nanjing government published many new terms to restructure the education system, the multiple changes of the last day undermined the executive power. The working efficiency was low. From 1928 to 1932, the Nanjing government

changed the due date for registration three times (Shi, 2011, p.275-277). The social connections of unregistered private universities also had some impact. Many St. John's alumni worked in the new government during this period. Their support gave St. John's more time for negotiations. For instance, the Premier of the ROC, T. V. Soong, also worked as a member of St. John's Board of Trustees during this period (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.207). Although after 1932, the government put stronger restrictions on St. John's, it still existed as an unregistered university in Shanghai (Shi, 2011, p.288). On the other side, the Nanjing government's little tolerance toward St. John's exhibited their expectation for peaceful reformations. The relationship between some official members and St. John's provided an excuse. Although these policies had some public support, unregistered schools like St. John's testified to their abilities and social impacts. In the education field, Chinese higher education was still a learner during this period. Managing conflicts could also maintain relationships with foreign countries and absorb their cultures. It was another explanation for the Chinese government's complicated attitude toward Christian universities during this period.

On June 15, 1937, the American Anglican Church finally agreed on the registration (Shi, 2011, p.290). However, they regretted it later because of Bishop Graves' disagreement and the Second Sino-Japanese War. For Bishop Graves, he prioritized the benefits of the American Anglican Church. As part of the ecclesiastical work, the missionary education must serve the religious work first. Such a statement was the opposite of Pott's education philosophy, which led to several conflicts with Dr. Pott. The war is the most crucial reason for the shutdown of St. John's registration process. The Chinese government must pay full attention to the battles with the Japanese army. On the other hand, leaving St. John's under the American's control could help maintain the regular teaching order. It represents the failure of the Chinese government's actions to reclaim educational sovereignty. Consequently, Dr. Pott and St. John's got more critiques from Chinese society. Dr. Pott quit St. John's presidency after four years. St. John's finished its registration process in 1947.

The student movement or the registration problem at St. John's was related to educational independence, a fundamental concept in discussing higher education. However, in the republican period in China, multiple conflicts lead to different understandings of "educational independence" in Chinese society. For instance, the registration problem between St. John's and the Chinese government partially reflects the opinions about the role of education in a national administrative system. As Meng (1925) mentioned in *St. John's Echo*, there were multiple statements about the relationship between education and politics in the 1920s. Although educators like Meng, Cai, or Pott tried to keep the purity of education to ensure the quality of Chinese higher education, the time made it sophisticated. Historically, the republican period was a transition in the Chinese higher education system. After the shock from the late 1800s, Chinese people began to localize the latest educational philosophies and pedagogy. Nationalism works as a trigger. The historical and social backgrounds bound the nationalistic ideas with the goal of education in China. Most people would prioritize the collective benefits over individual benefits. St. John's students and Dr. Pott are good examples. In that situation, the role of the higher education institution as a collective servant was more important than that of a research institution. In the case of St. John's, either the university administration or the central government tried to utilize St. John's as a cultural representative. The war further inspired the collective pursuit among Chinese people of a stable social order. In some way, these conflicts build the public foundation for further centralization in the Chinese higher education system.

Students' protests and the results emphasized the hierarchy in the Chinese education system in the republican period. Looking at St. John's student movements, support from other social groups was crucial. Generally, students are more emotional and passionate toward social movements. He (1925) claimed that students had no space to stay calm under the turmoil. The goal of disobeying the government was to

save the country (He, 1925). From this site, those Chinese students could represent the reformer in the education system. In the case of the May Thirtieth Movement, the Chinese student body was the direct victim. That helped explain why St. John's students' protest could get sympathy from St. John's Chinese faculty members. Secondly, there was the accumulation of conflicts among different groups within St. John's. The student movement, like the June Third event, worked as a breaking point. The core of these movements was the class conflicts during the tubulous time. If the social order gets stabilized, these activities might have fewer impacts since most people will prioritize their personal benefits. As previously stated, student movements could become beginnings for bottom-up reformations in the education system. However, many confounding variables could affect the consequence.

In general, St. John's experienced significant developments and transitions from 1911 to 1946. Nationalism and the unstable social environment led to continuous impacts. The local Chinese higher education institutions began to rise. As St. John's reputation reached its peak in the 1920s, the anti-Christian beliefs and nationalistic movements inspired the conflicts between the local education system and Christian universities. After the division in 1925, St. John's began to move downward but still existed. Conversely, more local higher education institutions like Guanghai University and Daxia University appeared. Moreover, the government took more active movements to put all Christian universities under its control. The transition of St. John's reflects the development of local Chinese higher education during this time. At the same time, student movements connected different social groups and inspired reformations in the Chinese higher system. Divisions at St. John's are good examples. These student movements triggered the reformations in the Chinese higher education system. Although the Second Sino-Japanese War shut down the reforming progress, the Chinese local higher education institutions began eliminating the foreign impacts. As the war ended in 1946, the Chinese higher education system moved to a new phase.

Chapter 4

Period 3: 1946-1952: Centralization

1946-1952 is a centralization period in the Chinese higher education system. After the Second Sino-Japanese War, the CCP and KMT began the Chinese Civil War until the foundation of the PRC in 1949. The conflicts between the US-supported KMT and the Soviet-supported CCP became more intense as time went into the Cold War period. In that situation, Christian universities went into an embarrassing position again. As the CCP gained power and founded the PRC, it began to expand its impact on the education system and centralized its dominance. In 1952, the CCP government reorganized the Chinese higher education resources to fit the economic and social developments. It is part of the Sovietization movement in the 1950s in China. Also, it has continued to reclaim the sovereignty of education since 1937. St. John's reached its end during the progress. This chapter will first introduce the historical and social backgrounds of the Civil War period and later pay the most attention to St. John's experiences during the 1952 Chinese Higher Education Reorganization with detailed analysis.

Since Dr. Pott resigned the space of St. John's president, Dr. Tu Yuqing succeeded in his position in late 1946. Although St. John's was still under the control of the American Church, Tu's participation could represent the changes in traditional Christian universities during that time. However, the social environment become more sophisticated. In St. John's, many students participated in the Chinese Communist Party starting from 1938 (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.213). As the Civil War began, students became more active in political activities. For instance, as the June 1st Tragedy (the KMT army killed and arrested students from Wuhan University) happened in 1947, some St. John's students began to organize strikes in support of Wuhan University's students. Because of the negotiations between Dr. Tu and student leaders, St. John's generally maintained a peaceful order during this time. In 1947, *Shun Pao* reported that St. John's student was the only one who applied a democratic

way to resolve the striking problem ('具有民主作風的 聖約翰學生 巍然獨立不受學潮襲擊,' 1947). Most St. John's students continued attending classes peacefully ('具有民主作風的 聖約翰學生 巍然獨立不受學潮襲擊,' 1947). Compared with Dr. Pott's period, Dr. Tu exhibited more tolerance toward student movements. However, as the political environment worsened, his pressure from St. John's students and the American Church increased. Since the US began to support Japan in recovering after WWII, some St. John's students organized anti-American propaganda with the support of the Chinese Communist Party in 1948 (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.219-221). In response to student movements, the university administration decided to stop the classes for one week and held the final exam one week early, which led to more chaos and two students injured after the student assembly on June 3rd, 1948 ('約大校長宣布辭職,' 1948). Dr. Tu resigned from his position later.

This conflict reflects the potential political interventions within higher education institutions. From Dr. Tu's viewpoint, his job was to maintain the peaceful teaching order. However, the social environment forced everyone to participate in political activities. Compared with the previous decades, the conflict during this time was closer to the ideological conflict. There was little space for negotiations. Because of past experiences, most people were tired of wars. Since the KMT government did not restore the peace in China, people began to lose faith in them. Because the U.S. was one of the allies of the KMT, American and related institutions became the target of anti-capitalism. In the case of St. John's, people could see the division among students. Old faculties and St. John's alumni criticized Dr. Tu's policies as too "soft" or too liberal (*Letter to McMullen*, 1948). Surprisingly, there were fewer interruptions to academic work compared with previous years, especially in the areas under communist power (Lutz, 1971, p442). Lutz (1971, p.443) claimed that one explanation is that most students were at home waiting for the consequences of the military conflict. More importantly, all the educational institutions were essential

resources for restoring social order. Since KMT's defeat was unavoidable, educators from the Christian universities had to think about life under the new government. In the case of St. John's, the American Church assigned James Pott (son of F. L. H. Pott) to hold the university administration after Dr. Tu left the president of St. John's. Later, more Chinese people participated in the university administration. The power between the American Church and the Chinese faculty become closer within St. John's administrative system.

As time went by, in 1949, the military conflict began to move to the south. In the middle of May, as the Communist army got into Shanghai, St. John's students temporarily accommodated the army (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.225). It exhibited St. John's students' attitude toward the Chinese Communist Party. During this period, the political leaders had several meetings with the leaders of Christian universities for peaceful transitions. Generally, the Chinese Communist Party held a positive attitude toward Christian universities. During the Second Sino-Japanese War, Chairman Mao Tse-Tung claimed the idea of a "New Democracy"- which was based on opposing the semi-feudal and imperialist politics, culture, and economy (*On New Democracy*, 1954, p.61). Based on Mao's statements, education could be helpful to form the culture of New Democracy – which should be national, scientific, and popular – through the ideology of serving the people (Lutz, 1971, p.445). Although the ideological conflicts still existed, there was a common space between Christian beliefs and the Communist ideology practically. The communist leaders also invited Christian representatives to participate in the People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949 to exhibit their kindness (Lutz, 1971, p.445). That partially explains positivists' attitudes toward the coexistence of Christian universities and Communist rule. At the same time, most conservatives had left China because of their worries about the new government. St. John's was a typical example. Based on its rules and regulations in 1950 (*Sheng Yue Han Da Xue Gui Cheng.*, 1950, p.31-40), only about five foreign professors continued working at St. John's University, Shanghai. All the university administrative system

members were Chinese (*Sheng Yue Han Da Xue Gui Cheng.*, 1950). Compared with the previous decades, St. John's faculty composition in 1950 showed Chinese people's dominance of the university. St. John's had begun to cut ties with the American Church. It built the foundation for the acceptance of further adjustments by the central government.

From 1949 to 1950, changes among Christian universities were comparatively peaceful and significant. As previously stated, in the early period of the PRC, political leaders were friendly toward Christian education institutions. From a practical viewpoint, the extreme illiteracy rate (Wenqing, 1988) forced the government to utilize all the education resources to support social development. Maybe the protests during the republican period also worked as a guide. During this time, the Chinese government expanded its impact among Christian Universities. For instance, the government eliminated the courses related to the KMT's policies and replaced them with Marxian-orientated courses (Lutz, 1971, p.455). Also, many teachers had to attend courses about Marxist theory to clarify their political position (Lutz, 1971, p.456). For St. John's, their history had testified to student and faculty members' passion for building a new China. The new government's propaganda promoted students' ideological pursuits. For active students, these adjustments might have been the prerequisites for building the new social order. In 1950, about seventy-six St. John's students participated in diplomatic works, while seventy students applied for military colleges (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.388). Since it was the Cold War period, the closer relationship between St. John's students and the government could bring trouble to the university's political position. In the mid-1950s, after the meeting with Premier Zhou En-lai about how the Protestant church could contribute to national reconstruction, fifty Christian leaders sponsored a Christian Manifesto drafted by Y. T. Wu to exhibit their support toward the new government (Lutz, 1971, p.459). Many Christian university leaders participated in this meeting, including Dr. Tu (Lutz, 1971, p.459). From the macrosystem level, the government was trying to unify the

members of Christian universities.

After the outbreak of the Korean War, the China–U.S. relationship became intensive. Like what happened before, the Korean War led to another wave of anti-American Movements. Christian universities have become the primary targets again. Politically, the existence of Christian universities could represent the U.S. cultural impacts. Even if these universities actively participated in the new society, their backgrounds would affect their existence. Since the PRC stood closely with the USSR in the 1950s, the U.S. heritages - Christian universities- were compelled to adopt the new ideologies. As Chairman Mao stated in 1949, Chinese foreign policy should “lean to one side” (West, 1976). In July 1950, the Government Administrative Council issued a guideline that claimed the main purpose of higher education was “preparation for national reconstruction” (Lutz, 1971, p.458). This document decided the goal of the Chinese national education system. It also provides the ideological guidance of centralizing the education system. Later this year, the government began a new campaign among educational institutions to swipe away the “old culture.” The *People’s Education* (Ren Min Jiao Yu) published an article to guide the directions (‘继续开展与深入学校教育中抗美援朝的思想政治教育’, 1950) which require people to stand closer to Marxist ideas. The core of related activities was achieving a “mind reform” through criticism and self-criticism (Pepper, 1996). In the case of St. John’s, it became the “university of imperialism” during the campaign and was criticized by most people because of its relationship with the U.S. (Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.391). It affected the Class of 1950 and 1951 as well. As the Chinese government began to distribute jobs to college students, educational backgrounds became a necessary standard for personal evaluation. According to an interview with George Shen, one of St. John’s graduates in 1949, St. John’s graduates might face implicit warnings from their leaders when they first participated in the job (Shen & Gao, 2006). Although these students were passionate about working for the community, their administrators might have presumed bad behaviors based on their political position. These were all

part of the consequences of the educational campaign.

On December 17, 1950, the U.S. government froze all Chinese communist funds in the U.S. and forbade financial transfer to the Chinese mainland without special permission (Lutz, 1971, p. 467). The Chinese government did the same thing in response. For Christian universities, these policies significantly affect the university finances since even raising tuition would be unlawful (Lutz, 1971, p.467). Based on the annual meeting of the St. John's University Committee, United Board for Christian Colleges in China(UBCCC), St. John's had faced a 15,000\$ deficit since the beginning of 1950 (United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1950). Although the UBCCC claimed to provide a six-month budget of 11,000\$ in April(United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1950), it needed time for international transactions. As the new policy was executed in December, these budgets got more uncertainties and could not solve the emergent financial crisis. Some Christian universities like Yenching tried to apply for special permission, but they received no responses (West, 1976, p.201). From this side, the direct reason for the radical reforms among Christian universities was political conflicts between the U.S. and China. During this time, Chinese Christian universities had to choose between becoming public universities or accepting financial support from the Chinese government while maintaining their private identity. St. John's chose the second way (Xiong & Zhou, 2007a). From this point, St. John's became a completely Chinese university. Similar things happened to other Christian universities. With these reforms, the Chinese government finally built the basic structure for a unified higher education system.

In 1952, the central government reorganized all the higher education institutions to fit economic and social development needs. Politically, the pressure on the CCP government was extremely high. The government needed to recover its economy after the civil war, and the conflicts between the U.S. and the KMT in Taiwan were also crucial. Based on the report by Guo Moruo, the head of the central government's

Culture and Education Affairs Commission, the government needed to fill the gap of millions of educated people to achieve the projects for the coming five years since 1951 (Pepper, 1996, p.182). Since the Chinese government introduced the Soviet model, a centralized education system would be the most suitable for developing experts in a short period. One important action was dividing comprehensive universities and building more specific colleges. This is the largest adjustment in Chinese higher education history.

In the Peking area Peking National University would become the comprehensive university and would absorb Tsinghua's colleges of arts, science, and law, in addition to Yenching's liberal arts program. Tsing Hua would become an advanced polytechnic school and would incorporate the engineering college of Peita and the science and engineering departments of Yenching (Lutz, 1971, p.474).

Consequently, St. John's was eliminated and divided into eight parts based on its department: the Department of Politics combined with three other politics departments and formed the East China University of Political Science and Law; the Education Department and College of Science merged into the East China Normal University (composed by the Guanghai University and Daxia University); the School of Medicine formed the Second School of Medicine of Shanghai (now Shanghai Jiao Tong University School of Medicine); the economic department merged into the Shanghai University of Economics and Finance; Fudan University absorbed the department of foreign languages, history, and part of the Chinese department; Shanghai Jiao Tong University got the department of mechanical engineering; its affiliated middle school became part of the Shanghai Wusi Middle School(Xiong & Zhou, 2007, p.395). It came to the end of this 73-year-old university on the mainland of China. Such a detailed separation reemphasized Mao's idea of cutting ties with the old culture. Some of St. John's scholars moved to Hong Kong and formed Chung Chi College with other previous Christian university scholars to succeed in the education

of Christian universities. That will be another story.

The 1952 Chinese Higher Education Reorganization is a political-driven activity. After the 1952 Chinese Higher Education Reorganization, the Chinese government finally built a state-dominated, top-down education system: from the central government to the Ministry of Education, then the provincial bureaucracies, and finally the education institutions and students. As a result, public universities dominate the Chinese higher education system. Almost all private universities were demised on the Chinese mainland after the reorganization. From the macrosystem level, the 1952 reorganization redistributed Chinese educational resources. From 1949 to 1957, the number of tertiary education institutions in the inferior provinces rose from 87 to 114 (Pepper, 1996, p.178). On the contrary, the number of comprehensive universities significantly decreased. Until 1953, there were only 14 comprehensive universities compared with 182 tertiary educational institutions in total (Pepper, 1996, p.176). With the increasing number of tertiary education institutions, the number of college students significantly increased. It also helped build many famous Chinese universities. Those successors inherited not only the education resources but also the university cultures of the old schools. Take the East China Normal University as an example. Historically, Guanghai University and St. John's have a direct correlation. With the foundation of East China Normal University, Guanghai and most St. John's faculty members worked together again. The pursuit of "Light and Truth" also builds the foundation of the school motto of East China Normal University, "Seek Truth, Foster Originality, and Live up to the Name of a Teacher". Politically, the 1952 reorganization is a successful action. Compared to the data of students in tertiary institutions by fields of study in 1949 and 1957, the number of students who participated in practical science subjects significantly increased (Pepper, 1996, p.178). These data could reflect students' acceptance of the call from the central government. On the other hand, the reorganization is a chance to unify the education sector. Almost all the Christian universities merged into other specific colleges or universities. Since

higher education institutions are a kind of cultural representative, Christian universities' emersions in local higher education institutions could reflect Mao's idea against the old culture. Meanwhile, the central government claimed to provide more opportunities for workers and peasants to get college-level education (Pepper, 1996, p.183). Although this policy was adjusted later because of those people's poor academic performances, it reflected the tendency to reclassify the social classes. At the same time, the solid political interventions caused several tragedies, just like what happened during the Cultural Revolution in the 1970s. During the campaigns in 1951, many Chinese educators were marked as "the American imperialist's representative" and had to make confessions to exhibit their attitudes toward the "American culture," such as the president of Yenching University (Lutz, 1971, p.471). These forceful confessions were a kind of "blind obedience" toward the national authority. In the case of St. John's, more than 500 students participated in the anti-American parade (Lancey Young, 1951). Moreover, some St. John's medical students sent teams to Korea and treated the Liberation Army (Lutz, 1971, p.473). There are few resources to prove whether there were any confessions that happened in St. John's in 1951. Most resources testified to St. John's students' high acceptance of the government's actions. Compared with the republican period, those students' responses exhibited a kind of historical continuity from the 1920s to the 1950s. The core is always the localization of foreign universities.

For students, the reorganization strongly affected their personal pursuits. As previously stated, students tend to be more idealistic and romantic. Their choices in practical science subjects reflect this point. At the same time, the imbalance between people studying in science and people studying in human arts was enormous. For instance, the planned number of freshmen students in engineering in the 1954-1955 academic year was 33,865, while the number of political science and law students was 2,000 (Pepper, 1996, p. 176). The government's preference for practical science would provide false information to normal individuals, which inspired intense

competition in those limited spaces. During that time, some students were reluctant to go to the assigned department since they believed these jobs were not honorable in building their homeland (Pepper, 1996, p. 186). For long-term development, strong political guidance might somehow limit individuals' personalities and build a conservative social atmosphere. Looking back at the case mentioned by George Shen, although St. John's graduates usually had solid personal abilities, the conservative political attitude would affect personal recognition. Lutz (1971, p.473) claimed that Christian universities should realize that the national good is higher than the individual pursuit. It also applied to other higher education institutions in Chinese society during that period. Generally, such a social environment significantly limited the development of Chinese social science studies. People can still find the long-term impacts of the 1952 Chinese Higher Education Reorganization in China nowadays.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

This dissertation provided a general view of the formation of the Chinese higher education system in the 1900s through the history of St. John's University, Shanghai. St. John's University, Shanghai, is one of China's most notable Christian universities in the 1900s. The rise and fall of St. John's reflect the early Chinese higher education situation. While examining its history, nationalism crossed all the historical periods in the Chinese higher education system. Also, it is hard to jump beyond the times and social environment while discussing the formation of the Chinese higher education system. Because of multiple identities, Christian colleges were always at the center of Chinese political conflicts in the 1900s. The beginning period of St. John's was also the beginning of modern Chinese higher education; during the republican period, the disputes in St. John's exhibited the rising power of Chinese local higher education; for the centralization period, the elimination of Christian universities represented the unification of Chinese higher education system under the solid political interventions. All these elements worked together and formed the basic structure of the Chinese

higher education system. From the educational sector, the Chinese higher education system started with learning from foreign education systems. Foreign universities like St. John's opened up the Chinese people's visions in the 1900s and helped them to get in touch with global educational philosophies. However, the social environment drove Chinese people to explain the concepts practically. The long imperialistic period has built a cultural foundation in the call for unification and a strong connection between the government and the people. Starting in the late 1800s, "education sovereignty" continued to guide Chinese educational reforms. Most reforms are bottom-up movements before the 1950s. In essence, either the KMT or the CCP government aimed to build a Chinese-dominated education system. The main difference is whether they apply national enforcement. There are historical and cultural continuities in the Chinese higher education system. Nationalism ignited the call for reunification in education in the 1900s.

On the other hand, the problem of education independence continues to exist in the Chinese higher education system. Looking at the history of St. John University, Shanghai, Cai's concern (1922, as cited in Cai & Sun, 1968, p.523-525) about political impacts on education still applied to Chinese higher education in the 1950s. Although it seems like from the broader view, the academic environment was more open during the republican period. In essence, either the government or the American Church prioritize the collective benefits. That explains the government and the American Anglican Church's conflicts in the affiliations of Christian universities in China. After the Chinese Communist Party had gained power, Mao's ideas on "New Democracy" guided several political campaigns and reformations. It continued the debate about education independence. The 1952 Chinese Higher Education Reorganization is an example. Historically, this huge education reconstruction was crucial to restoring the economics and the social order. From the macrosystem level, the 1952 reorganization successfully developed enough experts to achieve the political goals. Most higher education institutions could move upward stably with the

government's support. However, eliminating the number of comprehensive universities and ultimately denying the previous education model somehow caused a distraction between Chinese higher education and the global education system. The solid political interventions also lead to a conservative academic environment in China, which further affects the development of Chinese social science studies. For ordinary students, the political preference led to an imbalance in their major selections. The top-down guidance overrun the individual pursuits. People's high acceptance reflects the collectivism in Chinese society. Undoubtedly, the wars and foreign invasions in the 1900s in China might related to people's responses toward the government's reforms. The call for unification in the education sector continued existing during the formation of Chinese higher education system.

For the student's position in the education system, ideally, they could work as the bridge between powerful institutions and ordinary people. Students' passions could inspire education reformations with enough accumulations. The student movements in 1925 and the laws that required foreign schools to register with the Chinese government were classical cases. From this site, students are mediators in the education system. However, since most students do not have enough social impacts, these activities could only succeed by unifying different social groups and classes. Once the powerful institutions apply their enforcement power, they will quickly suppress students' motivations. In the case of St. John's, the different results of the student protest related to the May Fourth Movement and the June Third event are good examples. Moreover, most students are idealistic. They will devote themselves to their beliefs. For bureaucratic authorities, they could become valuable tools in spreading their beliefs. What happened during the centralization period of the Chinese higher education system further emphasizes how students could be motivated by political propaganda. From this site, mostly student is still at the bottom layer of the education system.

The social environment is crucial in forming the Chinese higher education system. Students' positions in the education system changed with the social reforms in the early period of the Chinese higher education system. This dissertation provides the historical background of Chinese higher education in its early period. More historical documents about St. John's University, Shanghai, during the 1950s would increase the persuasiveness of this dissertation. In discussing the current student protests, the Chinese student movements in the 1900s could work as a comparative case to help researchers conduct further research.

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