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## **CONFUCIAN WAY OF TAN KAH KEE:** PURSUE EXCELLENCE, STRIVE FOR PERFECTION

ABSTRACT This paper aims at analyzing achievements of Tan Kah Kee, the unique figure of the overseas Chinese community in Southeast Asia. He lived up to Confucian standards, underlining the importance of knowledge that could transform the position of a country in different areas. Tan focused his attention on improving educational standards in China. Therefore he set up the Jimei Schools and Xiamen University (the first university in China founded by the overseas Chinese).

Keywords: Tan Kah Kee, Xiamen University, Confucianism

This paper aims at analyzing the achievements of Tan Kah Kee, the unique figure of the overseas Chinese community in Southeast Asia, in the field of education. Tan's Confucian approach of social responsibility was to serve society. He mainly put emphasis on social obligations. According to Confucian standards Tan Kah Kee showed his commitment to social responsibility. Stressing the importance of knowledge, he contributed to the promotion of education in China.

The inspiration to write this article was a personal experience of the author, who conducted a year-long research at the Xiamen University (Amoy University) and gradually discovered the life and the great works of the school's founder Tan Kah Kee (also known as Chen Jiageng). The Xiamen University celebrated 90th anniversary in 2011, and is one of the best universities in China. The Xiamen University was included in 'Project 211' and 'Project 985' – two major governmental programs to develop universities in China. Both programs are related to promotion and increasing research standards of high-level universities and cultivating strategies for social and economic development.

Tan Kah Kee (1874-1961), an overseas Chinese, was known as 'Henry Ford' of the Malaya community both in Southeast Asia and in China. He was one of the greatest philanthropists in the modern history of China. He was also a Singaporean businessman, who during his life allocated most of his money for education in China. Among his greatest achievements was establishing of the Jimei School and Amoy University in Xiamen.

If we consider the motivation of these activities we have to indicate his Confucian mentality. The Confucian code of human behavior tries to change everyone and strengthen their sense of morality. In that case any actions could be undertaken by people with higher motives in the interests of the country. In the Confucian tradition the state was a joint venture of all Chinese citizens who share the results of their work. The state has functioned like a family, in which everybody supports others, both in good and bad times. All of them are equally responsible for others when they are suffering hunger or scarcity.

The development of the country comes from the human activity. People must operate in a fully conscious manner, and must understand the purpose of these actions. Their efforts contribute to the prosperity or recession in the state. According to Gu Hongming, Confucius gave the Chinese nation a real idea of the state. Thus, the sphere of politics received the religious sanctioning. Confucianism has led to the creation of something which could be described as the Social or State religion (Gu: 29). The first sentence which is learned by each Chinese child at the starting point in their education says that human nature is good (Gu: 4). This statement clearly indicates that Confucianism teaches people how to be a good citizen, and how to properly fulfill the duties towards the society.

Confucianism underlines that in relations between people, besides the activities motivated by interest and fear, there is one more important element related to the sense of duty. It is a system of mutual obligations and dependencies. The essence of the struc-

ture of these hierarchical relations is obedience and respect for authority. In the family the father has a casting vote, but in practice he makes allowances for the suggestions of other family members. This position of the father comes from his knowledge and experience. Family members accept his moral superiority. The virtue of obedience was interpreted as a social obligation. In the society individual morality may become the basis for the public morality.

Lin Yutang said that in China there is a doctrine of social status, which specifies what obligations must be completed through the fact of belonging to the community. The term "status" or *mingfen* clearly defines the place of individuals within society. *Ming* means "name," and *fen* – "duties." Confucianism is known as the "religion of names" (*mingchiao*). The name suggests the person's place in the social hierarchy, and also defines a way to build relationships with other people. By knowing these rules, a person is able to behave properly in this structure. It also means that they know what they should do. Confucius spoke about five dependencies: between the ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, between older and younger brother and between friends. The existence of these dependencies implicates the appearance of the obligations. The family is "the starting point for all moral conduct," and is the basis of the state (see: Lin: 173-177).

John King Fairbank stated that individuals in China are incorporated by nature and society. There are strong relations between a person and his family and neighbors. In that case, group dominates over individuals (see: FAIRBANK/GOLDMAN: 14-17). Private interests take a back seat. Collectivist approach is inherent in a Confucian society. It was treated as the antithesis of Western individualism. Confucianism puts emphasis on the importance of the family as well as social harmony, avoids conflicts, and protects the integrity of groups. The consensus is reached through consultation between different groups. Real interests of these groups do not contradict each other. The highest common interest concentrates on the state. All citizens should be incorporated into the construction of its power, especially in the field of education, economy, and culture. These areas determine the real strength of the state.

Chinese diaspora (*huaqiao*) also has played an important role in building the prosperity of the motherland. In many cases diaspora identification with China could be easily observed. In accordance with the Confucian tradition people cooperate with each other to contribute to the growth of the importance of their country. Indeed, they have created strong links with the motherland. Imperial China treated local born and new immigrants as Chinese nationals overseas. A lot of new immigrants who left China at the end 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning 20<sup>th</sup> century often considered themselves as sojourners, and could return home. The Chinese Government argued that they were *huaqiao*, or Chinese nationals who resided overseas. Some immigrants decided to stay in Southeast Asia and adopt local citizenship, affirm their different national status and political loyalty by referring to themselves as *huaren* (ethnic Chinese) or *huayi* (Chinese descent) (SURYADINATA: 2). Karin Tomala argued that Chinese have always treated emigrants by indicating their Chinese roots. The Chinese who live in Southeast Asia are also called *nanyang huaqiao*, which means the Chinese who have migrated to the

South Seas (nan yang) (TOMALA: 21-22). South Seas was the traditional Chinese term for Southeast Asia region.

Tan Kah Kee was born on September 21, 1874 in Yingchuan Shizetang, Jimei village, Ton'an county, in Fujian province. His father Tan Kah Peck (1942?-1909) was the third youngest son of Tan Chien-chi. He married three times and had ten children (among them six were adopted). Tan's mother was Soon Ch'u She. She died as a result of epidemic in Jimei in 1897.

During 1870s, Tan Kah Peck established his own rice-trading company and set up a business network in the rice trade. His company, North Boat Quay, popularly known as Soon Ann, specialized in importing rice from Cochinchina, Siam, Burma and then selling it to retailers in Singapore and Malaya Peninsula. Capital accumulated from this business allowed the family to expand its operations into other areas, like real estate business, as well as producing sago and pineapple for export. He became the largest pineapple producer on the Malay Peninsula controlling about 70 percent of canned pineapple export by the early 1900s. The value of his assets was estimated at more than 400 thousand dollars (YONG: 21).

Tan Kah Kee education was strictly Confucian. He has received a basic education in China. And when he was nine years old he started education in the Nanxuan Private Village School. In autumn 1890 at the age of seventeen, he left Jimei and went to Singapore to support his father's business. He returned to Jimei three years later and married Teo Po Ke (Zhang Baoguo). In 1994 he founded the Tizhai Village School in Jimei. This was the first time when he invested funds for improvement of regional education. He spent next three years in Singapore.

Sudden financial losses in his father's business in 1903 let Tan Kah Kee take the lead and extend their activities onto new business areas. The most important was the necessity to reorganize the indebted company. Initially Tan developed the pineapple and rice industry, but soon afterwards he entered into rubber business. He decided to extend its business into the fastest growing markets in Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia, Hong Kong, and China. Tan company became leading manufacturer of high quality rubber products, like tires, shoes, and toys. Together with other Chinese merchants, Tan founded the Chinese Commercial Bank in 1912.

At the time Tan was closely associated with Hokkien groups that consolidated the people from Xiamen and its suburbs in Fujian province. The term "Hokkien" is etymologically derived from the Southern Min pronunciation and it means "Fujian." The inhabitants of these areas emigrated mainly to Penang, Malacca, Java, and the Philippines islands (TOMALA: 49).

Southern Hokkien Chinese like Tan settled in Malaya and Singapore, were pioneers in setting up rubber plantations and the trading sectors (YEN 2017: 217-218). The Hokkien community was also dominant in banking, finance and manufacturing (YEN 2017: 218-221). They also handled export trade with Europe and America (Kuo 1994: 168). Due to the fact the rubber tree is ready for tapping in five to seven years, which requires considerable investments while the returns are expected in the long-term period, it was a perfect business for the financially independent Hokkiens. This helped them

to form unique business operations. Huge demands for rubber during the First World War accelerated the increasing wealth of these groups. Apart from industrial plantations, Hokkien communities developed of the river sea transport corridors that allow to ship the raw materials (CHENG: 92). A lot of Singaporean Hokkien who have studied at the Amoy University in Xiamen returned later home and set up their own businesses. Currently, Hokkien has enjoyed high status in Singaporean economy. The Hokkien community is dominant in banking, financial, insurance, sea transport, production, export and import of flour, feed, Chinese tea, equipment, ship handling, building materials, textiles, tropical fruits, real estate and construction (CHENG: 93).

The First World War was a period of great prosperity for Tan Kah Kee. Just a few years later he became a millionaire. The Tan Kah Kee and Company founded in 1919 has dominated in the rubber sector. Therefore he was better known as the 'Rubber King' of Southeast Asia. In 1925 his company employed 32 thousand of workers (PAN: 207). In the 1920s his total capital investments was estimated at around 4.54 million dollars (GOMEZ: 30).

Tan Kah Kee was also involved in Chinese politics even before the Republic of China was established. In 1910 he joined the Chinese United League in Singapore. The Xinhai Revolution, also known as the Chinese Revolution, created deep social divisions among the Singaporean Chinese. League members supported the revolution and declared their political commitment, while reformists from Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce adopted an antievolutionary attitude (YONG: 177-178). Many Chinese in Singapore underlined close relations with the motherland. According to Yen Ching-Hwang the overseas Chinese nationalism

was an ideology and a movement which expressed a deep concern for China's welfare and China's survival as a nation state. It opposed the threat of foreign imperialism in China. It also strove to unite the overseas Chinese communities in a particular region, and to provide the Overseas Chinese a sense of pride and dignity (YEN 1994: 29).

Internal and external pressures were the major reasons for the rise of overseas Chinese nationalism. At the time the ethnic Chinese strongly exploited ethnic and cultural links with motherland and opposed Western and Japanese imperialism in China (YEN 1994: 30). These attitudes had mainly anti-imperialist and anti-Manchurian character. European colonialism was an attempt to demolish the old international order in Asia. China was divided up into foreign spheres of influence. People's memory of the past humiliation is still deeply rooted in contemporary China. Emigrant communities often appeal to Chinese authorities for the strengthening of the power of state and support for nationalist activities.

Sun Yat-sen (the first president and founding father of the Republic of China) underlined the strategic importance of the overseas Chinese in support of the revolution movement. He travelled to meet with them and appealed for financial assistance for revolutionary activities. Tan Kah Kee met Sun Yat-sen three times (twice in 1909 and once in 1911). During the last meeting on December 15, 1911, Tan promised to gather

50 thousand dollars to fund revolution in China. Next year he sent a letter out to Tan asking for the promised money (Yong: 176). On November 13, 1911 Tan became the chairman of Hokkien Protection Fund, founded by Hokkien Chinese in Singapore. After the Republic of China was formally established on January 1, 1912 following the Xinhai Revolution, Tan managed the Fujian Protection Fund. Resources that were collected by him were transferred for implementing the different development projects in Fujian province in China. During the second and third decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Tan refused to get involved in the politics and devoted himself to establishing educational institutions. He believed that education played an essential role in society and had positive influence on the modernization process in China.

Tan Kah Kee mainly focused his activities in Singapore and China by taking an active interest in education. Between 1904 and 1931 he allocated a total of 13.21 billion yuan, including 8.37 billion yuan directly on education itself, and 3.8 billion yuan on interest charges related to his educational funding (Tan Kah Kee). Tan was the founder of six Chinese schools in Singapore, including Tao Nan School (established in 1907), Ai Tong School (1912), Chung Fook Girls' School (1915), Chung Pun (1915), Nanyang Girls School (1918) as well as the Chinese High School (1919). He promoted also English education by donating the Anglo-Chinese School and the Raffles Collage. In 1940s. he set up the Nanyang Normal School (1941) and the Nan Chiao Girls High School (1947), and after the Second World War the Nanyang University in Singapore (1955).

In 1912 Tan returned China and contributed much money into building schools beginning in his home village of Jimei close to the city of Xiamen. Jimei Primary School was opened in next year. Meanwhile, land was being purchased for more new schools. Thereby, he established another educational institutions – the Jimei Normal School and Jimei Secondary School (1918), Jimei kindergarten (1919), and Jimei Marine School and Commercial School (1920).

During his stay in Jimei, Tan often emphasized that there was not even a single university in Fujian province with a potential of about 10 million people, while neighboring provinces, including Guangdong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, had high schools. It inspired him to establish a modern university in Xiamen and allocated 1 million dollars for initial costs in the first two years of operation and further 3 million dollars for operating expenses in the next 12 years (250 thousand dollars per year). He also wanted to solicit contributions from the rich overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. He stressed close relations linking Chinese Western provinces like Fujian with Southeast Asia (WARD/CHU/SALAFF 1994: 25-26). Jamie Mackie characterized Tan as a person whose

primary aim was not simply to make money but to contribute to the modernisation and emancipation of China (and, by extension, the Chinese community in Singapore) through education and the creation of new industries. In this he was indeed a remarkable visionary, quite unique in the recent history of Southeast Asia (MACKIE: 8-9).

In October 1919, at the first meeting of the committee for the establishing of the Amoy University in Xiamen, Deng Cuiying was appointed as the first President of the

university. On April 6, 1921 he formulated the basic principles for the development of the university. He emphasized the priority of academic research, cultivation of talented researchers, and importance of multi-level cooperation framework between educational institutions and society (VISIONS). On the same day (April 6, 1921) the Amoy University was formally founded in Jimei (WARD/CHU/SALAFF 1994: 29). Initially, the university had 98 students and about 20 staff members (Hong: 16). After Deng Cuiving's resignation in 1921, Dr. Lim Boon Keng (Lin Wenqing) was appointed as a president of the Amoy University. He held the position until 1937, when the Nanjing Nationalist Government of the Republic of China took over the university that was transformed into state university. The first years of the university's existence were difficult because of financial problems. During 1920s and 1930s Lim often traveled across Southeast Asia raising funds from philanthropic sources. This time there was another problem with the intensification of radical attitudes among students. The May Fourth Movement (Wusi Yundong) grew out of nationwide an anti-imperialist and political student demonstrations in Beijing on May 4, 1919, protesting against China's treatment in the Treaty of Versailles. These ideas influenced many students of the Amoy University, who joined to protest against Japanese colonialism. During this difficult time, university constantly developed and new buildings were constantly being constructed. In 1930 the university consisted of medical and engineering schools as well as five other faculties like arts, physics, law, commerce, and education. Three years later academic reorganization reduced the number of faculties to three i.e.: arts, physics and law, commerce. Education was incorporated into the arts faculty. Until 1937 the number of students fluctuated between 300 and 600 and after the Second World War it significantly increased. In 1961 a total of 3560 students were enrolled at the Amoy University. Among them 312 originated from Southeast Asia. The university had 752 employees, compared to 60 employees in 1924, and 80 in 1930. Many famous or notable people have worked there, among them Lu Xun, Lin Yutang, Ku Chieh-kang, and Cheng Te-k'un, as historians point out (Yong: 104).

Tan Kah Kee also promoted education in the press. He formally owned the newspaper *Chinese Daily Journal of Commerce*, commonly known as *Nanyang Siang Pau* (Nanyang Shangbao) between 1923 and 1936. It was the first Chinese newspaper of commercial profile published in Singapore. The first issue appeared on September 6, 1923. Tan wrote an article entitled *Relationship between Enterprises and Education* where he emphasized the need of supporting commerce and education. He indicated that the economic development of commercial enterprises depends on education. Universities play a highly significant role is to train commercial, educational, and political talents for society and country. The development of education also requires financial assistance from business sectors. So, he encouraged entrepreneurs to support a higher education institutions like the Amoy University (Yong: 117-118).

Tan Kah Kee was involved in variety of charities. Between 1915 and 1941 he led five major fundraising charity campaigns. In 1917 he was elected chairman of Tientsin Flood Relief Fund of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce. A year later was nominated treasurer of the Kwangtung Flood Relief Fund under the auspices of Tong Chai

Medical Institution. The Fund provided financial assistance to victims in Guangdong province in China. In 1924 Tan was again appointed as a chairman of the Kwangtung Flood Relief Fund under the auspices of Cantonese Hoi Thin Club. It was responsible for a campaign for the relief of flood victims in Fujian and Guangdong. In March 1925 Hoi Thin Club launched a fund-raising campaign for the protection of the health of children in Singapore. The fifth charity campaign organized by Tan took place in 1934 in response to the disastrous Bukit Ho Swee fire in Singapore (YONG: 107-108).

In 1920s and 1930s Tan undertook the reform of the Chinese societies in Singapore and Malaya. In 1929 reorganized Singapore Hokkien Huay Kuan and was elected chairman of that organization. He stayed at this position to 1949. He argued for the revision of the constitution of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce & Industry, postulating that recruitment of new candidates should be arranged in the order of their merit.

Until mid-1920s Tan's business was doing well. In the second half of the 1920s, due to the collapse in international rubber prices, Tan reduced his investments in Xiamen and Jimei. The Great Depression badly affected Tan's business empire. Finally, his company collapsed in February 1934. Despite financial constraints, he offered continued support for schools.

During 1930s Tan supported Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his efforts to unify China. Tan with his friend even sent a letter to Chiang's opponent Wang Jing-wei in Germany, urging him to abandon his hostile attitude to the Nanjing Nationalist Government of the Republic of China (Yong: 180). He many times appealed for the unity of the country and stopping the civil war in China in the face of Japanese expansion. In 1930s, after the Japanese invasion in Manchuria, Tan intensified his efforts to solicit support for China. When the Second Sino-Japanese war began in July 1937, he established a lot of relief and aid funds for Chinese refugees.

Since the attack the Japanese on Jinan on May 3, 1928 Tan collected money for victims in the Shandong China Relief Fund Committee (1928-1929). He also called to boycott Japanese products. Soon, was he elected chairman of the Singapore China Relief Fund Committee (1937-1941) and the South Seas China Relief Fund Union (1938-1950).

The untenable situation in Singapore after the Japanese occupation forced Tan to leave for Sumatra and Java. There he looked after the graduates from Jimei and Xiamen. On Java wrote his two memories. At the time when Japan attacked Malaya on December 1941 he supervised the formation of the Chinese Mobilization Committee. This committee was supported by the Nationalist Party (Guomindang), the Chinese Communist Party, as well as the British. Its members resisted the Japanese occupation and acted an auxiliary police in Jahore Bharu (Purcell: 303).

In 1940s Tan modified his political priorities. In March 1940 under his leadership the group of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia visited Chingqing and Yan'an. He criticized Chiang's government mainly for despotism, corruption, and inefficiency, supported the Communists instead. In September 1946 he even sent a message to American President Harry Truman calling to stop financial aid to the Nationalist government (BOORMAN: 169).

After the Second World War ended, the Chinese civil war between the Chinese Communist Party and the Nationalist Party was back on. Tan returned to Singapore as a hero. In 1949 he and his supporters founded a newspaper *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* (Nanqiao Ribao), where many articles criticizing dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek and his determination to continue of the civil war in China were published. The newspaper declared sympathy to communists and its leader Mao Zedong (YONG: 118-119).

Finally, communists defeat the Nationalists in 1949 takes place – Mao Zedong officially proclaims the existence of the People's Republic of China, while nationalists depart for the island of Taiwan. On January 1949 Tan was invited by Mao to return to China. Mao offered him a government post. In the mid-1949 Tan participated in the first National People's Consultative Conference. In September 1949 he took part in the founding ceremony of New China. In the next months he substantially reduced his involvement in business in Singapore. In February 1952 he returned to China permanently. In 1950s. Tan Kah Kee held numerous positions within the Communist Party of China, including executive member of the National People's Congress and Deputy-Chairman of the National People's Political Consultative Conference.

During this time, Tan was constantly engaged in the rebuilding and financing schools in Jimei and Xiamen. He spent time by planning, designing and inspecting construction of school buildings in Xiamen and Jimei. In 1954, twenty four new buildings at the Xiamen University personally designed by Tan were completed. At that time university consisted of five faculties including arts, physics, law, finance and economics, foreign languages, and eleven departments. Apart from it, he established the Nanyang Research Institute in 1956 to promote Southeast Asian studies (Yong: 339-340). In September 1956 Tan pledged a donation to build a Huaqiao Museum (Xiamen Overseas Chinese Museum) in Xiamen. Two years later it was completed. It worth saying that Tan also proposed the founding a similar *huaqiao* museum in Beijing, and promised to donate 500 thousand dollars for the project (Yong: 340).

Despite his political commitment, he promoted the development of Fujian province. The construction of a railway line in Fujian in 1956 was a reality thanks to Tan's financial support. In 1953 he introduced the idea of constructing the Jimei-Amoy Causeway. The project supported by the government was completed in two years. He also proposed building reservoirs in Fuzhou to supply fresh water to a 800 thousand population. Among other projects that were finalized in 1950s, was the conversion of some of Fujian beaches to fishery and wet-rise cultivation, establishing a salt pan in Xiamen, and experimenting with production of electricity from surf power in Jimei (Yong: 338-339).

Tan Kah Kee died of a stroke in August 12, 1961, in Beijing. He was buried in the Ao Garden in Jimei. Thus passed away one of the greatest philanthropist in Chinese history. He emphasized that education was a main force in the development of a country. He devoted his fortune for improving the education system in China. Tan believed that potential of knowledge could accelerate the development and transformation of the country. Confucianism suggests that everyone has responsibilities to others. It seems that he put those principles into action. The aim of education is to produce good

citizens and help people achieve social and personal perfection. Currently the Xiamen University established by Tan is among the leading multidisciplinary research universities in China. This testifies that the work that he began almost one hundred years ago, is bearing fruit today.

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