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DATE

I

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN CHINA

A Study of Problems and Methods with suggested
policies for the Chinese Government and for
the Christian Church

By

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A Thesis

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Approved by:


Major Professor

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
INTRODUCTION - Changing China	1
<u>PART ONE:</u>	
A SURVEY OF RURAL CONDITIONS WHICH CALL FOR RECONSTRUCTION	
I. THE PRESENT-DAY SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT REGARDING RECONSTRUCTION IN RURAL CHINA	14
1. Overpopulation	16
2. The Need of Land Reform	21
3. "Ignorance, Poverty, Disease and Selfishness"	35
II. SMALL FAMILY INCOME	42
A. Diagnosis	
1. Actual Earning as Revealed by Research	42
2. Earnings as in Pawnshop Receipts	54
3. Earnings as Reflected in Living Standards	55
III. SMALL FAMILY INCOME (continued)	63
B. Some Underlying Causes	
1. Insufficiencies of Land and Equipment	
(1) The smallness and fragmentariness of farms	64
(2) The primitive nature of agricultural methods	66
(3) The meagerness of capital for farming	75
2. The Natural Handicaps of the Farmer	
(1) The nature of agricultural industry ...	76
(2) The frequent occurrence of famines	78
(3) The pressure of population	80
(4) The lack of transportation	81

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter	Page
3. The Human Hindrances Imposed on the Farmer	
(1) The inadequacy of the land system ..	90
(2) The usurious charge for interest ...	93
(3) The heavy burden of taxation	100
(4) The decline of village industries ..	105
IV. EDUCATIONAL INADEQUACY	111
A. Diagnosis	
1. Few Schools Available for Rural Children	112
2. High Percentage of Illiteracy among Rural Adults	113
3. Ignorance of Peasant Farmers Taken for Granted	118
B. Major Causes of Educational Inadequacy	
1. Financial Inability	125
2. Traditional View of Education	127
3. The Gap Between Cultural Learning and Practical Business in the Modern Educational System	130
4. The Poor Provision for Rural People in Primary and Secondary Schools	134
5. The Unstable Condition Resulting from Political Disorder	136
V. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHAOS.....	138
A. Diagnosis	
1. Changes in Social Life	
(1) Family ties	141
(2) Status of women	145
(3) Other aspects of social life	148
2. Political Life	150
(1) The organic structure of self-government	151
(2) The administration of village government	157

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter		Page
	B. Some Factors Contributory to the Existing Conditions of the Social and Political Life in Rural Areas	165
	1. The Disintegration of the Family System	169
	2. Lack of Wholesome Recreation	173
	3. Migration of the Rural Population	175
	4. The Confused Condition of National Politics	179
VI.	RELIGIOUS DISINTEGRATION.....	186
	A. Diagnosis	
	1. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism	186
	2. The Superstition of Rural People regarding Religious Beliefs	191
	3. The Decline of Old Religious Faiths	193
	B. Contributing Causes of Religious Disintegration	
	1. Poverty	195
	2. Political Disorder	195
	3. Science	196
	4. Western Scepticism	197
	5. Christianity	197
VII.	CONCLUSION OF PART ONE.....	199
	1. The Economic Condition	200
	2. The Educational Condition	201
	3. The Socio-Political Condition	203
	4. The Religious Condition	205

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter		Page
	<u>PART TWO:</u>	
	IN INQUIRY OF SUCCESSFUL METHODS OF RECON- STRUCTION IN RURAL AREAS OUTSIDE OF CHINA	
	<u>Section A.</u>	
	Adult Education, A Basic Method	211
VIII.	STUDY CLUBS IN NOVA SCOTIA.....	213
	1. Objectives of Study Clubs	
	(1) Immediate objectives	214
	(2) Remote objectives	217
	(3) Explicit objectives	218
	(4) Implicit objectives	218
	2. Techniques of Study Clubs	
	(1) Techniques of organization	220
	(2) Techniques for making study clubs effective	223
	(3) Techniques for continuing the life of study clubs	226
	3. The Philosophy of Study Clubs	
	(1) Faith in the common people	228
	(2) Education for action	229
	(3) Cooperation as a powerful weapon	230
	(4) The enlightenment of the common people is firm foundation of democracy	230
IX.	THE MOVABLE SCHOOL IN ALABAMA.....	233
	"A Farmers' College on Wheels"	235
X.	FOLK SCHOOLS IN DENMARK.....	237
	1. The History of Danish Folk Schools	237
	2. The Objective of the Folk School	241
	3. The Curriculum of the Folk School.	243
	4. The Techniques of the Folk School	246

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter		Page
XI.	THE CULTURAL MISSIONS IN MEXICO.....	249
	1. The Origin and History of Cultural Missions	249
	2. The Organization and Training of the Staff of Cultural Missions	253
	3. The Purposes of Cultural Missions	258
	4. The Techniques of Cultural Missions	259
	a. Techniques in enlisting staff members .	259
	b. Techniques in regard to the general approach	261
	c. Techniques in uplifting the educational level	263
	d. Techniques in introducing new knowledge	264
	e. Techniques for unifying the work of cultural missions	266
XII.	AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE IN THE UNITED STATES.....	268
	1. Objectives of the Cooperative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics .	273
	2. Techniques of the Cooperative Extension Service	279
	a. Techniques in regard to extension work in general	280
	b. Methods of extension teaching.....	289
	(1) Objective methods	289
	(2) Oral methods	294
	(3) Extension service through the printed page	296
	(4) High pressure methods	299
	(5) "Nurture" method	300
	3. University Extension and Rural Adult Education	302

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter		Page
XIII.	A REVIEW OF THE METHODS OF ADULT EDUCATION	305
	1. The Objective.....	305
	2. The Way People are Approached	306
	3. The Workers	307
	4. Programs	307
	5. Organizations	308
	6. Conclusion	309
	<u>Section B.</u>	
	Some Roads to Rural Reconstruction	310
XIV.	COOPERATIVES.....	311
	1. Definition of Cooperation	311
	2. Classification of Cooperatives	312
	3. Principles and Methods of Cooperation ...	317
	a. Rochdale principles	318
	b. Rochdale practices	319
	c. Fundamentals of cooperative credit .	319
	4. The Future of the Cooperative Movement ...	320
XV.	PROGRESSIVE AGRICULTURE.....	323
	1. Ownership of Land	323
	a. The Irish Free State	325
	b. Denmark	326
	c. Sweden	328
	d. Finland	329
	e. Czechoslovakia	330
	f. Mexico	332
	g. The United States of America	334
	h. Land settlement or homestead project sponsored by religious agencies	338
	2. Improved Tenure	340
	3. Soil Conservation	345
	4. Farm Management	351
	5. Agricultural Implements	354
	6. Better Seeds and Breeds	355
	7. Control of Plant and Animal Diseases	356
	8. Irrigation	358
	9. Conclusion	360

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter		Page
XVI.	VILLAGE AND HOME INDUSTRIES.....	362
	1. Reasons for Village and Home Industries...	362
	2. Types of Rural Industries	367
	a. Preserving and processing food	368
	b. Raising small animals and poultry ..	370
	c. Gardening and fruit raising	373
	d. Handicrafts and cottage industries ...	375
	e. Small rural factories	377
	3. Methods of Rural Industrialization	377
	a. Rural electrification	378
	b. Farm-to-Market Roads	384
	c. Merchandising	387
	d. Cooperation	389
XVII.	HEALTH IMPROVEMENT.....	391
	1. Inadequacy of Rural Health Practice and Its Causes	393
	2. Types of Rural Health Programs	397
	a. Hospital facilities for rural people.	398
	b. Control of communicable diseases ...	399
	c. Sanitation	400
	d. School health service	400
	e. Planned parenthood	401
	f. Maternal and infant hygiene	404
	g. Nutrition	405
	h. Public health nursing	408
	3. Methods of Promoting Health Programs	410
	a. Education	410
	b. Cooperation	411
	c. Socialization	412
	d. Utilization of existing social agencies	415

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter		Page
XVIII.	RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES.....	417
	1. The Importance of Recreation in the Development of Rural Life	417
	2. Types of Recreational Activities in Rural Areas	421
	a. Indoor games and outdoor sports.....	421
	b. Cultural activities and commercial amusements	422
	c. Recreation for primary and secondary groups	423
	3. Conditions Required for Promoting Recrea- tion in Rural Communities	425
	a. Place	426
	b. Time for leisure	429
	c. Trained leadership	430
XIX.	YOUTH WORK.....	434
	1. Problems of Rural Youth	435
	2. Organizations Serving Rural Youth	437
	3. How to Do Youth Work	439
	a. Motivation	440
	b. Democratic Procedure	441
	c. Cooperation	442
XX.	COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION.....	444
	1. Definition of Community Organization	445
	2. Objectives of Community Organization	445
	3. Methods of Community Organization	446
	4. Principles of Community Programs	450
	5. Community Leadership	453
	6. Community Organization and Democratic Life	456
XXI.	A FAITH IN GOD.....	458
	1. The Role of Religion in Improving Rural Conditions	458
	2. Christian Conception of God	462
	3. Moral Manhood, the Chief End of Rural Reconstruction	469

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter		Page
	<u>PART THREE:</u>	
	RURAL RECONSTRUCTION AND POSTWAR CHINA	
XXII.	SOME SUGGESTED POLICIES FOR THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.....	470
	1. Postwar National Reconstruction Programs	470
	2. Suggested Policies for Rural Reconstruction	477
	(1) Building the future out of what we have	477
	(2) Coordinated government programs....	480
	(3) A two-way conception of programs ..	480
	(4) Old promises made good	481
	(5) Development of basic industries ...	482
	(6) Emphasis on research, survey and experiment	482
	(7) Full use of latest scientific inventions	484
	(8) Enterprises for which government actions and assistances are indispensable	484
	(9) Reduction of taxes	485
	(10) Parity income for rural families	486
	(11) Genuine practice of democracy	486
	(12) Rural adult education	488
	(13) Working with or through local organization	489
	(14) Participation of farmers in planning	490
	(15) Community organization	490
	(16) The county as an integral unit	491
	(17) Rural reconstruction, a long range task requiring cooperation and consecration	492
XXIII.	THE ROLE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN POSTWAR RURAL CHINA.....	494
	1. The Chinese Rural Church and the World Democracy	494
	2. The Christian Church and Rural Reconstruction	500

THE NEW YORK

CHANGING CHINA

With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in the year 1937 there has been developing a series of changes which are now

INTRODUCTION

and are being reviewed. In the first part, however, of the book, **CHANGING CHINA** that after several years of

historical background, a number of chapters deal with the past half-century of international relations and the

participation of China in the political life of the world. It will have perceptibly had immediate effects upon the

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INTRODUCTION

Changing China

With the out-break of the Sino-Japanese War in the year 1937 there has been developing a series of factors which are conducive to the building up of a new China. These factors need to be briefly reviewed. In the first place, because of the war, China is more united than ever before. "A common historical heritage, a common language and literature, thousands of years of interminglings and intermarriages, long experience of a common political life, these and many other factors have perceptibly and imperceptibly served to knit the Chinese population into a conscious unit."¹ But politically, there have been parties of different ideologies contesting for supremacy. Even at the time when Japan had actually occupied Manchuria and attempted the invasion of intramural China, the Chinese government was still confronted with the task of uprooting the Chinese Red Army, and facing the internal challenge to its authority in both the North and the South by military leaders who were more or less independent of the Central Government. When the war broke out all parties gathered together, acted as

1. The Chinese Year Book, 1938-39 Issue, p. 675.

one body, and aimed at one purpose. As to the former war lords, some have died, some have been court martialed, and the rest have pledged their wholehearted allegiance to the Central Government. Never before has the program of the Central Chinese Government been so solidly and harmoniously supported by the nation.

Second, because of the war, the interior of China is being developed. Before the war, the West China was considered a place for historical research. Except for a small number of idealistic and ambitious students who indulged in adventure trying to rediscover this lost land, the vast resources and potentialities in the west were more or less neglected by both the government and the people. When the war came, there occurred a great migration of the population, which is unparalleled and unprecedented in volume as well as in velocity. Necessity made the people pioneers of various kinds. The invasion by an aggressive neighbor has not only served as a stimulus, but also has actually put many Chinese to the test, proving that they are capable of conquering hardships. Their indomitable spirit will surely preserve the national integrity.

Since the war began, most of the rich regions along the coast have been occupied temporarily by the enemy forces. The National Government at Chungking is now pursuing a policy of stressing modernization of farming in order to achieve the

greatest output as a part of the war effort.¹ In the spring of 1941 "Chungking had abandoned the policy of issuing only short-term loans to peasants, replacing it with a policy of long-term loans designed to permit farmers to invest in modern implements, improved seeds and better fertilizer."²

This effort to modernize traditional farming is re-enforced by a movement which has steadily gained experience and shown itself worthy of confidence ever since its inception three years ago. This is the Industrial Cooperative Movement. A report on the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives says in part that:

It is expected that industrial cooperatives will solve a real problem for China's millions by providing a living for the destitute and utilizing the skill of unemployed workers to supply much-needed goods. Already, cooperatives are producing substitutes for factory products such as matches, candles, soaps, textiles, milled flour, sulphuric acid, and motor fuel substitutes from vegetable oils. In some cases, vast natural resources hitherto unsuspected or simply not worked because there was no demand for them, have been uncovered and tapped. For example, in one region, imported iron ingots sold at high prices while the people were walking around on deposits of rich, workable iron ore. The industrial cooperatives give the Chinese people a chance to develop the rich resources of their own country and to integrate their work with the struggle against the invaders--thus labouring simultaneously for their own welfare and for the survival of the nation.³

1. See 'China After Five Years of War', Chapter XIII, Food for the Millions.
2. China Weekly Review: Special Correspondence, Vol. 95, no. 13, March 1941.
3. "Chinese Cooperatives", an article in a Report of China Defence League, 1938-39, p. 36.

It might be added that this movement not only confines itself to forming of industrial cooperatives. It also assists small farmers to cooperate in credit marketing and other cooperative societies. Heretofore, the Government had made many "paper plans" and passed many resolutions on Rural Reconstruction and the Development of the Western Frontiers, but never before have these projects been so vigorously and so emphatically promoted as they are being carried out now because of the impelling necessity created by the war.

Third, because of the war, a national consciousness has been aroused among the masses, and this consciousness is now rapidly growing. For a long period in the history of mankind, China was separated from the rest of the world. Until the impact of the West, the Chinese believed that the sky was round, the earth was square, and that their country was situated in the midst of it. Hence the Chinese called their nation the Middle Kingdom. They were isolated geographically and culturally. Therefore national consciousness was not necessary. Furthermore, the Chinese people were taught to look back to the good old days, to seek the perfection and glory of ancient times. If a farmer saw something disagreeable to his conventional idea, very likely he would say, "this is not the way my father taught me," or "this is not the way my father did." If something wrong happened

in the community, he would sigh and say that man's heart is not what it was in times past. The masses of China, especially the peasants, were complacent about what was taught them through the centuries, and were slow to accept anything new. Modern ideas of nationality and nationhood sprang up in Europe in the nineteenth century, but they did not flourish in China until the end of the last Great War, when a Renaissance Movement was started in Peking, led by a number of persons educated abroad. Even then the movement did not succeed in penetrating the minds of those who lived in the interior or of those who formed the bulk of the population in the countryside. When war was imposed upon China, the policy of the invading party was to "beat China to her knees so that she may no longer have the spirit to fight."¹ Hence there was a systematic resort to aerial bombardment and the wholesale massacre of Chinese people. But contrary to the plans of the enemy, instead of implanting fear in the Chinese masses, the terrific suffering which they have endured has developed in them a consciousness of nationality, which was hard for them to conceive of in former days. Now the Chinese realize that besides their homes, and their families, there is a nation, in which they must stand or fall. They realize that all families are on the same boat, and

1. Prince Konoye's words, quoted in The Chinese Year Book (1938-39) p. 675.

that this boat is in danger. Unless they cooperate none of the individual families will be able to survive. So, at present, even an ordinary woman in the countryside will say to her son going to the battle-front, "Do not come back home, until the enemy is defeated." This war has proved the following popular saying of Mencius, the St. Paul of Confucianism, "Life springs from sorrow and calamity; death from ease and pleasure."

Fourth, because of the war, China is being recognized as one of the important members in the family of nations. Before the war, only a few scholars who had studied Chinese history and her civilization had a high admiration for the Chinese people. They looked upon China as the contemporary of Egypt and Mesopotamia. They ranked the Chinese nation with ancient Greece and Rome which are no longer in existence. China was regarded by some impatient progressives somewhat like an aged man who had outlived his usefulness and was only able to maintain a feeble existence. To many Occidentals who interpreted civilization in terms of comfort, China was considered a backward nation, because she possessed few automobiles, little machinery and electrical power, and because her people were unorganized and were constantly in danger of being dominated by progressive aggressors. But since the outbreak of the "China

Incident", she has resisted the invasion by her barbarous neighbor so gallantly that the world is amazed. Now she is fighting shoulder to shoulder with freedom-loving peoples, and will not cease her fighting under any circumstances short of the unconditional surrender of her enemies. China has friends now, and her friends are aware that she is fighting for the principles of democracy, and that this old China is also a new China in which they have a definite stake. In other words, because of the war, China is emerging as a world power and is destined to play an indispensable rôle in creating a world in which free men may live abundantly.

Last, but not least, is a factor which is directly related to Christianity. The attitude of the Chinese people towards the Christian religion has been greatly changed since the war began. Before the war, Christians were regarded as those who believed in the religion preached by foreign missionaries. Now because of the splendid example of sacrificial love, set by both missionaries and national Christians during these days of trial and tribulation, the Chinese people have been enthusiastically seeking to know the Christian religion. The demand for Bibles far surpasses production. Even the Chinese communists who were very critical of Christianity, now want Christians to be their friends and not their enemies.¹

1. Lautenschlager, Stanton, Far West in China, p. 25.

Perhaps none of the modern Chinese would disagree with Mme.

Chiang Kai-shek in the following statement:

Although the actual work that missionaries have been doing, and are doing, is noteworthy, there is one point which I wish to stress, and that is the spirit which underlies their ceaseless efforts, is recognized as one of the greatest contributions that can be made to our people. By their work and the spirit that underlies it, they have made manifest the meaning of true Christianity. The result of their efforts is so appreciated by the government and the people that the Generalissimo has now found it possible to have that law forbidding religion to be compulsorily taught in Christian schools amended so that religious subjects may henceforth be taught in registered mission schools. This decision is the greatest testimony in the history of China of our appreciation of the value of the real, vital contribution that Christianity has made to the spiritual well-being and the livelihood of our people.¹

This statement indicated that the Chinese people are taking the Christian religion more favourably than they did before, and that it will take an important part in the task of national reconstruction when the war is over.

All these factors point to the one fact that China is facing a crisis, which in Chinese means a 'dangerous opportunity'.² For better or worse, China has to make a decision. If the Chinese people can catch this opportunity and plunge into this gigantic task of national rebuilding with the right spirit and the right approach, her future will be bright and promising; if

1. Chiang, May-ling Soong, This is our China, p. 301.

2. See Ballou, Earl H., Dangerous Opportunity, 1939.

she should miss this golden opportunity, she will then become a dangerous spot from whence she may plunge herself into an unknown destiny. About a decade ago, an American scholar conversant with Chinese cultural backgrounds said:

The largest fairly homogeneous group of mankind is experiencing the most thorough-going and destructive revolution in its history. The outcome remains uncertain. The Chinese may be stimulated to fresh originality and build a civilization which will integrate in partially or entirely new forms some of the old with many of the features of the Occident. On the other hand they may sink more or less permanently subject to foreign peoples, and retain only enfeebled remnants of their older culture unsuccessfully combined with unintelligently adopted institutions and ideas from the Occident.¹

Now the Chinese have been stirred up by the present war in a way not foreseen by students in the past. China is facing a crisis now. Neither the Chinese people themselves, nor her friends abroad can afford to lose this strategic period, because whatever path she chooses now will effect the entire world community.

But in order to realize the aspirations of her own people, and to measure up to the expectations of her friends, more than a mere desire or intention is needed. In addition to a genuine desire, she must have sympathetic understanding of the problems that will confront her in carrying out the

1. Latourette, Kenneth Scott, The Chinese: Their History and Culture, page 345.

task of national reconstruction, as well as a right approach to technical methods.

However, to understand the real situation, we must be ready to face the facts, no matter how disagreeable or unpleasant they may be. We must not allow ourselves to succumb to wishful thinking, nor "to fasten on those parts of the picture with which we are in sympathy to the exclusion of the other parts and of the whole.". We must not be "frightened by what there is to be seen and in consequence consciously or unconsciously turn our eyes away to the dream world of an acquisitive society."¹

It is perhaps safe to say that as soon as the war ceases China will be busily engaged in carrying out her plans for national reconstruction. For one thing, she will be industrialized. She, therefore, will need to get from abroad capital, experts and machines for making machines. She will also need to secure food, man-power and markets from within. The last three items, and possibly capital,² are indubitably linked with the rural situation. In this connection, an

1. Chen, Han-Seng, Landlord and Peasant in China, Introduction by F. V. Field, p. III.

2. Dr. Sun's article appeared in Ta Kung Pao, Oct. 15, 14 and 16, 1942, entitled The Fundamental Problems in China's Economic Reconstruction.

See Chungking Press views on China's Postwar Problems, Pacific Affairs, vol. 16, no. 2, June, 1943.

eminent British economist, Prof. Tawney, has rightfully said

Nature and past history have determined that the basis of Chinese society shall be agriculture; nor, whatever the progress which the great industry may make, is it likely that that position will be substantially changed in any future that can be foreseen. Hence, in any serious economic reconstruction which China may undertake when she has defeated the latest, and not the least barbarous, of her barbarian invaders, rural reconstruction will necessarily play the most important part. Her future depends on the peasant, without whose cooperation continuous economic progress and political stability are alike impossible. Until his lot is substantially bettered, all other reforms will fail.¹

Discussing the 'source of capital' as one of the 'basic problems in China's economic reconstruction' Dr. Sun Fo saw it mainly in China's Agricultural land, after ruling out the "over-optimistic view" of foreign supply. "Since China. . . remains an agricultural country, our resources are naturally in land. To concentrate our internal capital fund, we must emphasize the products of our land. These products must not be wasted and more over they should be concentrated in the hands of the government. The first step along this line has been taken in our food policy started in 1941." The "food policy" referred to by Dr. Sun is the grain tax in kind and compulsory sale of grain to the Government.

Furthermore, Prof. Tawney said that "the promotion of rural progress, in all its diverse aspects, will remain the

1. Institute of Pacific Relations, Agrarian China, Introduction, p. XVII.

most urgent of the domestic tasks which will face Chinese statesmen when peace is restored. It will not be an easy one, nor can the attack on it be improvized. It is to be hoped that, amid all the miseries of which their country is now the victim, Chinese sociologists will find time to lay the intellectual foundations of a new rural society, and to plan in advance the main outlines of the structure to be raised upon them."¹

To do such planning, one requires not only an accurate knowledge of the real conditions of Chinese rural life, but he also needs a deep insight as to the ways and means to improve them. It may be assumed that the problems that call for reconstruction in rural China have their counterparts in other lands. These counterparts, of course, are being solved under different circumstances and against different backgrounds; but this does not mean that China should solve all her problems alone by the methods of trial and error, and should buy her experience at the cost of several decades of waste and misery. China should by all means learn what other people are doing, or have done, in relation to similar problems and should benefit by experiences gathered elsewhere. To be benefited by such experience does not necessarily mean simply to copy what

1. Institute of Pacific Relations, p. xvii-xviii.

has been done by others, rather it is a question of adaptation. Hence, in this thesis, a survey of rural problems that call for reconstruction forms the natural content of Part I; an inquiry of successful methods that have been used in other countries constitutes the substance of the Part II. The study will conclude by formulating some suggested policies to be effective after the end of the present war.

CHAPTER I

THE PRESENT-DAY SITUATION OF RURAL
AND URBAN RECONSTRUCTION IN CHINA

Since China is predominantly an agricultural
country, and since the people who live in the rural areas
far outnumber those in urban centers, rural problems are
not only a part of the national problem, they form the major
part.

PART ONE

**A SURVEY OF RURAL CONDITIONS WHICH CALL
FOR RECONSTRUCTION**

It will hardly be need to say, of all, it has been pointed
out that the rural policy has of the rural areas. The rural
situation in the part of the urban population and urban
areas is secondary. First of all, the rural areas are
larger in area. It is in the interest of the nation and
progress of the nation is dependent on the rural areas.
The rural areas are the source of food and raw materials
for the urban areas. The rural areas are the source of
labor for the urban areas. The rural areas are the source
of capital for the urban areas. The rural areas are the
source of the national income. The rural areas are the
source of the national power. The rural areas are the
source of the national culture. The rural areas are the
source of the national progress. The rural areas are the
source of the national future.

CHAPTER I

THE PRESENT-DAY SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT REGARDING RECONSTRUCTION IN RURAL CHINA

Since China is preponderantly an agricultural country, and since the people who live in the rural areas far out-number those in urban sections,¹ rural problems are not only a part of the national problem, they form the major part. Even to the city-minded, the problem of the farmers still remains the most crucial of all. It has been pointed out that "a fair policy toward the rural parts and rural countries on the part of the urban population and urbanized countries is necessary. Since today's rural population is tomorrow's urban, it is in the interests of the cities and urbanized countries in themselves to have the rural migrants to the city as healthy, intelligent, social, and moral as possible. The better migrants are in all these respects, the greater is the profit of the cities. Therefore an improvement of economic, educational, cultural, political and other conditions of the rural world is dictated by the vital interests of the urban world itself."² If China comes out of the present struggle victorious, which is presumed almost certain, she will

1. "The consensus of opinion is that approximately three-quarters of population are engaged in agriculture". See Tawney, R.H., Land and Labour in China, p. 26.
2. Sorokin & Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, p. 655.

undoubtedly be industrialized. But how can she be industrialized without a knowledge of the problems of the peasants who form the bulk of the population? Even the zealous proponents of the industrialization of China cannot afford to ignore the importance of the rural problems, for the plain fact is that a prosperous farming population is essential to the development of a large domestic market to support the modern industries.¹ The present war with all its suffering has greatly broken down the barriers of isolation among provinces as well as among rural people, but the fundamental rural problems still remain unsolved. In some cases, they have been intensified.²

Furthermore, in the pre-war period, the Chinese people were handicapped by the continental policy of her treacherous neighbor on the East who was ever alert to the reform movement in China, and tried in every possible way to prevent its fruition. In the days past, the Chinese government could justify itself in not being able to carry out its reconstruction program by pointing to the existence of extra-territorial rights, foreign concessions and foreign economic exploitive measures. These hindrances will probably be eliminated by the present war.

1. Fong, H. D., The Post-war Industrialization of China, p. 17.
2. Compare Highbaugh, Irma, Effect of the War on Rural China in China at War, vol. X, no. 2, Feb. 1943, pp. 15-25.

What then are the rural problems of China? They are varied and legion. There are many schools of thought as to the essential or fundamental problems from which many others are derived.

1. Over-population

Some say the basic problem of the Chinese agrarian people is over-population. Prof. J. Lossing Buck, whose monumental work "Land Utilization in China" has been considered by many competent agricultural economists as one of the most authoritative studies on the subject, says:

On a basis of production per man-equivalent (one farmer working a full year), China produces only 1,400 kilograms compared with 20,000 kilograms in the U. S. or one-fourteenth as much. A farmer who produces little cannot expect to have very much of this world's goods..... The dense population in relation to resources is primarily responsible for this situation, and success in the use of land is very greatly dependent upon the number of people on the land.¹

According to the findings of the same study, the density of the farm population is 1,500 per square mile in cultivated areas. The birth rate is at least 38 per 1,000 persons, and the death rate is probably over 27 per 1,000 persons. This indicates a doubling of the population every 65 years. Such rapid increase, however, has been ruthlessly checked in the past by great

¹ L. Buck, J. L., Land Utilization in China, p. 15.

calamities. Previous to the publication of the above work,

Prof. Buck wrote:

The pressure of population is so great that the land has been divided and subdivided through many generations until it is now found that even on farms of the largest-size group, which are above the average in the various localities, a farmer still has a business too small to be economically profitable.¹

As to the remedies for this too small-sized farm business, Prof. Buck says in his other book 'Chinese Farm Economy':

Colonization seems scarcely the solution, since lands for such extensive colonization as would be needed are limited, even in Manchuria and the Northwest. Moreover, unless something is done to check the growth of population, colonization will do little permanent good. The same may be said of drawing men from the land to industry. As China becomes modernized, it is inevitable that industries will be developed and a certain number of country people be absorbed into them. Yet it can scarcely be hoped that sufficient numbers of them will be so absorbed as to relieve the present agricultural situation very much. The best future solution of the problem seems to be in some method of population control, and the best immediate solution, more intensive methods of raising crops and the growing of crops that produce more food per unit of land. Such productivity, however, will also be useless if population continues to grow.

According to Buck, a large population in relation to resources seems to be the most fundamental problem with which China is faced. If she is to raise her standard of living, she must

1. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 125, November 1930, p. 109.

devise means of limiting that population growth.¹

A similar view has also been expressed by some other writers. Prof. E. A. Ross, writing of the causes of poverty in China, stated:

The state (of poverty) is not the just recompense for sloth, for no people are better broken to heavy, unremitting toil. The trouble is not lack of intelligence in their work, for they are skillful farmers and clever in their arts and crafts. Nor have they been dragged down into their pit by wolfish competition or wasteful vices. . . For poverty that cannot be matched in the Occident there remains but one general cause, namely, the crowding of population upon the means of subsistence.²

In his book, "China Today: Economic", Dr. J.B. Candliffe wrote as follows:³

For China as a whole the estimated density, though large, is not as great as that of Japan, and still less than that of highly industrialized countries. But a generalized average for such a vast territory is not very significant....within the total area of China some astonishing densities have been calculated, densities higher than those recorded for similar crowded agricultural regions either in India or in Japan. Walter H. Mallory quotes an estimate of 6,880 per square mile in a northern famine region. While it is perhaps legitimate to entertain some doubts and reservations about the accuracy of this figure, there are other estimates quite high enough to be impressive. The figure 2,000 per square mile for the plain of Chengtu is sufficiently large to prove the fact of tremendous pressure upon resources.

1. Buck, Land Utilization in China, p. 20.
2. Ross, E.A., The Changing Chinese, pp. 95-96.
Quoted in Lamson, H.G., Social Pathology in China, p. 20.
3. Candliffe, J.B., China Today: Economic, p. 17.

Then Dr. Candliffe continued:

In any examination of the economic as distinct from the political situation in China, these somewhat familiar facts of overpopulation must inevitably be put in the foreground of the problem and emphasized repeatedly. They constitute China's greatest, most fundamental and most pressing difficulty, and stand in the way of all schemes for the betterment of her economic life. Essentially they constitute a domestic problem, the solution of which must be found by the Chinese people themselves. Foreign interference can have little influence upon them, and foreign assistance can be of little avail. Behind them lie social attitudes and conditions which only Chinese can fully estimate and comprehend and which only they can change.

Regarding this problem of over-population, it seems that Dr. Candliffe is as pessimistic as Prof. Buck.

No conceivable volume of emigration either to other lands, or to less thickly settled regions within China itself, can cope with an annual increase that may run into millions. Nor does the experience of other lands enable much hope to be placed upon industrial progress drawing a sufficient volume of rural workers into profitable urban occupations. The problem is too vast for any remedial measures short of restrictions on numerical increase to give appreciable relief even temporarily. . . . The only alternative to policies aiming at limitation of numbers is a continuance and aggravation of the already operating positive checks, which Malthus enumerated -- war, disease, famine and misery.¹

However, this problem of over-population is not a new one. Two decades ago Mabel Ping-Hua Lee, a Chinese student, majoring in economic history, pointed out that this

1. Candliffe, J.B., China Today: Economic, p. 17-19.

perennial problem of teeming millions in China had existed long before modern scholars discovered it through scientific research.

Ever since Chien Lung's time China has suffered from over-population.¹ Our record has shown that after every prolonged period of peace and prosperity there has come a large increase of population. It cannot be supposed that what was barely sufficient for 200,000,000 will support 400,000,000 in comfort. If Malthus were alive today he would point to the condition of China's dense population as conclusive support for his theory. He might be pardoned for pointing to the present famine as a natural check to over-population.

But no human person would admit the necessity of such a check as famine when other measures could and should be tried first. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to go into a discussion of this question; nevertheless the problem of increasing population lies at the root of every other economic problem in a country like China and its solution will constitute the foundation for the future welfare of the Chinese nation.²

But before Miss Lee made her statement on this subject, its appalling nature had already been recognized by the Founder of the Chinese Republic. In 1894, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen wrote thus:

At present China is already suffering from over-population which will bring impending danger in its wake. She is confronted with a great many hidden uprisings and frequent famines. It is extremely difficult for the populous masses to make a living even during good years, and in time of great drought and famine many people will starve to death.

1. The reign of Chien Lung lasted from 1736 to 1794 A.D.
2. Lee, Mabel Ping-Hua, The Economic History of China, with Special Reference to Agriculture, p. 463.

Our food problem is already very acute. The situation will be much worse as time goes on. If we take no timely means to remedy it, it will surely worry us.¹

2. The Need of Land Reform

Important as is the problem of over-population, in China, there are students who think that this is not as important as the question of land reform. Prof. Buck points out that "intensive farming, which is the application of more labor and more capital to the present land resources, is probably the most hopeful way by which a farmer's income may be increased to meet his physical, social, and spiritual needs."² On the other hand, there are those who say: "the need for the modernization of agricultural methods is recognized; but the extensive introduction of technical improvements is regarded as improbable, until the social fabric within which they must function has been drastically modified."³ The contention of this group can be summarized in two statements. One is, "the view sometimes heard, that the Chinese are a nation of peasant proprietors, is, in fact, an error. Action or inaction based upon it can lead only to disaster."⁴ The other is that although the land holdings of Chinese landlords are comparatively small, the actual situation of the tenant farmers is more acute.

1. Quoted by Chang-heng Chen China's Population Problem (Tokyo, International Institute of Statistics, 1930), quoted also in Candler's China Today: Economic, p. 16-17.
2. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p. 420.
3. Institute of Pacific Relations: Agrarian China, Introduction by R.H.Tawney, p. xiii.
4. Ibid., p. xiv.

According to a reliable survey made by the Land Commission of the National Government from 1934 to 1935, in 89 Hsien¹ of 11 provinces, there are 1,545 big landlords, each family possessing land ranging from three hundred mow to thirty thousand mow.² The average size of the holding is 2,030 mow per family. Although this survey did not discover the bigger landlords the average size of their holdings compared with that of peasant families as a whole is 134 times larger. According to another investigation in the same districts the average holding of 752,864 peasant families is only 15.2 mow.³ According to a recent careful study a Chinese scholar finds that 3 per cent of the people in China possess 26 per cent of the land, another 7 per cent of the people (rich farmers) possess 27 per cent of the land, while two-thirds of the people have only 22 per cent of the land. These figures are revealed in the following table:

Land Distribution in China⁴

	<u>Households</u>		<u>Land Possessed</u>	
	In thou- sands	% of total	In millions of mow	% of total
Landlords	1,800	3	312	26
Rich farmers	4,200	7	324	27
Middle farmers	13,200	22	300	25
Poor farmers, labourers & other	40,800	68	264	22
	60,000	100	1,200	100

1. A Hsien corresponds to a county in the United States.
2. One mow equals one-sixth of an acre.
3. See Abstract of the Report of the National Land Survey p.31-32 quoted by Wu Wen-Hui in his article referred below.
4. Wu, Wen-Hui, Land Distribution in Our Country and Its Tendency in The Financial Review (in Chinese) vol. 6, no. 3, September 1941, p. 20.

The same author asserted that "the unequal distribution of land in our country is the fundamental agrarian problem. It is one of the basic reasons for the mass poverty among the farming population. It is often the motivating force in rural disturbances."¹

This problem of unequal distribution of land has also been emphasized by another Chinese who is considered a competent student in this field.² He found that:

About 70 per cent of the peasants in Tinghsien, Hopei Province, are cultivating their own land; pure tenants occupy only about 5 per cent. Nevertheless, of the 14,619 rural families investigated, over 70 per cent own less than 30 per cent of the cultivated land; and less than 3 per cent of the families own nearly one-fifth of the land.³

Of the 1,565 rural families in ten representative villages in Paoting surveyed, 65 per cent were found to be either landless or with insufficient land.⁴

In Pinghu, a district of Chekiang Province, the monopoly of land ownership has gone so far that 3 per cent of the population possess 80 per cent of the land.⁵

In Wusih, Kiangsu Province, 5.7 per cent of families in 20 representative villages (surveyed in 1929) own 47.3 per cent of cultivated land, while 68.9 per cent of families own only 14.2 per cent of land.⁶

1. See Wu, Wen-Hui, Land Distribution in Our Country and Its Tendency in The Financial Review, translation by Hsu, Yng-ying, The Revival of the Land Problem in China, Pacific Affairs, March 1942.
2. See Chen, Heng-seng, The Agrarian Problem of China, Document II, Problems of the Pacific, 1933, pp. 271-298.
3. Lee, Franklin C.H., Ting Hsien: A Social Survey (in Chinese) p. 128 and following.
4. Statistics compiled by Chang Si-chan and Liu Hwei-pu.
5. Statistics compiled by Chien Tsen-jui, based upon Chang Tsun-po's report of an agriculture survey, in Statistical Monthly, vol. 1, no. 3, May 1929, published by Bureau of Statistics, Legislative Yuan, Nanking.
6. Statistics compiled by Liu Hwei-pu and Liu Tsun-seng.

In Lingan, a district not far west of Hangchow, its poor peasants, nearly 48 per cent of the population, possess only 13 per cent of the cultivated land.¹

In a rather mountainous region between the two river basins of the Hwai Ho and the Yangtze, the soil is inferior even to that of Lingan. Nevertheless, unequal distribution of land is there; at least 65 per cent of the population of Nanyang, Honan, are poor peasants, and they own only one-fifth of the cultivated land of that district.²

As to the general condition in Kwangtung, an overwhelming majority of the poor, about 74 per cent of the families, possess less than one-fifth of the cultivated land, while 2 per cent of the families enjoy the ownership of more than half of the land.³

It is a known fact that "seventy per cent of the whole farming population of Kwangtung are tenants, amounting to ten million people."⁴ As to the situation of land distribution in other parts of China, many social research students have found it more or less similar to that which exists in Kwangtung.⁵ For example, "in the five districts in Yunnan that were investigated, the poor peasants as well as the hired agricultural labourers occupy 56 to 87 per cent of the village population

1. Institute of Economic Survey in Chekiang under National Reconstruction Committee: Rural Survey of Lingan, Chekiang, Hangchow, 1931, p. 86.
2. Data furnished by Liu Tuen-seng, staff member of the Third Provincial Bureau of Agriculture and Forestry, Nanyang, Honan.
3. Chen, Heng-seng, loc. cit., p. 276.
4. Chang, T.C., The Farmers' Movement in Kwangtung, p. 42.
5. Note, the reports of these research students have appeared in the last decade in different periodicals, and special sections of daily newspapers, a portion of these materials have been translated in Agrarian China.

which can only mean that the peasants with inadequate land or no land at all constitute an overwhelming majority of the peasantry."¹ Since the war, the situation does not seem to have been improved, except in the guerrilla region in North China, where large tracks of land formerly belonging to the present "Quislings" of occupied areas have been distributed to peasant families. On the contrary, because of the inflation of prices, the tendency to concentrate the ownership of land in the hands of a few has been accelerated. Many of the middle-class farmers are now becoming poor peasants. We may cite one case here to illustrate the point.

The entire population of Nan Hsiung Hsien, Kwangtung, is about 220,000, but the number of those who live in villages amounts to 180,000. Among them, there are a few merchants and a number of artisans who are purely occupied in handicraft industries. The real farming population is about 150,000 people. According to a survey made by friends who are natives of this county, the change in land ownership among the villagers is shown in the following table:

<u>Elements of Farm population of Nan Hsiung Hsien, Kwangtung</u>					
	Landlords	Rich Farmers	Middle Farmers	Poor Farmers	Farm Laborers
1939	7%	12%	40%	35%	6%
1942	10%	18%	20%	42%	10%

1. Report on Rural Investigation in Yunnan, Edited by the Rural Reconstruction Commission of the Executive Yuan, published by the Commercial Press, April, 1935, Shanghai Quoted in Agrarian China, p. 56.

From the above table, a definite decline of the middle farmer class is revealed. This is due almost entirely to the sudden rise of the prices of crops and other commodities. The price of rice in Nan Hsiung began to rise in the winter season of 1939. During the year of 1939 to 1940 the price of rice increased five times. The principal reason was because there were people who wanted to hoard grain, so the number of merchants who came to buy crops suddenly increased, hence, the abrupt advance of the price of rice. All those middle farmers who had sold their crops in the autumn of 1939 had no opportunity to derive benefits from the rising of rice prices. But when the time came for seeding in the following spring, the prices of all commodities were many times higher than before, these middle farmers had no alternative but to borrow money from usurers. They, therefore, degraded themselves to the level of poor farmers.¹

The question of the fundamental need for land reform was outlined in detail by Dr. Sun Yat-sen as one of the most essential parts of his revolutionary program. That those who till the land should own the land has been accepted as a basic principle of land policy by the Kuomintang, and subsequently by the Chinese National Government. Ever since then, much has been said and many plans have been mapped out, but no substantial work has yet been done towards the solution of this problem. In the Preface to the Annual of the Land Bureau of Chung-Shan Hsien, a follower of Dr. Sun Yat-sen wrote: "The agrarian problem is fundamental to our national livelihood. If this problem were to be rightly solved, naturally there would be a

1. Chen, Han-seng, Commodity Price and Middle Farmers in Chung-Kuo Nung-Ts'un, no. 5 & 6, 1942 (In Chinese).

proper way out for our national livelihood. Only by the solution of this problem can mankind gradually get rid of war. Equality in land ownership has been the principle advocated by the Kuomintang. Our chief purpose is to prevent the monopoly by a few, and to provide equal rights and equal opportunity of land utilization for all the people."¹

The Declaration of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang, 1924, contains the following statements:

The principle of the Kuomintang contains two fundamental aspects. The first is the equalization of land and the second is the control of capital. Inasmuch as the greatest cause of the inequality of economic organization lies in the fact that the right of land is controlled by the few, the Kuomintang proposes that the State shall prescribe the law of land, the law for the utilization of land, the law of the taxation of land, the law for the taxation of the value of land. Private landowners shall declare its value to the government, which shall tax it according to the value so declared with the option of buying it at the price in case of necessity. This is the essence of the equalization of land.....

China is an agricultural country, and the peasants are the class that have suffered most. The Kuomintang stands for the policy that those peasants that have no land and consequently have fallen into the status of mere tenants should be given land by the state for their cultivation. The State shall also undertake the work of irrigation and of opening up the waste land so as to increase the power of production of land. Those of the peasants that have no capital and are

1. Quoted in Chen HanOsen, Agrarian Problem in Southermost China, Lingnan University, Canton, 1936, p. 23.

compelled to borrow at high rates of interest and are in debt for life should be supplied by the State with credit by the establishment of rural banks. Only then will the peasants be able to enjoy the happiness of life.¹

In two recent years, the land problem has been revived, and much discussion has taken place. Economists and agricultural experts continue to support the persistent demands of the farmers for the promised redistribution of land, the reduction of land rent, and the Government on several occasions has committed itself to future reforms along these lines.² Recently the Central Daily News, which is an organ of the Chinese Government, said:

The farmers should be given the land they till as they were promised by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the Three Principles of the People. Only in this way can they be enabled to increase their purchasing power and to consume more manufactured goods. At present the landlords are living lives of leisure in towns and cities on the basis of the strenuous labor and hardships of the peasantry. It is also necessary to protect the position of owner-farmers against bankruptcy and against any further partition of their land. Furthermore, the land tax should be fixed in such a way that it acts as check on the landlord. In the meantime, it is necessary to survey and demarcate all land holdings in a correct manner in order to create a proper basis for the just assessment of the land tax. (Chungking, June 1943)

1. T.C.Woo, The Kuomintang and the Future of the Chinese Revolution, Appendices C. pp. 255-6.
The above two quotations also quoted by Hsiao-Tung Fei, Peasant Life in China, E.P.Dutton & Company, N.Y. 1939, p. 190 footnote.
2. Guenther Stein, Free China's Agricultural Progress, Pacific Affairs, September 1943, p. 343.

In connection with the land situation in China, it is perhaps interesting to quote two statements, one was made by an imperial teacher and imperial censor named Hsieh Fong-San, in the 13th century; the other was written by a Chinese student, now in New York City, in an article which appeared in Amerasia, July 1943. These two statements will show us the perennial nature of the land problem, and the importance of solving it, if China is to be rebuilt, out of the present crisis, as a democratic nation.

A. A report made by Hsieh Fong-San to the Emperor Li Chung (1225-1264 A.D.)

The evils of 'eating-up' by the influential and strong people has reached its climax to-day. So we must limit the holdings of the people; and it is one of the possible means by which we might save the situation. It is more than 120 years since our dynasty (Southern Sung Dynasty) was situated at Chien Tang (Capital of Chekiang) as our capital. On the one hand, much of our land has been left waste day by day; while on the other hand, the population of the empire has been greatly multiplied. The influence of the powerful families is becoming greater and greater, the tradition of eating-up is becoming greatly aggravated, the common people poorer, while the system of field boundaries and land taxes is suffering decay every day. Both the government and the people are mutually involved and in a desperate condition, and there seems to be no way of improvement. Those rich and influential people, who are in control of the situation, are acting as if they had the power of the emperor of the empire. And all far-sighted persons are exceedingly anxious over the general alarming situation.

As we all know, the life of millions of our people depends upon the grains (rice and millet) and the production of grain depends exclusively on the land. But at present all the fertile fields are in possession

of the families of influence and nobility and some of them are receiving rice as their rentals amounting to as many as one million loads annually. On the other hand, the small people with 100 mows of land, are suffering the burden of public service every year. So when the officers (district) are taxing these people in a hundred ways the only possible thing for them to do is to offer their land property to the huge families in order to avoid public service (forced labor).

As a result, the land of the poor people becomes less and less every day, and yet they have to be subject to forced labour just the same. On the other hand, the land of the great officials becomes multiplied all the time. This is the reason why the flesh of the weak has been gradually eaten up by the strong; and the process of eating-up has become more conspicuous every day. Consequently the poor have no possible way to make their living. At such a critical moment, how can the government possibly get along without adopting a strict system of land administration so as to prevent this danger?¹

B. A statement from Dr. Hsu Yung-Ying's article China's War Potential in Amerasia, July 25, 1943 is as follows:

It should be noted that students of Chinese social history generally agree on the fact that the body economic of China has been traditionally dominated by landlords and bureaucrats, who live off the people, mainly the farmers, but have no moral obligation to participate in production. The bureaucracy itself, moreover, is merely a form and creature of landlordism. Since landlordism is too nakedly exposed to the discontent of the peasants, the bureaucracy lives upon

1. Southern Sung Book, chapter on Food and Commodities Quoted by Lee, Mabel Ping-hua, The Economic History of China, pp. 315-316.

collective land rent in the form of taxes and thus serves to cloak the ugly appearance of landlord parasitism. It constitutes a sort of communal landlordism, which is also enabled to mobilize greater political and military power for the suppression of mass discontent.¹

The second point of contention of this group, who maintain that the land problem is the most fundamental of all the agrarian problems, is this: even although the tenure situation in China is not as serious as that in the United States the actual condition of the Chinese peasant farmer is more deplorable. In the United States the percentage of farms operated by tenants increased from 25.6 per cent in 1880, to 42.1 per cent in 1935.² In addition to the 42% of tenancy, 39% of the remaining farms are mortgaged, leaving only about one-third of the farms entirely owned by those who till them.³ Because of the smallness of the farm rented by the Chinese tenant, the frequent recurrence of famine in China, the lack of reserve or margin of livelihood, the illiteracy on the part of the tenant, and the varied intrigues on the part of the landlord,

1. From Amerasia, July 25, 1943, p. 234.

2. Harris, Marshall, The Extent and Growth of Farm Tenancy in the United States, an article in The Church and Land Tenure, p. 8.

3. Pickert & Baerman, The Way Out for America, p. 17-18.

the suffering of a Chinese tenant is much worse than is conceived by the general public. One does not need to be a keen observer in order to detect the fetters which the landlord has fastened onto the life of a tenant. Here is an account of some of the many activities of the landlords, as described by a Chinese investigator, which may help us visualize what complicated problems tax the brain of the social reformer.

They (the landlords) are rent collectors, merchants, usurers, and administrative officers. Many landlord-usurers are becoming landlord-merchants; many landlord-merchants are turning themselves into landlord-merchant-politicians. At the same time, many merchants and politicians become also landlords. Landlords often possess breweries, oil mills, and grain magazines. On the other hand, the owners of warehouses and groceries are mortgagees of land, and eventually its lords. It is a well known fact that pawn shops and business stores of the landlords are in one way or another affiliated with banks of military and civil authorities.....

The village administration of China is simply permeated by the omnipresent influences of the landlord. Tax, police, judicial, and educational systems are built upon the power of the landlord. Poor peasants who fail to satisfy the landlord-official in tax and rent payments, are brutally imprisoned and tortured.....

The big landowners, landlords and rich peasants, take advantage of the poverty of the peasants, a poverty chiefly due to lack of land, and play with the twin balls of usury and trade capitals. They corner grain, manipulate prices, and extend loans of all sorts. As years go on, they double, treble, and manifoldly increase their original holdings of land property.¹

1. Chen, Han-seng, The Present Agrarian Problem in China, pp. 18-21. Quoted in Pratt: China, and her Unfinished Revolution, p. 159.

Furthermore, it is contended that even though only 26.2 per cent of Chinese farmers are tenants this does not necessarily imply that there is no such a thing as the agricultural proletariat.¹ In America, a thorough analysis of data bearing upon the question of how long it would take a farmer to climb the agricultural ladder from laborer, through tenancy to full ownership, revealed that in the period of 1915-1920 it took those who became full owners on an average of 5.8 years as farm wage labourers and 6.9 years as tenants, or a total of about 15 years.² It is highly doubtful whether there is any possibility whereby these landless farming labourers in China could ever climb up this agricultural ladder under the situation as it is now. For one thing, in China "much the greater part of the land is inherited and it is very difficult for a young farmer who does not inherit land to come into the owner class."³ For another thing, in China the chief factor in agricultural production is human labour and the output per man is incred-

1. See C.C.Chang, A Statistical Study of Farming Tenancy in China, China Critic, September 25, 1930.- "of the total farming population, occupying farmers constitute 51.1%, part-owners and cultivators 22.1%, and tenants 26.2%." Quoted in China Year Book (1934) p. 241.
2. Sims, N.L., Elements of Rural Sociology, (Third printing), p.178.
3. Buck, J.L., Annals of the American Academy, China; vol. 125 November 1930, p. 109.

ably low. And because of the low output per man, the agricultural worker is not able to command high wages. This makes an elevation of his economic and social status impossible.¹ The agricultural labourers are 'forgotten men' in rural China. Their social status is so low and so lacking in respect that any proposal for the betterment of their life would clash with the alleged interest of the owner- or tenant-operators, whose own lives, as we have seen above, are also being exploited by landlords and capitalists, and are constantly on the brink of actual destitution.

It is true that there is no distinct social stratification among rural people, and the social cleavage between the employers and employees is not as great as it is in other countries. But it must be admitted that there is such a class as the rural proletariat, and that it is not something created by communistic agitators. Communists may arouse the feelings or class consciousness of the rural proletariat, but they certainly do not create them. If China is to be a democratic nation, these landless tillers of the soil must be given their own land. Since the concentration of land holdings has been accelerated in recent years because of speculative investment on

1. The China Year Book (1934), 242. See also Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p. 313.

the part of a few, the extensive practice of usury, the ruinous effects on the small farmers of political corruption, the exorbitant charge of rent, the heavy burden of high taxation, and the frequency and severity of natural calamity, there is reason to think that the number of landless farmers is being increased. Unless steps be taken to remedy this situation that has to do with land ownership, other constructive proposals aiming at the improvement of the cultivation of land will be of a limited value.

3. "Ignorance, Poverty, Disease and Selfishness "

Besides the two schools already mentioned, there is still another school whose viewpoint deserves our attention before we undertake to analyze the problems that call for reconstruction. This school is eminently represented by the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Mass Education, the founder of which is Y.C. James Yen. While serving among the Chinese coolies in France during the last great war, Dr. Yen came to understand the "coo" (bitterness) of the labouring masses, and from this understanding he realized the "lie" (strength) that is latent in them. Through his contact with the "coolies", he knew that the first handicap of the laboring people was illiteracy, and because of illiteracy they

were ignorant. So the Mass Education Movement was first started as a project to eliminate illiteracy among the Chinese millions. Then through a period of study and social survey, this Association found that the fundamental problem of the Chinese nation, which caused her lagging behind in the modern world, was fourfold. This fourfold problem is "ignorance, poverty, disease and selfishness." They also began to realize that 85 per cent of the population live in rural areas, and that substantial national progress was impossible without rural reconstruction.¹

So they moved their headquarters to a rural district, Ting Hsien, and began to experiment with their fourfold program of rural reconstruction, with a hsien (county) as their laboratory. The fourfold program of reconstruction consists of a cultural division, an economic division, a health division and a civic or political division which provide remedies for these four respective defects of Chinese society. This program is carried out through the school, the home and social life. It is claimed that the system as evolved by the Movement is

1. Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement: The Ting Hsien Experiment, 1934, Peiping; also cf. Jimmy Yen, China's Teacher Extraordinary, Reader's Digest, November 1943, condensed from "Freedom from Ignorance".

economical of time and money, it is simple of application, it is thoroughly Chinese in its appeal,--three characteristics essential to success in China today. As to the purpose of the Movement, it is declared that the purpose is to explore the potentialities of the masses, and find a way of educating them, not merely for life, but to remake life. In other words, the philosophy of the whole movement is to develop the masses through education in its broadest sense.

From our review it is clear that there are at least three schools of thought regarding the fundamental Chinese problem that needs to be solved first. The first group puts emphasis on the natural fact--dense population. The second stresses the socio-economic environment of semi-feudal landlordism. The third, unlike the other two, is inclined to put the responsibility on the individual. Because these three groups differ in diagnosis, it is quite natural that their prescriptions should be different either in kind or degree. In general, the first group tends to emphasize the improvement of techniques of production, the second group seeks to use political revolutionary methods, and the third endeavors to awaken the consciousness of individuals to their own potential powers by education.

Besides these three schools of thought, there are people who think that the present deplorable rural situation is due to the deterioration of the social structure and the way out is to create a new social order based on Chinese indigenous culture. It is called salvation through self-regeneration. The exponent of this group is a well-known philosopher of the Tsou-Ping Rural Reconstruction Institute. Others say the basic cause for the poverty-stricken condition of rural areas lies in the backwardness of Chinese urban industries. They believe industrialization is the road to prosperity for both urban and rural people. This is being advocated by many college professors. Still others assert that China has been kept in a semi-colonial position because of foreign economic exploitation. Unless China can free herself from the shackles imposed by imperialistic nations, there is little hope that she can work out a program for rural reconstruction. Each of these groups give diagnoses, but none prescribe a panacea. The truth of the matter is that the rural problem in China is a very complex one. It varies from locality to locality, and from time to time. It is caused by many contributing factors, some of which are temporary and others more permanent. Therefore, in order to have a real understanding of the present rural situation, we need to diagnose the

phenomena for ourselves, and then analyze the contributing factors scientifically.

At the outset, we must recognize the fact that none of the factors contributing to the situation are isolated. They are all interwoven, and may be both cause and effect. What we should do is study the problems that spring directly from the needs of the rural people, and find the reasons why their needs are not being met. Until we ourselves know the needs and ascertain the causes, we are not in a position to look for ways and means of solving the problems of the rural masses.

Our concern in the task of rural reconstruction, is people, taken individually or collectively. If we can know their needs, and are able to devise ways and means of meeting their needs, we should consider our work a success. When their present needs are met, we are ready to raise the standard of living to a higher level and create new needs. As needs on one level have been met, a higher level of decency and happiness for rural people will be attained. Before we explore the needs of Chinese rural life, it may be well to know what are considered needs by American rural people. We do not want to create Rural China as a replica of a rural America. This would be impossible. But it is apparent that many of the needs

of rural life are similar throughout the world. They may be different in degree of acuteness, but not in kind. The following are suggestions of needs for American rural communities:

- "Enough purchasing power to buy the necessities enjoyed by other people.
- "Electricity and other such ordinary conveniences of the city.
- "Roads, good throughout the year from main highways to the dooryard.
- "Schools that are as well staffed and equipped for rural needs as city schools are for urban needs.
- "Doctors near enough so that rural families can afford good health--likewise hospitals.
- "Churches with preachers who measure up to the spiritual challenge of country life.
- "Recreation programs of high quality and within the means of the rural family.
- "Efficient government at low per capita cost for services rendered."¹

With these suggestions in mind, we may visualize the needs of Chinese rural communities. Just like "in some countries the problem of food has become a problem of nutrition, while in others it is still a problem of hunger,"² so are the problems

1. A pamphlet published by U.S. Department of Agriculture, DS-10, Rural Communities: What do they need most?, p. 1.
2. Quoted from the speech made by Dr. P.W.Kou, the chairman of the Chinese delegation to the Food Conference, see Contemporary China, vol. III, no. 2, June 14, 1943.

of rural life in China, compared with that in America. While in the latter country, people are talking about the necessities enjoyed, in the former we still have to talk about the necessities required for existence, without further mentioning the ordinary conveniences, the roads to the dooryard, schools well staffed, . . . and efficient government at low cost for services rendered.

Let us proceed to a study of some of the impending problems of rural China, and to an analysis of the causes thereof.

CHAPTER II

SMALL FAMILY INCOME

A. Diagnosis

1. Actual Earning as Revealed by Research.

One of the first and foremost needs of Chinese farm families is purchasing power. This purchasing power is directly related to the yearly income of the families. According to a study made by Prof. Buck, the average family earning of 2866 farms in 17 localities in seven provinces was \$291 per year.¹ Deducting the value of house rent, the mean average was \$278 compared with a median average of \$214. By family earning is meant the amount of money received by the farmer with no non-cash items, such as family labour, deducted as expenses. The range of means between localities is from \$114 to \$493, and that of medians is from \$88 to \$398, as shown in the following table.

Arithmetic means and medians of family earnings

(2866 farms, 17 localities, seven provinces - 1921-25)

<u>Provinces and Hsiens in which studies were made</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Medians</u>
North China		
Anhwei		
Hwaiyuan	\$164.97	131.03
Su	250.21	170.43
Chihli (Hopei)		
Pingsiang	127.86	97.79
Yenshan (1922)	135.14	110.75
Yenshan (1923)	113.77	89.50
Honan		
Sincheng	340.24	281.85
Kaifeng	392.76	354.81
Shansi		
Wusiang	154.12	126.95
Wutai	197.20	177.15
Average for localities	208.47	131.03

1. Chinese dollars (the Exchange rate for the years 1922-25 was 1 gold dollar to \$1.87 Chinese silver currency)

	<u>Means</u>	<u>Medians</u>
East Central China		
Anhui		
Laiian (1921)	443.09	432.84
Laiian (1922)	352.44	318.95
Wuhu	359.38	266.86
Chekiang		
Chinbai	217.39	188.33
Fukien		
Lienkiang	481.45	344.05
Kiangsu		
Kiangning (S)	493.17	398.44
Kiangning (T)	254.70	214.69
Wuchia	256.20	213.60
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Average for localities	357.23	294.08
Average for 17 localities	278.48	213.60

The exact significance of these family earnings is better understood when put on a per capita or per adult-male unit basis. Such earnings amount to \$52.19 per capita per year, or \$4.35 per month.¹ From the fact that there is such a difference between the average mean and the average median we know that those farm families whose income is below \$214 a year are getting much less than those above this level. As a matter of fact, the family earning is directly related to the size of farms, which are grouped into five classes: small, small medium, medium, medium large and large. The family earning is directly related to the size of farm. It was found that

1. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p. 84.

for the small size farm the average family earning was \$146.26; for the medium size, 251.52; while for the large size it was \$488.93. The largest number of farms were in the small and medium-small groups, as is shown below:

Number of farms in each class¹

Provinces and Heiens in which studies were made	Small	Medium Small	Medium	Medium Large	Large	Total
North China						
Anhwei						
Hwaiyuan	37	29	16	22	20	124
Su	105	..	88	..	93	286
Chihli (Hopei)						
Pingsiang	48	..	50	..	54	152
Yenshan (1922)	33	48	..	34	35	150
Yenshan (1923)	45		45	..	43	133
Honan						
Sincheng	39	56	..	29	20	144
Kaifeng	24	53	..	35	37	149
Shansi						
Wusiang	35	79	53	36	48	251
Wutai	42	67	40	40	37	226
Total	408	332	292	196	387	1615
East Central China						
Anhwei						
Laiian (1921)	22	28	..	24	27	101
Laiian (1922)	31	..	39	..	30	100
Wuhu	14	51	..	17	20	102
Chekiang						
Chinbai	23	1.	23	..	21	67
Fukien						
Lienkiang	56	..	55	..	50	161
Kiangsu						
Kiangning (S)	42	54	..	49	58	203
Kiangning (T)	34	45	53	43	42	217
Wuchin	89	94	68	31	18	300
Total	311	272	238	164	266	1251
Total for 17 localities	719	604	530	360	653	2866

1. Buck, op. cit., p. 102.

The correlation between the amount of family income and the size of holdings has also been revealed by other studies made in four provinces. The following table shows this relationship in a more specific manner.

Incomes of families grouped according to size of holdings ¹

	Chekiang Chin Hsien	Kiangsu vill- ages in 3 counties	Anhwei Suchow	Hopei vill- ages in 4 counties
Families without land				
1. No. of families	105	51	111	664
2. Average total income	\$63	\$28	\$111	\$18
Families with less than 3 mow				
1. No. of families	42	157	40	424
2. Average total income	\$96	\$40	\$60	\$14
Families with 3 - 5 mow				
1. No. of families	3	352	76	646
2. Average total income	\$110	\$81	\$73	\$24
Families with 6 - 10 mow				
1. No. of families	54	418	87	679
2. Average total income	\$151	\$141	\$90	\$38
Families with 11 - 25 mow				
1. No. of families	75	303	107	685
2. Average total income	\$219	\$241	\$131	\$71
Families with 25 - 50 mow				
1. No. of families	43	80	61	380
2. Average total income	\$383	\$539	\$161	\$185
Families with over 50 mow				
1. No. of families	14	38	127	476
2. Average total income	\$924	\$1535	\$800	\$831

1. See Malone and Taylor: The Study of Chinese Rural Economy.

In a later study of 16,786 farms in 168 localities scattered in 154 hsien in 22 provinces, Prof. Buck has re-classed the farms into eight groups. The average farm area in acres for the specified size groups and their respective percentages are shown in the table below:¹

	<u>Average farm area in acres</u>	<u>Per cent of farms</u>	<u>No. of farms</u>
1. Very small		1	253
2. Small	1.43	23	3,782
3. Medium	2.84	37	6,271
4. Medium large	4.92	20	3,305
5. Large	7.14	11	1,817
6. Very large	13.02	7	1,212
7. Very, very large	21.97	1	131
8. Very, very, very large	23.38		35
Average	4.18	Total 100	Total 16,786

From the above we can see that the largest percentage of Chinese farms belongs to the class of farms which has only 2.84 acres. In this connection, we may quote another statement which, though less representative, gives a true picture of at least one section of the country. The Rev. L. M. Outerbridge, a missionary

¹ Buck, Land Utilization in China, Chapter IX, tables 5, 6, and 7.

in Shansi, said:

There are over one million farms in Shansi (North China) province averaging in size 4.5 acres, but 'the average income over and above actual bare living expenses of a family working one of these farms is only about \$34 local currency'.¹

How many necessities can these farmers buy with \$34? The condition of Chinese peasants in other parts of the country, however, at certain periods was even worse than this. The Chinese Recorder, a periodical with a long and commendable standing, in June 1934 published this paragraph regarding rural conditions around Zangzok, Kiangsu Province.

Our farmers are hit very hard by the depression, particularly because of the very low price of rice. Last year it hardly paid to harvest the rice. While there is no actual starvation, at the same time, there is no money at all. This has had its effect on the city people and shops, and all are complaining loudly of the lack of business. Many of the shops were unable to weather the storm of the China New Year money-settlement, and closed shops along the main streets bear witness to the depression. The situation is really serious. Unless this year brings a good crop and higher prices for the rice there may be a good deal of trouble. The farmer will not be able to pay his taxes, nor the interest on money borrowed during the past two years to keep going. Recently particular inquiries were made into the financial condition of the farmers in all four sections of the county. It was found that the average farmer gained exactly 50 cents per mow of land for one year's labour. The average farm runs about seven mow of land. The figures work out as follows: For one mow of land the average yield is 2 1/2 piculs of rice. One

1. Lamson, Herbert Day, Social Pathology in China, pp. 91-92.

picul of that is tax, leaving 1 1/2 piculs for the farmer to sell at the market price. The price this year was about \$5.00 per picul. A total of \$7.50 gain for the year for one mow of land. But expenses nearly eat up the gain. Pumping water on the land cost \$2.00 per mow. Hired labor \$3.00 per mow. (All farms over three mow in size must have outside help). Fertilizer amounts to \$2.00 per mow. A total gain of \$7.50, as against expenses of \$7.00 per mow of land, for the year. With the average farm of seven mow giving \$3.50 profit, cash in hand, for the year, it is not difficult to see why conditions are so bad. Nor is it difficult to see why propaganda, communist or otherwise, of a subversive nature gets a hearing very readily.¹

The case referred to above is exceptional. It is a case where farmers were hit by the world-wide depression. But what has been the farmer's condition since the outbreak of war in 1937 when farm prices registered an increase unknown before, and when reports were rife that the farmers had been most benefited? An Agricultural Survey of Szechwan Province was made recently by the Szechwan Rural Economics Survey Committee of the Farmer's Bank of China, in cooperation with the Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nanking. This survey reveals that farm prices have increased, but the prices paid by the farmers have also increased in a manner not experienced before. The following table shows conditions

1. The Chinese Recorder, 1934, p. 535.

during this period of rising prices for rice.

Index Numbers of Cash Farm and Family 1
Expenses and Receipts for the Crop Year, May to April.

5 hsien, Szechwan 1937-38 to 1940-41 and for May 1941
(1937-38 = 100)

<u>Items</u>	<u>1937-38</u>	<u>1938-39</u>	<u>1939-40</u>	<u>1940-41</u>	<u>May 1941</u>
Farms:					
Cash receipts	100	134	222	842	1,613
Cash expenses	100	131	217	738	1,463
Family:					
Cash expenses	100	112	191	1,098	2,522
Farm and family:					
Cash receipts	100	134	222	842	1,613
Cash expenses	100	125	209	855	1,808

During the depression period when the price of rice was low, the farmers had no cash income; that is the farmers had no purchasing power at all. The case of Zangzok, Keingsu, clearly demonstrated this. But even during the period when the farmers were supposed to enjoy a boom, their purchasing power was still as low as ever, as is conspicuously indicated in the table just referred to.

In 1941, the Chinese government adopted a new 'Food Policy' which requires the farmers to pay their grain taxes in kind, and which compels the farmers to sell their grain in

1. Buck, J.L., An Agricultural Survey of Szechwan Province, China, 1943, p. 62.

proportion to tax payments, to the government at a price much lower than the market price. The farmers receive credit in government bonds, but they do not get payment in cash. This new system of land tax went into effect in September 1941. In an article entitled "The Realities of County Food Administration and Its Reform" which appeared in one of the most outstanding and reliable daily papers,¹ the writer said: "the average farmer has been subject to forty-odd different levies, mostly in the form of grain, including national land tax and local surtaxes, national, provincial and county requisitions, various local grain reserve assessments, levies for local administration, for education, public works, military service, and government personnel training, plus religious, entertainment, and charity assessments. These together required about 25% of a farmer's total harvest. Adding to this his incidental expenses in tax payment and losses through irregularities in official instruments as well as manner of measuring, his total contribution amounted to 30%."²

Furthermore, many landlords who used to collect rent in cash are now requiring their tenants to pay rent in kind. It was reported in a daily paper that even in the areas surrounding China's war capital, instances had occurred where the

1. Takang Pao, August 17-18, 1942.

2. Hsu, Y. Y. Chinese Views of Wartime Economic Difficulties, p. 2-3.

landlords were willing to pay a lump sum to their tenants which amounted to from three to ten times that of the rent agreed upon in the original contract, in order to be able to withdraw their contracts, so that they could rent their land to other tenants at a much higher rate.¹ Thus, the rise in the price of farm products has given the landlord class a favorable opportunity to become richer, and consequently to obtain more land. To say that the peasant farmers, the actual operators of the farms, have been greatly benefited by the rising prices is an assumption highly questionable.

However, war is an emergency, and the condition of farmers in war time may not be accurate of farmers in general in peace time. In a study made by Malone and Taylor, to which we have already referred, it was discovered that "the largest single group of all the villages was in the class of families receiving less than \$50 income per year,² which is even less than the average wage per year paid to farm labourers.³ In order to get a glimpse of how small the incomes of Chinese peasants are, we may cite as illustration a few cases out of

1. Takung Pao, May 27, 1942.

2. Malone, & Taylor: The Study of Chinese Rural Economy, 1924, p. 39.

3. Buck: Chinese Farm Economy, p. 95 "Actual wages paid per year for farm labourers average for the seventeen localities \$58, which includes value of board."

hundreds reported by social research students in the last decade.

This is the story of a typical Soochow tenant told by a man who had acted as an official in the Land Tax Consolidation Bureau.

The annual harvest of rice amounts to only two piculs per mow, which according to the market price would bring in an income of \$15. From this sum at least \$6.60 must go to rent, about \$2.00 for the fees and assessments connected with irrigation, \$3 to fertilizer, and \$4 for wages for various kinds of field labour. Some sort of auxiliary income as well as the contraction of debts are therefore necessary to meet the deficit of 60 cents per mow and also to pay the living expenses of the family.¹

The following was reported by a student who made a social study in the villages of Western Shantung Province:

Once the writer met a peasant of sorrowful appearance who said, 'This year our family harvested about 10 piculs of wheat out of which 1.2 piculs were paid for rent, 2.5 piculs for the repayment of loans in kind, about 1.8 piculs for taxes, about one picul for the purchase of a working animal, and about one picul to repay recent credit purchases. Thus only about 2.5 piculs remained, and of these 1.8 have already been consumed by the family. How we are to manage to live with less than one picul in hand until the next harvest, is hard to conceive. Furthermore, there are still some outstanding debts from credit purchases, some \$12 worth of things in the pawnshop to be redeemed and school fees for the boys to be met.'

1. Yi Ming-shi, 'After Three Months of Being a Land Registration Official,' Chung-Kuo Nung-Ts'un, vol. 111, no. 6, June, 1937, Shanghai. See Agrarian China, p. 153.

Such a budget reveals the almost hopeless condition of the peasantry in this area, for it not only allows for no leeway to meet such emergencies as flood, drought and locusts, but it also shows that even in normal years a moderately well-to-do peasant family is being rapidly reduced in its economic status.¹

The following paragraph is quoted from a study made in Fuan in Northern Fukien, where the large majority of the population is agricultural, and the main products are cane sugar and black tea. The sugar business has been completely ruined by the merciless manipulation of Formosan sugar prices. Even when Fuan sugar was reduced to the lowest possible price, it could not stand the competition of Japanese manufactured sugar from Formosa in any market, including the local one. A similar fate has befallen the tea market. The long interruption of shipping between China and the Soviet Far East has killed the black tea trade with that country. Moreover, the peasants are being burdened by the ever-increasing tax.

Under such conditions a considerable number of able-bodied men have joined the robbers and bandits or have migrated to such cities as Foochow and Amoy. Of course going to the cities, most become rickshamen, being unable to obtain any other employment. The wives of such peasants suffer to an even greater extent. There was a time when the country women going to the cities could find work in the rich men's houses, but since the economic status of the rich has been declining this kind of work has become more and

1. Hao P'un-sui, *The Villages in Cheng-nan in the District of Yue-cheng, Min Chien*, Semi-Monthly, vol. III, no.19. 10th February, 1937, Peiping. See Agrarian China, p. 251.

more impossible to obtain. Recently, therefore, many peasant girls have gone from Fuan to Foochow to become prostitutes, and many village families depend on remittances from these women.¹

2. Earnings as Revealed in Pawnshop Receipts

One of the rural institutions in China is the pawnshop. Loans from pawnshops form one of the most common methods by which peasants of small income get funds in time of need. In 1930, 167 pawnshop receipts collected from the peasant families around the village of Tsing-hua, near Peiping, were analysed. The findings of this study are undoubtedly indicative of the meagre resources of the peasant families holding them.

Out of a total of 167 pawnings as many as 158 had a pawn value of less than three dollars each. Though there were six tickets with a value of five dollars and upwards each, there were as many as 54, or one-third of the total, each bearing less than 50 cents pawn value.

The analysis of these 167 pawnshop tickets also reveals that the majority of articles pawned proved to be living necessities such as clothing. What may be termed as personal ornaments amounted to 37 per cent, whereas clothing, mostly of cloth, formed 57 per cent of the total. Furniture, agricultural implements and agricultural products, formed six per cent of the total pawned. One cannot help noticing that out of 95 pawn tickets for clothing, as many as 81 had a pawn value of less than two dollars each, and 33, or fully a third of the total, had a pawn value of less than 50 cents each.²

1. Chang Yu-sui, 'The Daily Decline in Fuan, Education and the Mass', vol. VIII, no. 6, 23th February, 1937, Wusih. See Agrarian China, pp. 251-255.
2. Lo Kuo-hsian, 'Chinese Rural Finance and the Pawnshops', Nung-Ts'un Huo-Tso, vol. II, no. 6, 1937, Wuchang. See Agrarian China, pp. 188-193.

Of course, it is not to be concluded that all Chinese peasant families are as desperate as the ones described in the preceding paragraphs, but these descriptions are sufficient to show us how small are the incomes of at least a large proportion of peasant families, and how deplorable is their lack of purchasing power.

3. Earnings as Reflected in Living Standards

The smallness of the family income of the Chinese peasants is directly reflected in the amount of money they spend for their living expenses. In fact it is the most reliable measure by which the income is to be estimated. According to a study made by Prof. Buck of 2370 farm households in 13 localities in six provinces, it was revealed that the total of all items annually consumed per farm household furnished by the farm and purchased, amounted to \$233.32.¹ The percentage distribution of expenditures is as follows:

Food	58.9	per cent
Fuel	12.3	per cent
Clothing . . .	7.3	per cent
Rent	5.3	per cent
Other	16.2	per cent ²

"Other" includes advancement (8.9%), personal (4.2%), furnishings (0.7%), maintenance of health (0.8%) and unclassified (1.6%).

1. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p. 385.
2. Ibid., p. 386.

"The term advancement includes items of education, religion, recreation, charity, social obligations, and New Year holidays. . . . Personal, includes tea, tobacco, pipes, opium, liquor and wines, gambling, debts, barber and hair dresser, gifts, toilet articles, and jewelry. The item unclassified includes funerals, weddings, servants and lawsuits."¹

The average amount of \$228.32 represents a wide range. It is stated by Buck that "the range is from \$88.62 per household for Pingsiang Hsien, Hopei, to \$349.67 for Kaifeng Hsien, Honan." It can be well imagined that the range between different households in each locality is as great as it is between localities. Since 84 per cent of the expenditure was spent on absolute living necessities, perhaps we may get a more accurate knowledge of the purchasing power of the farmers, if we can have some idea how the rural people are fed, clothed, and housed. Let us first look at the food situation.

Messrs. Malone and Taylor, writing of the North China farmer, state:

In all except the most plentiful years, he is systematically underfed. Indeed, during the winter months he may be said to hibernate, saving himself from all unnecessary exertion and reducing his food accordingly. The result is that when spring comes and work on the field is resumed, he

1. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p. 384.

has carefully to bring himself back into condition for real exertion.¹

That the farmers have different kinds of food in different seasons was confirmed by other studies, such as the Social Survey of Ting Hsien.² It was found that the farmers divided the year into three periods. From the 9th to the first month of the Chinese lunar calendar was the slack period, in which they had two meals a day. From the second month to the fourth, they began to have three meals a day.

From the 5th to the 8th, they had more substantial food, because it was the busiest period of the year. Their food consisted of sweet potatoes, millet, beans, kaoliang, chiao-mai, and green vegetables. The consumption of meat was meager, and that of chicken was very seldom.

As to the peasants in Central and Southern China, where rice is the staple food, it was revealed in a representative village in Chekiang province that "the poor peasants cannot afford to eat rice regularly. In the morning they usually eat mush made from corn meal; at noon and in the evening they have a mixture of rice and cracked corn which is too coarse to be sold. Despite such a poor and inexpensive diet the food item amounts to 47 per cent of the income."³

1. Malone & Taylor, The Study of Chinese Rural Economy, 1924, p.42.
2. Lee, Franklin C.H., Ting Hsien: A Social Survey, (In Chinese)
3. Tu Chi-yuan, A Miniature of Agricultural Decline in Shangyu, Chekiang, Chung-kuo Nung-Ts'un, vol. I, no. 6, 1935, Shanghai, See Agrarian China, p. 93.

Prof. Buck said that "nutrition is an important measure of living standards, since about two-thirds of the family budget is expended upon food."¹ But it is not too bold to presume that the word 'nutrition' is as unknown to the peasant as the radio is unheard by him. The problem of food is still a problem of hunger. In this connection we agree with Prof. Tawney, who said:

Exaggeration is easy. Privation is one thing, poverty to the point of wretchedness--la misère--another. A sturdy and self-reliant stock may grow in a stony soil. But, when due allowance has been made for the inevitable misconceptions, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that a large proportion of Chinese peasants are constantly on the brink of actual destitution.²

Let us now examine the purchasing power for clothing. Dr. Wu Ting-Fang, who was for many years the Minister plenipotentiary of the defunct Chinese Imperial Government at Washington, once said: "Add an inch to the shirttail of every Chinese and you will keep the cotton mills of the world busy for a year supplying the increased demand occasioned thereby." This would be true only if the Chinese farmer could afford the luxury of wearing a longer shirt. But the truth is that the amount spent on clothing by the farmer has long been reduced to

1. Buck, Land Utilization in China, p. 16.

2. Tawney, R.H., Land and Labour in China, p. 72.

the minimum. Coarse cotton-padded jackets are the work garments which are worn. It is not surprising to find in many a family that "one set of clothes was used all the year round, the padding being taken out for spring and the lining for the summer. Every scrap of rag was saved for mending and re-mending the clothing."¹ Generally, "clothing....is largely from one of the cheapest raw materials, cotton, nine-tenths of the work garments and three-fourths of the dress garments being of this material. It is a satisfactory material for summer wear; but for winter in the colder climates, the padded cotton garments are clumsy and apparently not entirely effective in providing the necessary warmth."² To be sure, the farmers know that wool affords greater protection in cold weather, but it seems so expensive that they do not take the trouble even to desire woolen clothes.

As for the Chinese farmer's house, it "is largely a place for shelter only and often is even inadequate for this. There is little about it to create the finer feelings usually associated with a home."³ A general description of the housing conditions of the farmers in China, was written by Prof. Buck, after he had made a study of 38,256 farm families during 1929-1933.

1. Chang Chiao-fu in the Rural Weekly Supplement of Tientsin I Shih Pao, 13th July, 1935. See Agrarian China, p. 203.
2. Buck, Land Utilization of China, p. 17.
3. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p. 401.

We quote:

Farm buildings including residences vary in size, in materials of construction, and in monetary value. They average over 1,600 cubic feet of space per farm when the height is measured to the eaves. The walls of one-half of such buildings are of tamped earth, or earth brick. Burnt brick is used in one-fourth of all the buildings. One-half of the buildings have tile roofs and one-fourth thatch roofs. Over seven-eighths of the floors are of earth. The interior and exterior walls are plastered in some sections and more commonly on the larger than smaller farms. Whitewashing the outside of buildings is common in the Yangtze Delta. Ceilings are rare and the rooms usually extend to the rafters. The value of these buildings is perhaps the best measure of their quality, averaging 580 Chinese currency per farm compared with an average value in the United States of U.S. currency \$2,169 in 1930--a ratio even greater than the difference in productive capacity. There may not be, however, quite so great a difference in the net welfare of the individual, although probably nearly so.

There are, on the average, 1.3 rooms per person but many of these rooms have the combined use of dwelling and housing of equipment, grain and livestock. Windows are few because of fear of thieves and in many places for superstitious reasons. The houses are poorly ventilated and poorly lighted, floors are often damp and not easily kept clean, the earth walls are insecure in sections subject to flood or heavy rains, and the thatched roofs are fire hazards.

These houses are rather scantily furnished with an average of 28 pieces of all kinds of furniture, such as beds, benches, stools, tables, chests, closets and sometimes chairs. Nearly four-sevenths of such furniture is unpainted and about one-fifth is rough and unplanned.¹

Again we must be on guard against generalization. We

1. Buck, Land Utilization in China, p. 17-18.

must not think that all farmers in China are being housed in houses as bad or as good as the average just described. The fact that the average farm building is like those just described, implies that some farmers are dwelling in houses even not as good as those.

It has been pointed out that "unlike the serf-peasant of imperial Russia or the depressed classes of India, the Chinese farmer is a free being. The lack of a strong central government has fostered his self-reliance and independence. Though poor, he is thrifty and industrious. Though unlettered, he is intelligent and an expert in intensive farming."¹ Then why is it they cannot have better dwellings? Why is it they cannot afford the luxury of a single woolen suit? Why is it they cannot talk about the nutritional value of their food? They probably know that poor housing, insufficient clothing, and lack of nutrition will cause much ill-health and inefficiency. The reason is simple, it is mainly because their income is too small. It is so small that in one county "farmers do not heat water for tea but drink it cold," and in another "farmers in order to save fuel cook their rice only once a day."² It is not surprising that their annual per capita expenditures for medical purposes are only 30 cents local currency.³ Nor is it

1. Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement, The Tinghsien Experiment, p. 3.
2. Quoted by Candliffe, J.B. in his book, China: Today, p. 43.
3. See The Ting Hsien Experiment, p. 4.

to be marveled at that so meagre a portion of income is being spent for 'advancement' which includes such important necessities as education, religion, recreation and social obligation.

Because of the smallness of income, farmers "find that life presents such a hard front that the struggle cripples intellectual and spiritual growth even as it does physical development. Healthy virile amusements....are conspicuous for their absence. Efficiency and intellectual alertness are at the minimum and nervous reactions are slow. There is no surplus energy because it is all used up in meeting the hard conditions which makes survival a difficult matter. Ignorance, over-population, congestion, low position of women, lack of sanitation, epidemics, and tremendous loss of 'potential ability',--this is the price they pay."¹ From such a palsied state of life, only a great catastrophe like the present world war can awaken them to the consciousness of their potential power. But such awakening will fade away, if no intense, widespread effort is made to eradicate this deadening factor of poverty. In other words, unless the purchasing power of the overwhelming majority of the population who live on the land is increased, considerably, all our dreams of a New China are bound to be disillusioned. In order to remove this paralysing effect, we must find out its causes. In the next chapter we shall try to analyze these causes.

1. Dittmer, C.G., An Estimate of the Standard of Living in China, Quarterly Journal of Economics, Nov. 1918. Quoted by Lamson, Social Pathology in China, p. 17.

CHAPTER III

SMALL FAMILY INCOME (Continued)

B. Some Underlying Causes

The problems of the Chinese rural people are interwoven. That the lack of their purchasing power is caused not only by economic but by social and cultural reasons as well is also very obvious. But since this problem of the lack of purchasing power is more or less an economic one, we shall first consider its economic causes, and leave the rest to be dealt with later.

Lack of purchasing power is due (1) to insufficiencies of land and equipment, (2) to natural handicaps, and (3) to the hindrances that are imposed upon the farmer by some one else. These divisions, of course, are arbitrary, and are made solely for the sake of convenience. Of the first group of causes, we may mention three: the smallness and fragmentariness of farms, the primitive nature of agricultural methods, and the meagreness of farming capital. Of the second group of causes, we may mention four: the nature of agricultural industry, the frequent occurrence of famines, the pressure of population, and the lack of transportation; of the third group, we mention four: the inadequacy of the land system, the usurious charge on interest, the heavy burden of taxation and the decline of village industries.

1. The Insufficiencies^k of Land and Equipment

Granted that the Chinese farmer is intelligent and industrious, in order to earn more, he must possess an adequate amount of land, he must use efficient methods and he must have enough to run his farming business.

(1) The smallness and fragmentariness of farms

In the previous chapter we have shown that the largest number of farms are the small and medium size which are 1.43 and 2.84 acres respectively. We have also found that the smaller the farm, the less is the farmer's income. Furthermore, the smaller the farm, the less efficient is the farmer's labour, and the less economical is the use of animal labour.¹ Hence, the dire need for more land is obviously one of the reasons why the majority (no less than 65 per cent)² of the rural population is poor.

However, if the fields of one farm were contiguous, the situation might not be so bad. But in China, as in India,³ the condition of the peasants is aggravated by land parcellation. An investigation was made in Paoing in 1930 regarding this aspect of farm management. It revealed that "the average family

1. See Buck, Land Utilization in China, pp. 274-276. "In terms of man-equivalent, the very large farms have three times the number on small farms." "Labour animals on very large farms work over two and one-half times as many crop acres per units as do labor animals on small farms."
2. Chen, Hen-seng, The Agrarian Problem in China, in Problems of the Pacific, 1933, p. 271.
3. Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, P.134-5.

cultivating 16.5 mow, works on 12 scattered plots, and these plots, on the average, are of two-and-a-half mow each."¹

Another survey made in Ting Hsien one year later recorded that "200 families in one big village farmed 1,552 plots. These plots are usually located about one mile from the peasants' houses. Of the 200 families, 26 constitute the mode, having 6 plots each, and the two worst have 20 plots each. The average size of all the plots investigated is 4.2 local mow. Sixty-nine per cent of the 1,552 plots are less than 5 mow each."²

Fragmentation of land presents many difficulties in the way of progress in agricultural development. It limits the size of fields and, therefore, the extent to which improved farm machinery may be used. Scattered fields are difficult to manage for crops must be protected from stray animals, from petty thieving and from trespassing. Few fences are found in China because of this fragmentation. Irrigation is extremely difficult, especially from private wells or other private water supply, because irrigation channels must extend long distances past neighbors' fields. Some land is largely wasted in strips between the different parcels.³

The Chinese farmer, who works on the tiny patches of land separated by paths, is in a way doing a kind of gardening rather than farming as farming is understood in America. Although

1. Sun Shao-tsun, The Land Problem of Modern China, Education and the Mass, vol. VIII, no. 3, 28th Nov. 1936, Wushh. See Agrarian China, p. 62.
2. Chen, Han-seng, loc. cit. p. 278.
3. Buck, Land Utilization in China, p. 185.

his technical expertness is greatly admired by some authors,¹ his triumphs are won by high labor cost, as well as by social and economic waste.

Dragoni, a technical expert of the League of Nations, reporting his findings on agriculture in China, says: "In other countries large, medium-sized, and small agricultural enterprises are often found in the same region. ... often very able technicians are employed to direct the farm business, and they apply the most perfected methods to secure maximum results. The small farmers see these results, and try to imitate them so far as convenient for their special conditions. In such a way technical progress is continually spreading. In China, nothing of this kind will happen, because there are no farms sufficiently large to permit the employment of a technical staff." Thus this question of small and fragmentary farms leads us to examine what sort of methods the Chinese farmers are practising.

(2) The Primitive Nature of Agricultural Methods

One of the most conspicuous characteristics of Chinese farming is the tremendous amount of human labor that is utilized. From the tilling of the land through fertilizing, seeding, weeding, harvesting, even to transportation, almost every step of

1. King, F.H., Farmers of Forty Centuries.

the production of food is done by human labour. From the dawn of the day, till the setting of the sun, it seems that the entire force of able-bodied persons, men, women, and sometimes children, is in one way or another employed during the busy season. But the compensation for this excessive use of human labor is pitifully small. It was found that "the man-equivalent¹ required to grow one acre of wheat in China is 26 days, compared with 1.2 days in the United States; one acre of cotton in China 53 days compared with 14 days in the U.S.; one acre of corn in China 23 days compared with 2.5 days in the United States."² It was estimated by O.E. Baker that farmers in the United States use ten times as much power per man as the Chinese farmer has at his disposal.³ On the other hand, a huge amount of potential labour is not utilized, or rather is wasted. It was revealed that "for the seven principal crops, rice, wheat, kaoliang, millet, corn, soybean, and cotton, more than four-fifths of the year's work, 83.7 per cent, is concentrated in the six months from May to October, the remaining 16.3 per cent of the year's work being left to the other half of the year from November to

1. Man-equivalent measures the number of workers on the farm in terms of the equivalent of one man working for a period of twelve months.
2. Buck, Land Utilization in China, p. 14.
3. Baker, Agriculture and the Future of China, Foreign Affairs, April 1928.

April."¹ No wonder then that such a large part of the Chinese population are producers of food, yet the majority of them are only able to eke out a bare subsistence, whereas in the United States, as has been pointed out by J. Arnold, "only thirty-five per cent of the population is rated as agricultural; yet its masses are far better fed than are the Chinese, and have a vastly greater surplus for export."² It must be remembered that regardless of how intensively the land can be cultivated through the use of cheap labour, the output per worker is invariably low. And this is the factor that determines the purchasing power of the cultivators of the land.

Furthermore, because labour is cheap, it constitutes an insurmountable difficulty for the introduction of labor saving devices. It competes keenly with other potential sources of power even the planned use of animal labor, not to mention the use of expensive machinery. Prof. Buck says: "while a man works an average of about 119 ten-hour days a year on productive enterprises, an animal works only about 63 ten-hour days, and it is a common sight to see a man toiling in the sun while his beast lies resting in the shade of a tree."³ However, we must

1. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, pp. 238-44. Rural Industries in China. Also see Fong, H.D., Problems of the Pacific, 1933, p.302.
2. Annals of the American Academy of Pol. & Soc. Science, China: vol. 125, 1930, p. 145.
3. Ibid., p. 112.

not allow ourselves to be misled by this word 'cheap'. That labour is cheap in the sense that the wage paid to the labourer is low, is one thing. The wage paid for such cheap labour, in proportion to what has been produced is another thing. Prof. Buck says: "These wages make up a total of 63.5 per cent of total farm expenses, exclusive of the operator's own labor."¹ Therefore, even though farm labour in China is cheap, it is costly when the meagreness of produce each farm family is getting is considered.

The lack of farm machinery for Chinese farming is another glaring handicap. "All agricultural implements are made by local carpenters and blacksmiths. The plows are small and inefficient and are of wood, except for a small iron tip which does not dig deeply into the soil."² Because of the abundant supply of cheap labour, the parcellation of the land, and the dearth of credit, very little improvement has been made in the sharpening of tools. Moreover, farmers are so used to their traditional ways of farming, that they are slow to make adaptations as quickly as situations demand. As a result of an extensive study covering 449 farms in 150 localities, in 143

1. Annals of the American Academy of Pol. & Soc. Science, China: vol. 125, 1930, p. 112.
2. Cressey, George B., China's Geographic Foundations, A Survey of the Land and Its People, p. 170.

hsien of 22 provinces, made during the period from 1929 to 1933, it was discovered that large farms averaged 27 pieces of farm equipment while small farms averaged only 10. Most of these were unplanned or even rough finished.¹ Prof. Tawney was right when he commented that "It has become almost a convention to dwell on the intensiveness of cultivation in China; but the word is ambiguous. Chinese agriculture is intensive in its use of labor, un-intensive in the inadequacy of the equipment by which labour is aided, and in its failure to make use of the results of science."² Perhaps we may even agree with Arnold, the keen observant Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy in China, who once said: "China is not over-populated. With the instrumentalities of a modern economic society, it could produce enough to feed its present population well and allow a substantial surplus for export."³

One more characteristic of Chinese farming is the method of maintaining soil fertility. It has been said that "the greatest achievement of the Chinese farmer has been the maintenance of the fertility of the soil for four thousand years under a constant burden of intensive production. ...The secret of this

1. Buck, Land Utilization in China, p. 457.
2. Tawney, R.H., Land and Labour in China, p. 49.
3. Annals: China, loc. cit., p. 145.

success is largely in the Chinese method of fertilization, achieved entirely without the aid of chemical fertilizers. The waste of the human body and the wastes of fuel are, after careful preparation taking several months, put back in the soil as manure."¹ Until now, "no very significant change has taken place in fertilizing practice except that commercial fertilizers have appeared."² But "night soil" is a carrier of various intestinal diseases. Prof. Buck points out that "China can ill afford to use night soil unless it can be made sanitary. From the economic viewpoint, it would probably be cheaper to throw away night soil than to incur the losses concurrent with ill-health which result from its use."³ Although Prof. Buck's opinion is subject to doubt, one thing is clear, that is, because of lack of capital and the prohibitive cost of commercial fertilizers the Chinese farmer is not making use of modern scientific inventions that have been proven good for the soil through chemical and biological research, and have been extensively applied in other countries. This points to still another characteristic of Chinese farming.

The last point that deserves our attention is the lack of scientific knowledge. The Chinese farmer tends to cling to

1. Mallory, Walter H., China: Land of Famine, p. 25-26.
2. Buck, Land Utilization in China, p. 265.
3. Ibid., p. 265.

old methods. The farmers in China with the exception of the few who have been influenced by the few experimental stations, are not being benefited by what the advance of science has placed at their service in the form of plant and animal biology, soil chemistry and implements. There is good reason to believe that in spite of the almost hallowed attitude of the farmer toward the land, the soil is being impoverished. This fact is perhaps "reflected in the comparatively low rates of yield for most crops. These are all the more significant because nowhere else is so much labor applied to a given area. The one crop in which this effort gives a really high yield is rice, in which the output per acre is approximately 50 per cent greater than it is in the United States. Japan, however, has a yield greater than China's by 20 per cent. In other products Chinese yields are lower than in most countries. Wheat, for example, averages 9.7 quitals per hectare as against a world average of 10.3 and Denmark's average of 33.1. In corn the Chinese average yield is 7.5 as against 16.3 for the United States; in cotton 1.3 as against 2.0 for the United States and 4.5 for Egypt."¹

These yields can undoubtedly be increased by the use of better seeds, more fertilizer, and the utilization of labor

1. Conliffe, J.B., China Today: Economic, pp. 40-41.

now idle. With scientific methods, perhaps, waste land can be reclaimed, eroded soil rebuilt, crop insects and plant diseases kept under control, new systems of drainage and irrigation installed, and animal husbandry developed. But unless the peasants are educated enough to desire the use of scientific methods, they are destined to keep on with a lower standard of existence.

(3) The Meagerness of Capital for Farming.

Contrary to the common belief that the Chinese farmer is 'self-sufficing', he sells 54 per cent of all his crops for cash. This denotes a fairly commercialized agriculture and shows also that he has needs requiring ready cash.¹ But how much cash has a peasant family to invest as capital? This is an important question. The following adage may picture the popular opinion regarding this.

"To feed a family of five
A farmer must work like an animal,
But to feed a family of six,
Even so a flogged animal will not work."

This adage from Tsingyuan, Shansi, not only indicates that "most Chinese rural families have about as many members as the farm could support",² but also calls attention to the fact that all they can earn is barely enough to keep themselves alive.

1. Annals, China: loc. cit., p. 111.

2. Buck, Land Utilization in China, p. 371.

If we take the farmer's capital as a whole, and try to analyze its distribution, we find that three-fourths is invested in land, and 92 per cent in all real estate (land, trees, and buildings). Investment in livestock, farm equipment, and supplies is very small. The proportions are as follows:

Percentage distribution of farm capital per farm¹
(2866 farms, 17 localities, seven provinces) 1921-25

<u>Items</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Land	77.7
Buildings	14.1
Livestock	3.7
Farm equipment	2.6
Supplies	1.9
	<hr/> 100.00

This table shows that what the average farm operator has as capital to be invested in his business is almost entirely tied up in his tiny piece of cultivable land, and his unattractive buildings. Very little is left for tools, fertilizer, seeds, livestock and other supplies. How then can he be expected to use scientific fertilizer and expensive machinery?

Studies made in the West show that "farmers have a stronger sense of the future than the usual city dweller and consequently save and invest more of their income."² It would not be wrong to assume that this is also true of the Chinese

1. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p. 66.

2. Sorokin & Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, p. 74.

farmer, because his thrift is rarely excelled. However, despite his willingness to practice economy and diligence, the Chinese farmer can hardly have more money for investment than he has already been investing. In fact, because of his scanty income earned with cheap labor working on the tiny farm, he can hardly clear off his debts. Approximately, two out of every five farmers in China are in debt, while only one of the five has any saving.¹ Moreover, of the debts they contract only about one-fourth are for productive purposes. Throughout the country, numerous instances have been discovered by social research students where farm owners had to surrender the possession of their land to the money lenders and thus became tenants on their own land, and tenants had to sell their crops even before they were harvested. In view of such a dearth of credit, it is futile to encourage farmers to invest more; and if the farmer is unable to invest more in his business, his economic status will never be raised higher than it is now.

2. The Natural Handicaps of the Farmer

So far we have seen that the Chinese farmer is incapable of improving his lot because he does not possess sufficient land whereby he may produce more; because he does not use

1. Buck, Land Utilization in China, pp. 18, 19 & p. 461 ff.

adequate tools with which he may work more efficiently; and because he does not have at his disposal enough capital which he may invest in his farm business. But inadequate equipment is not the only retarding influence that the poor farmer has to endure. The Chinese farmer is also suffering from natural handicaps for whose existence he is not personally responsible, and the removal of which he is not capable. We shall discuss four of these handicaps: the nature of the agricultural industry, the frequent occurrence of famine, the pressure of population, and the lack of transportation.

(1) The Nature of Agricultural Industry

Since agriculture is an industry, it is in many ways like urban industries. It requires capital, labor, and managerial ability, and it has to face the problems of supply and demand. In other ways, agriculture as an industry is unlike urban industries. It is more a way of life than a technique for making a living. It must be decentralized while Modern industry calls for concentration. Because the farmer is engaged in the agricultural industry, he is confronted with many natural limitations. In the first place, the success of the farmer does not depend on the human factor alone. He is a collaborator with Nature, or rather Nature is his collaborator. No matter how carefully he plans, how industriously he attends to his job, if his collaborator,

Nature, does not respond with enough rain or sunshine, he is helpless. He must work according to the schedule fixed by Nature. If he misses the time for seeding, he has no harvest. If he does not harvest at the proper time, he may lose the fruits of his labor. As weather is subject to sudden changes, his success or failure cannot be accurately foretold.

Second, the law of diminishing returns applies to the agricultural industry as well as to any other line of industry. There is a limitation as to the amount a certain piece of land can produce. The increase in production rises to a certain point; beyond this, the cost of production will rise, but the products do not increase regardless of how much more labor and capital a farmer can afford to put into it.

Third, the turnover in farming is slow. There is no short cut by which the growth of crops can be hastened. A large portion of his capital is tied up in the land, and once the process of cultivation has begun the farmer has to put his labour into it even if for the current year a bad harvest is predicated, because he cannot very well reduce his labor.

And last, in the case of marginal land, the farmer finds himself in difficulty. He cannot afford to give up his land, he is always losing.

Naturally, all of these problems are not peculiar or unique to Chinese farmers, but because of the other factors in-

volved, some of which have already been discussed and others which will be considered presently, they differ from those in other countries in the degree of seriousness. For example, if a farmer in America is unable to plant his crops, he might find a job as an unskilled labourer in a nearby industrial plant, but if a farmer in China fails to plant, there is no industry where he may find work. When crops fail in other countries the government immediately mobilizes its transportation facilities to send in food and help the people in other ways. But in China, as has been experienced in the past, the victims have had to wait until the situation became so serious that the charity organizations of other countries had to appeal to their people for relief funds. Even then, relief work was hampered due to the lack of transportation. An endless number of illustrations can be given to show these differences. But suffice it to say that because of other factors involved, the Chinese farmer is suffering more from natural forces affecting agriculture as an industry than are his brothers in other countries.

(2) The Frequent Occurrence of Famines

China has been called the 'Land of Famine'.¹ Famine is the feature of Chinese economic life of which the West hears most. It is an evil so appalling that all other issues seem, at first

1. Mallory, Walter H., China: Land of Famine, American Geographical Society, 1928.

sight, trivial. If famine means a shortage of food on a scale sufficient to cause widespread starvation, then there are parts of the country from which famine is rarely absent. There are districts in which the position of the rural population is that of a man standing permanently up to the neck in water, so that even a ripple is sufficient to drown him.¹ The fact that the China International Famine Relief Commission has been set up more or less as a permanent organization with branch offices in capitals of many provinces and in many localities shows the extensiveness of the chronic famine situation, and the deeply rooted nature of the problem. To solve this problem seems to be an endless task. The causes of famines include economic, social, and political factors as well as natural forces. According to a survey made by Prof. Buck during the period from 1904-1929 which covered 160 localities in 21 provinces, the chief direct causes of famines are drought and floods. Water, too much or too little, is the greatest factor affecting the precariousness of farming in China. Other causes such as insects, war, wind and frost averaged less than one per hsien.

As to the effects of famines, it was estimated that 24 per cent of the population in the affected area were reduced to eating bark and grass, 13 per cent emigrated, and five per cent

1. Tawney, R.H., Land and Labour in China, pp. 75-77.

starved.¹ Although no one is able to ascertain to what extent the poverty of the peasants is due to chronic famines, "banditry, poor food, and the tearing down of buildings to sell the wood for food were plain evidences of a temporarily declining standard during the famine period."² Also it goes without saying that during the famine period, the poor farm families are likely to incur a great loss in their work animals, and may even sell their land holdings, which results in the acceleration of land concentration in the hands of a few big landlords, and in the reduction of the earning power of the mass of the farm population.³

(3) The Pressure of Population

Mallory, asserts in his work China, Land of Famine, that "it is overpopulation that constitutes the fundamental reason for the recent famines in China."⁴ Indeed, pressure of population has been considered by many of China's friends as her basic problem, as we have already pointed out in Chapter II. In the United

1. Cf. Buck, Land Utilization in China, pp. 125-126.

2. Ibid., p. 461.

3. Cf. Chen, Han-seng, Document II, Problems of the Pacific, 1933, pp. 271-298.

4. Mallory, China, Land of Famine, p. 191.

States, the birth rate of the farm population is highest in the poorest counties. "Given 30 years with no outward migration, the population of these poorer counties would double in number."¹ Although an accurate knowledge of the actual rate of increase in the Chinese farm population is lacking, it is claimed that Malthus' theory of population has been confirmed in China.² Assuming that the birth rate of the farm population in China is as high as that of the farm people in America, this means that by 1975, the Chinese population will have increased by at least three hundred millions. As it is now, the teeming millions who inhabit clustered villages with their farm lands divided and subdivided, are constantly facing poverty. This population problem will certainly become more and more acute as the years go by, if no proper measure is taken to check its growth.

(4) The Lack of Transportation

Aside from the three factors which we have just described as natural handicaps of the farmer, there is one more that should be mentioned. This is the lack of transportation. It is a great

1. Report of the Administrator of the Farm Security Administration, (1940) p. 1.
2. Malthus' theory of population declared that 'subsistence increases in arithmetical ratio, while population bounds forward in geometrical ratio.' See China: Land of Famine p. 15, et seq.

obstacle keeping him from raising the economic level, and its removal is far beyond his power. In America, the following slogan was once adopted, "get the farmers out of the mud". Since then miles and miles of country roads have been built at public expense. If this same slogan were shouted in China, even ten times louder, it would not carry any immediate benefit to the Chinese farmer. This is because of the fact that not only are farmers isolated from distant railways and highways, but the whole nation has been handicapped due to the lack of transportation.

Since China is a land of great distances, the shortage of transportation facilities constitutes a notorious drawback to her development as a modern state. As the commercial attaché of the American Embassy has pointed out, "Tens of millions of people in the age-old populated sections of China are not only cut off from trade relations with other regions of their own country but have not yet been brought into commercial contact with the outside world, mainly because of lack of railways."¹ Up to the invasion of Manchuria by Japan in September 1931, China had about 14,000 kilometers of railroads including Manchuria. They were mostly located in North China and along the coast.² Approxi-

1. Arnold, Juliana Herbert, Some Bigger Issues in China's Problems, Shanghai, The Commercial Press Ltd. 1928, p. 3.
2. China after Five Years of War, p. 143.

mately three-quarters of the lines then existing were built between 1885 and 1915.¹ Since the outbreak of the war, due to the impending necessity of the emergency, and to the fighting morale of the nation, many new railroad lines have been completed in the West and Southwest provinces, but there has been a temporary loss in the eastern and northern coastal provinces. This building of new railways has been accomplished under enormously difficult conditions and with meager means.

The highways in China are similar to railways. There was no nationwide planning until the present war spurred and promoted their construction. Among the important newly added constructions is the Yunnan-Burma Highway, commonly known as the Burma road, covering a distance of 960 kilometers.² Construction of highways in China even before the war were mostly based on considerations of political and strategic importance. The reason for their construction since the war is obvious. We quote from the report of a British Commercial Counsellor:

Military and strategic, rather than economic, reasons have prompted most of this (roads) development.... Undertaken often with the assistance of forced labor (the corvee system has been instituted in sixteen provinces) built on land which has been in many cases confiscated from the peasant owners without compensation and along routes already served by railways or waterways, their use forbidden, in some cases,

1. Tawney, Land and Labor in China, p. 88.
2. China After Five Years of War, p. 149.

to barrows and carts carrying produce, and allowed only to motorbus companies which have purchased a monopoly, there is no doubt that the immediate result of their construction has been to place ¹ further burdens on local industry and agriculture.

Not only are there few railways and highways, but the vehicles and methods of transportation are primitive. For rural areas, transportation is chiefly the 'poor human beast of burden'. The following excerpt from the report of the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry on Agriculture and Rural Life gives us a general idea of how this system is working.

The trading town and the villages are connected by paths in southern and central China, and by cart roads in northern China. The principal paths of southern and central China are paved with flag-stones, so that one may walk for hundreds of miles on paved paths. The mode of transportation over the paths of southern China is largely by carrying loads swung at each end of a bamboo pole which rests on the shoulder of the carrier, or in the case of heavier loads swung from the centre of a bamboo pole, with a man at each end of the pole. In central China, the movement of traffic over these paths is more largely by wheelbarrow or pack animal. In northern China it is common to see an ox or a horse or a mule between shafts of the cart and a donkey hitched on in the lead. Inter-village water transportation on the river, creeks and canals is important in parts of southern and central China.²

As a result of this system, the cost of transportation is very high. It was said that "the average rate over the

1. Taylor, George E., The Reconstruction Movement in China, Document V. of Problems of the Pacific, 1936, p. 396.
2. Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, Regional Reports of the Commission of Appraisal, China, p. 394.

American railway is one and one-tenth cents (gold) per ton per mile. The poor human beast of burden in China is about fifteen times as costly as the luxurious railway train in America."¹ But the Chinese farmer is obliged to resort to this more costly means of transportation. The difference in costs of the various kinds of transportation methods is shown as follows:

Transportation in the North China Plain²

<u>Type of Transportation</u>	<u>Average load</u>	<u>Average mileage per day</u>	<u>Average cost per ton mile in Chinese dollars</u>
Railways			0.015
Junks	40 to 100 tons	25-35	0.036
Carts	1 ton	25-30	0.12
Pack mules	250 to 300 lb.	25	0.298
Wheelbarrows	700 lb.	20	0.151
Coolie carriers	180 lb.	20	0.313

Because of the lack of roads and the high cost of transportation the Chinese farmer is helplessly hampered in his economic life. This has been conspicuously evident in times of famine. A failure of one crop means a famine in the local district. The individual cannot be rescued by his neighbors because all the people in the same area suffer alike. They possess no food reserves for emergencies. The district cannot be rescued by the nation because available means of trans-

1. Arnold, op. cit., p. 2.

2. Data from Julian Arnold, "China, A Commercial and Industrial Handbook, p. 533. Quoted by Cressey, G.B., China's Geographic Foundations, p. 179.

portation do not permit the movement of food in sufficient quantities.

But the most deadening effect of the lack of transportation is not limited to times of emergency. It is prominent also in normal times. As we have already pointed out in the previous pages the Chinese farm family is not a self-sufficient unit. It has to sell produce amounting to 53 per cent of its total production.¹ And it has to buy many things both for the farm and for home consumption. Because of the limitations of communication the farmer is not in a position to choose his markets, and is liable to be bound hand and foot by the local dealers. Also "the specialization of different regions to different types of farming, with the economies which it offers, is impracticable as long as every district must grow its own supplies of food."² When specialization is practiced where the dealers of marketing processes are not from local organizations, as in the case of tobacco marketing in Eastern Shantung, the situation is worse than otherwise. In order to help us visualize how the Chinese farmers were specializing and were being exploited by modern big business concerns partly because there were no good roads and no modern means of transportation, the following illustration is given.

1. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p. 196.
2. Tawney, Land and Labor in China, p. 88.

This is a story regarding the peasants in Eastern Shantung who were forced to cultivate tobacco in spite of their poverty because 'tobacco planting was the only way to obtain seed and loans.'

The growth of tobacco from seedling to harvest takes about ninety days, from May to the middle of August. After harvesting, the leaves are baked in an underground house kept at definite temperature. This is a bare house of about eight feet square, without light. It is thickly hung with tobacco leaves which are usually looked after by a woman, who stays there throughout the baking process... She has to watch the leaves for about a week, being most of the time on her feet, and all the time in the hot, moist atmosphere. When baking is finished, the leaves are taken out to be sorted according to their lustre and each leaf is inspected before tying them in bunches of five or six. All this involves a great deal of labour. More than ten days are necessary for one person to handle the leaves from one mow.

During the collection season, long processions of wheelbarrows and carts drawn by oxen or horses move slowly along the winding, bumpy and dusty roads. The transportation of tobacco leaves to the market is made more difficult by the wind which frequently rises, carrying with it the thick, yellow dust which makes the way hard to find. At other times, sudden storms reduced the roads to thick mud which makes it hard for wheels to move, and huge pools form through which the peasants have to wade. To cover distances of as much as thirty miles over such roads is no mean feat, and considering further the food and other accommodations that have to be found during the journey, carrying the tobacco leaves to the market becomes a large item of cost to the producers themselves. The significance of the price received for the leaves therefore, has to be weighed against the cost of production and transportation combined, and even the slightest difference in that price arouses in the peasant a surging wave of emotion carrying with it all the vivid reflections of his physical toil and suffering.

Arriving at the leaf collection ground, the peasants have to line up in one of the many queues, some of which are as long as two-thirds of a mile. Confusion seems unavoidable and the police beat them into line with thonged whips. Exposed to hunger and cold they have to wait with utmost patience, and those standing at the ends of the queues often have to wait for twenty-four hours and even then are unable to push through the crowd to the doors. Every year there are tragic incidents; some get trampled down by the crowd, some are fatally injured, being rammed by the shafts of the carts, and occasionally boys who are too young to hold their own in the crowd get smothered.

The collection house resembles a big barn with rows of wooden counters covered with bamboo stretchers upon which the peasants have to dump their leaves. Being afraid that their leaves will dry up and lose their lustre in the long interval before the inspector comes round, the peasants often take off their coats, in spite of the cold, and use them to cover the leaves. They stand there with outstretched necks and tense expressions, eagerly waiting the inspector who, in their minds, is the pronouncer of the final verdict of fortune or doom for the following twelve months. When the inspector finally arrives he quickly classifies the leaves by inspecting a few bunches, but if the peasant should hesitate to sell any one grade or any one stretcherful, all his leaves will be refused. Sometimes, when the inspector finds several bunches of lower grade leaves among these of a higher grade, he will confiscate the leaves as a warning. Should the peasant make any verbal protest, he gets roughly handled, and should he resist this actively, the police are immediately called in to arrest him on charges of theft or disturbance of the peace. The peasant is invariably blamed for starting any such affair and in addition to possible fine and imprisonment he is severely cautioned at the time of release.¹

To be sure, since the war, new railways have been built in west China, and more highways have been constructed. Even in

1. Hsu Yung-sui, Tobacco Marketing in Eastern Shantung, Sun Pao Weekly Supplement, vol. II, no. 14, 11th April 1937, Shanghai, See Agrarian China, pp. 171-175.

the occupied areas, the invaders have added many trunk lines for military purposes and of course with commandeered labor. When the war is over, all these roads will remain. But in comparison with the needs of the people, this is just a beginning. A remark was made that "if China were to construct roads continuously at the rate, not of 1,000 miles, but of 10,000 miles a year, she would possess, at the end of 180 years, the same mileage as the United Kingdom possesses today, with one-tenth of her population and one-fortieth of her area."¹ What a gigantic task lies ahead of the New China! But until the roads and vehicles for transportation have been considerably improved, the peasants will be kept in a disadvantaged position.

3. The Human Hindrances Imposed on the Farmer

Not only is the farmer suffering from his own economic inability, due to lack of credit, primitive methods of production, and natural handicaps such as the lack of good roads, but he is also being exploited by big business whose manipulations have reduced him to a miserable condition. In other words, the farmer is also suffering from hindrances that are imposed upon him by other people, either deliberately or unconsciously. We shall

1. Tawney, Land and Labor in China, p. 87.

discuss four of these hindrances: the inadequacy of the land system, the usurious charge for interest, the heavy burden of taxation, and the decline of village industries.

(1) The Inadequacy of the Land System

In Chapter II, we have pointed out that for the reconstruction of rural life in China, there is one school of thought which asserts that the fundamental problem of rural life today is the unequal distribution of land. Approximately one-third of the people own over two-thirds of the land, while two-thirds of people own only less than one-third of land which they till. These two-thirds are either poor peasants or agricultural labourers. Furthermore, because of famines, political disorders, fluctuations in prices, land concentration has been accelerated even during the present war, except in North China where the cultivated land which formerly belonged to the Quislings of the puppet governments has been distributed among real farmers.

We have also indicated that "those who till the land should have the land" as an accepted policy of the government. Landlordism and government bureaucracy are two aspects of the same thing. Even though many promises of reform have been made, and laws governing land registration, land utilization, and land taxes have been enacted by the Legislative body of the Government¹ these promises have not yet been kept nor the laws

1. Cf. Wu Shang-yin, Land Problem and Land Law, (In Chinese) Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1935.

enforced. It is highly questionable whether these empty promises and paper plans (though very well conceived and commendably exhaustive) will ever be carried out, if no radical change is made in the government personnel.¹

Now, our question is, what does the inadequacy of the existing land system mean to the majority of farmers? This question can be discussed from two angles. First, looking at it from the standpoint of the tenant, if a tenant operator cannot own the land which he tills, he has to work very hard on his tiny farm because he has to support his own family as well as pay the rent which goes to his landlord. It is true the landlord is responsible for the land tax, but usually he only needs a portion of the rent to pay this tax. That means, if the operator could own the land he tills, he would not have to pay in tax as much as he pays in rent. The higher the tax, the higher is the rent. The landlord will always see to it that he does not own land without profit.

Moreover, if the operator cannot own the land he tills, he is always insecure. He has neither the desire nor the extra

1. For example, in Kaingsi, "after the expulsion of the communists, the government was strongly urged by its expert advisers to effect radical changes in the system of land tenure, but the opportunity was not taken." See Document V, Problems of the Pacific, 1936, p. 391.

income to improve the farm. Since the more he earns from the farm, the more will be taken away from him in rent, there is no incentive for him to work harder, even if he could. His productivity can scarcely be increased above that which is required for the bare necessities of life. There is here a vicious circle. Because the operator is poor, he cannot have land of his own; because he cannot own land, he will always remain poor or become even poorer.

Second, looking at it from the owner's side, so long as the government permits the owner to dispose of his land as he pleases, the farm may be divided and subdivided among his offspring until it is too small to be profitable. The tendency is to increase the number of absentee landlords. When absenteeism is common, the land becomes a commodity to be sold and resold. In other words, land becomes commercialized. Furthermore, the relation between the absentee owners and their land becomes purely financial. They may not know where their land is, what is being raised on it, nor do they care who is paying the rent. The entire business of collecting the rent is entrusted to rent-collecting agents.¹ When, and where, the personal contact between the tenant and the landlord is absent, the policies of

1. Cf. Fei, Hsiao-Tung, Peasant Life in China, pp. 181-181.

the rent collecting agencies will very likely be guided by the desire to get as much as possible out of the tenants. Thus the tenants who are usually less educated, and who have less bargaining power, become the victims of various kinds of maltreatment by those who do not hesitate to "squeeze" and to deceive them. This is frequently done with the connivance of, and the help from, a corrupt officialdom.

(2) The Usurious Charge for Interest

When discussing the economic inability of the farmer, we showed that he is terribly in need of capital. But according to Prof. Buck only about one-quarter of the credit obtained by the farmers is for productive purposes. Farm credits is largely consumption credit for food and for special occasions such as birthdays, weddings and funerals. The credit for productive purposes such as buying fertilizer, implements, animals and sometimes seed is obtained largely as short term credit. Long-term credit for buying land is unusual.¹ Why this is so is quite obvious. It is because farmers cannot afford to pay the high cost of credit. For a Chinese farmer to borrow money is something like attempting to quench one's thirst by drinking poisoned wine. Prof. Tawney was right in saying that "next to

1. Cf. Buck, Land Utilization in China, p. 461.

drought, inability to meet the claims of the money-lender is stated in parts of the country, to be the principal cause of the ruin of peasant families."¹ Therefore, unless a farmer is compelled by circumstances, or unless no relatives or friends can be called upon, he generally shuns the money-lenders. This is why borrowing for productive purposes is so rare.

Unfortunately, however, very few poor peasants have rich relatives, and most of them therefore must resort to borrowing from loan sharks to meet their urgent needs. Usury was rampant in the past and continues to be one of the scourges of rural China today. Its dimensions are such that among the poorer peasants, permanent indebtedness is the rule rather than the exception.² In some districts almost three-quarters of the population are in debt.³ While it is beyond the scope of the present study to describe the various ways of usurious practice, it may be pointed out that usury is not limited to lending money only. There are two types of usurers, those who loan in cash, and those who loan in kind. The significance of the latter to the peasants is just as great as the cash loans, if not greater. In Szechuan,

1. Tawney, Land and Labor in China, p. 63.

2. Ibid., p. 62.

3. Institute of Pacific Relations, Agrarian China, p. xv.

for example, there are at least four varieties of usury in kind. The commonest variety is that of loaning grain to the peasants. One picul of grain loaned during April may be repaid as high as two piculs in August. This is an interest rate of 300 per cent per annum. The second variety is to rent implements to the farmers. A farmer who borrows is required to pay according to the value of the implements, which, in the case of ploughs, for instance, is taken to be as much as 10 to 20 cents per day. The third variety is the renting of agricultural animals, which is closely parallel to the second. During the spring ploughing season, a buffalo is rented at \$2 to \$3 a day. In addition to this rent, the renter is expected to furnish about ten sheaves of rice straw per day for the buffalo and meals for the attendant who is always sent with the buffalo to see that it is not overworked. The fourth variety takes the form of ceding to the usurer a portion of the unharvested field or selling the green crops to the usurer in advance. The field which is handed over to the usurer for harvest always yields a crop with a value several times surpassing the combined interest and principal of the loan. The amount of land ceded to the usurer for harvesting is calculated on the basis of the probable crop yield together with the lowest grain price expected in the harvest season. On the other hand, the loan given to the peasant, which in most cases

takes the form of grain, is based upon the highest price of grain before the harvest. "This scissor-like operation represents the highest form of usurious interest rate conceivable."¹

If a peasant in the village wishes to borrow money from the professional money-lender in the town, the interest is invariably very high. Once a farmer contracts a loan from the money lender, he very likely begins to descend the agricultural ladder instead of climbing up. Here is a story that has been repeatedly enacted by peasants in the Yangtze Valley:

A person who finds himself unable to pay his land tax, for instance, and is not prepared to spend the whole winter in prison, has to borrow money. The usurer's door is open to him. The money from the usurer is expressed in terms of an amount of mulberry leaves. At the time of the transaction, there are no mulberry leaves at all and a market price does not exist. The price is arbitrarily set at 70 cents per picul. For instance, a loan of 7 dollars will be regarded as a loan of 10 piculs of mulberry leaves. The term of the loan expires at Ching Ming (April 5th), and it must be repaid not later than Ku Yu (April 20). The debtor has to pay an amount of money according to the market price of mulberry leaves, which at that time is about 3 dollars per picul. Thus a loan of 7 dollars or 10 piculs of mulberry leaves, concluded in October, yields a return of 30 dollars to the creditor in April. During these five months, the debtor is paying an interest of 65 per cent. per month. This system of money-lending is called "living money of mulberry leaves."

At the time of Ching Ming the people are just starting their silk industry. This is a financially vulnerable period in the village. Persons who were unable to pay their rent in the winter are not likely to be able to pay the amount back to the creditor.

1. Lee Kuo-ch'un, Village Usury in Szechwan, Chung-Kuo Nung-Ts'un, vol. II, no. II, November 1936, Shanghai. See Agrarian China, pp. 193-199.

In the previous five months, they have been engaged on no major productive enterprise, except trade ventures. In these circumstances, the debtor may ask the creditor to renew the loan in terms of rice. This process is called "changing to rice". The price of rice is counted, irrespective of the market, at 5 dollars per 3 bushels. The term is extended to next October. Repayment of the rice, which is about 7 dollars per 3 bushels. The person who borrowed 7 dollars in one October will thus repay 48 dollars in the next October. The rate of interest is thus about 53 per cent per month on the average.

If the debtor is still unable to clear up his debt, no prolongation of the term will be allowed. The debtor must settle by handing the legal title of his land to the creditor. In other words, he will transfer the right of ownership of the subsoil of the land to the creditor. The price of the land is counted as 30 dollars per mow. From then on, he is no longer a debtor but a permanent tenant. Instead of paying interest, he will pay an annual rent.¹

The above picture was given by an field-worker who gathered his evidence on the spot. But it may not be universal. What is universal is this: ^{the rich} peasant families bear the smallest portion of the burden of loans with fixed interest rates while the poor peasantry shoulder the heaviest portion. For instance, in central Honan the highest annual interest rates (over 50 per cent) prevail, but the rich peasant families there do not seem to contract loans of any kind. In northern Anhwei the highest interest rate per annum is 40 to 50 per cent, but only

1. Fei, Hsiao-tung, Peasant Life in China, pp. 277-278.

88 per cent of the loans contracted by the rich peasant families bear such an interest, while more than 92 per cent of the loans contracted by the middle and poor peasants bear this rate. In eastern Shantung, the highest interest rates reach 30 to 40 per cent per annum, but these rates affect only 22 per cent of the loans made by the rich peasants, whereas 61 per cent of the middle class peasant loans, and 77 per cent of those contracted by the poor peasant families are affected. The hired labourers fare worst. They cannot receive loans of any considerable size, nevertheless they invariably have to pay the highest interest rates. Usury is therefore one of the most effective agents in furthering the process of class differentiation in the villages.¹

In some places, rich peasant families are in fear that they will not be able to secure an adequate number of people to work in the fields during the busy season, so they contract field work with poor peasants, mostly tenants, by paying them in kind, in advance. The latter then work on their creditor's fields during the busy season, just like ordinary hired day labourers. But the contract demands that this sort of seasonal labourer must abandon his own work whenever the creditor is in need of him.² This kind of usury

1. Cf. Chen, Han-seng, Industrial Capital and Chinese Peasants: A study of the Livelihood of Chinese Tobacco cultivators, p. 72.
2. Cf. Sun Hsiao-tsun, The Problem of Farm Management in Contemporary China, Part III, Quarterly Review of the Sun Yat-sen Institute, vol. III, no. 2, Summer 1936, Nanking. See Agrarian China, pp. 69-73.

practice causes the poor peasant to be bound hand and foot. Not only does he have no spare cash to spend, but also he is not even free to use his own labour for his own needs.

To be sure, there are credit cooperatives by means of which agricultural credit facilities have been improved. It is gratifying to note that this cooperative movement is being promoted by both social reformers and the government. But it still has a long way to go. To begin with, the credit which cooperatives can furnish is too small to be used productively. Moreover, there is too much red tape to get this credit with lower interest rate. Besides, credit cooperatives are mostly in the hands of local gentry, who, though living in the rural area, are not real farmers, and they do not run the cooperatives in the farmer's interest.¹ Also, the interest rate of the cooperatives is not sufficiently low. A report, recently dispatched from Chungking, says:

One of the outstanding problems of the Chinese farmers is their need for large and cheaper loans, and the government has given this matter more attention recently.The share of the private banks, which as a rule charged somewhat less usurious rates than small lenders, has also increased due to the fact that default on the part of farmers is much less frequent than in normal prewar time. But the pawn-shops, local merchant firms, landlords and other private individuals, who charged by far the highest interest rates and as a rule make

1. Chao, Chih-min, Our farm credit policy in future, in The Financial Review (In Chinese) September 1941.

the most onerous conditions were still responsible for 39 per cent of all loans to farmers in 1942 against 47 per cent in 1941, 40 per cent in 1940, 65 per cent in 1939 and 70 per cent in 1938.

Average rates of interest, however, still remain high, although loans and interest are now in many cases payable in terms of grain rather than currency in order to protect the lender against devaluation. In 1942 the cooperatives charged between 50 and 100 per cent interest if not more.¹

If this report is true, we may infer that even the credit cooperative organizations are charging usurious interest for the loans made to the farmer! This explains why the Chinese farmer is reluctant to secure loans for productive purposes.

(3) The Heavy Burden of Taxation

Closely related to the high rate of interest is the problem of taxation. Excessive taxation in many cases has been the cause of high rent, and it often creates opportunities for the money lenders to practice usury. Prof. Buck has said:

Even the average taxes for the New England, Middle Atlantic and East North Central States was between \$0.90 and \$1.15 per acre in 1932. The rate per acre on medium grade land in China was \$1.79. This is a high tax, and especially so in view of the limited benefit received by the Chinese farmers from the tax expenditure.²

That the heavy burden of taxation has been a colossal obstacle blocking the way for the betterment of the farmers' economic

1. Stein, Guenther, Free China's Agricultural Progress, Pacific Affairs, September, 1943.
2. Buck, Land Utilization in China, p. 326.

life, is very obvious, and therefore very little more needs to be said. However, it is a well-known fact that until recently, many a ruffian who called himself a general, had exploited the farmers mercilessly by imposing all sorts of taxes upon them even by collecting the land tax for many years in advance. It is also quite common for the local, corrupt, petty officers to take advantage of the ignorance of the illiterate farmers.

Apart from these political and social reasons which are generally responsible for excessive taxation, there are some technical defects, especially in regard to levying the taxes. Of these we shall mention two:

First, attention must be drawn to the inequalities resulting from the basis of levy. Chinese agricultural land has, for thousands of years, been the most important source of government revenue for both local and national administrations. In 1928, the Central Government designated agricultural lands an exclusive item of provincial revenue. But because of the falling off of the national income from other sources such as custom duties, salt and stamp taxes, especially, as the result of the present war with Japan, it became necessary for the Government to reconsider its policy. In 1941, it took over from the provinces the land tax and, for the first time, it stipulated

that payment in kind be substituted for money payment.

This new system went into effect in September, 1941.

But the rate for the tax in kind was based entirely on the old cash levy, which, in turn, was based on ancient, obsolete land surveys and assessments. So far as we know, the last comprehensive farm survey was made in 1577, revising an earlier one conducted in 1397.¹ Naturally, through the vicissitudes of several hundred years, the reliability of this basis for tax assessment is next to nothing even without questioning its authenticity at the time when the survey was made. As a result of this taxation assessed according to an unreliable basis, there are many land owners who do not pay taxes at all, whereas those who do pay are bearing a heavier tax burden than they ought to bear. In Szechuan, for example, "the present acreage under cultivation is about 100 million mow, but the acreage for taxation is only about 46 million. Thus over half of the cultivated land has been untaxed--and this part is generally owned by landlords. The small landowners whose properties are usually recorded, often in excess of the actual amount or worth, had to pay many times more to the government now, in terms of inflated prices for their products, than they formerly did

1. Chen Cheng-mo, Equalization of Land and Land Problems in China Through Preceding Centuries, Quarterly Review of the Sun Yat-sen Institute for Advancement of Culture and Education, (In Chinese), vol. IV, no. 3, pp. 905-6.

on a cash basis. The situation is similar in other provinces."¹ It goes without saying, "the big landlords who escaped the tax also escaped the requisition," which requires farmers to sell grain to the government in proportion to tax payments, at a price much below the market. How can we expect the poor peasants with small farms to increase their earning power while they have to bear a burden which should not be on their shoulders?

Second, a brief word must be said about the inefficiency of the tax collecting system. While the unreliable basis of levy has spared many of the rich and substantially mulcted the poor, the traditional methods of collecting tax has further aggravated this unfortunate situation. It offers opportunities for the landlords, officials, merchants and gentry, to evade the tax and presents to the tax collectors an alluring temptation to exploit the peasant cultivators. As a rule the land tax is collected by the Hsien government which is the unit of local self-government. In many of these units, "tax collection has become an hereditary legacy to the collectors, who can manipulate it in all different ways to ex-

1. See Hsu, Y.Y., Chinese Views of Wartime Difficulties, p.2.

ploit their monopoly of information as a fat source of personal profit."¹ In other units, such as in Hopei Province, a very pernicious practice of delegating to the merchant or tradesman the government's business of tax-collecting has become 'legalized' through usage. According to this practice which is called 'farming out' of taxes, "the tax bidder is now almost a professional. He makes a contract with the Magistrate for a lump sum for a certain tax, and whatever he collects above this agreed sum goes into his own pocket."² Since the Central Government has changed its policy to collect in kind instead of in cash, some of the old evil practices may have been removed, but new forms of corruption have crept in largely due to the lack of standard weights and measures and the complicated procedure. It is estimated that "the overhead cost for tax in kind has been tremendous."³ Although the loss thus inflicted is not directly incurred by the farmer, it will ultimately influence his economic status, because the less the government can collect the higher will the level of tax rate tend to be in the

1. Institute of Pacific Relations, Problems of the Pacific, 1936, p.162.
2. Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement. The Ting Hsien Experiment in 1934, p. 40.
3. Hsu, Y.Y., op. cit., p. 3.

future. This inefficiency in the tax collecting system is a lesser evil than the inequality of the land tax, and it is easier to be remedied. But until this is remedied farmers will continue to be unnecessarily burdened, and their income proportionally curtailed.

(4) The Decline of Village Industries

From information we have gathered so far, we know that Chinese farmers work only on the average of 119 ten-hour days a year, that their labour is cheap and that their income is unbelievably scanty. Yet they need clothes, some salt to season their food, and they need oil for light during dark winter evenings. In other words, although they are poor they still have wants to be satisfied. Formerly they could make many things for themselves, and they did not need to buy things imported from other countries. However, because of the impact of the modern industrialized world, they are unable to meet its keen competition. We have already pointed out that the farmer is confronting hindrances which have been imposed upon him by the economic privileged classes through the concentration of land holdings, and by charging a high rate of interest for loans contracted. We know also that he carries a burden of taxation which is heavier than he ought to have to bear, either because of the inequalities

resulting from the inadequate basis of the land tax, or due to the wasteful methods by means of which the tax is collected. We now know that in addition to all that has been said, the peasant farmer is also facing an uprising force, bolstered not by any individual person, or group of persons, but by the irresistible trend of western industrialization aggravated by competitive business practices, which has resulted in the decline of village industries.

Chinese village industries may be classified into three categories: those for local consumption, such as home-spun cotton weaving, flour milling, wine brewing and oil pressing; those for domestic trade such as hosiery knitting, lace making, straw plaiting, and mat weaving; and those for foreign export such as silk weaving and tea preparation. These distinctions are not to be regarded as being rigid, because many things that are made primarily for household use can be sold in the market, and many things that are produced for export can be used at home. Among these industries, some are subsidiary industries carried on by farmers or by members of farm families in slack seasons. Some are professional, done by full-time labourers. Some of these utilize local material, others depend upon material supplied by neighboring districts. But all of them absorb part of the local labor which would otherwise be wasted, and form important

supplementary occupations for the farm population. But because of foreign, machine-spun yarn and later native machine-spun yarn, the hand-spinning in China has almost been wiped out of existence.¹ In a village not far from Shanghai, when the silk industry was prosperous, the production of raw silk could yield an average household about 300 dollars with a surplus (profit and wages) of 250 dollars. But later the price of native silk fell. Villagers produced the same type and the same amount of silk but it did not command the same amount of money on the market. The factors affecting the price lay, of course, outside the village, one of these was "the uneven quality of domestic silk which renders it unsuitable for the highly mechanized weaving industry."² "Again, in the famous tea region of Pingsui, in Shachsin, Chekiang, the tea peasants in recent years have not only abandoned the second and third shoots of the leaves but have also neglected to clip the first tender shoots. In fact many tea gardens there have become waste land."³ "Silk and tea, the two items of export which as late as 1890 still supplied over half of China's total export to foreign countries, have been replaced in foreign

1. Fong, H.D., Rural Industries in China, p. 13.

2. Fei, Hsiao-tung, Peasant Life in China, p. 203.

3. Chen Han-seng, Industrial Capital and Chinese Peasants, p. 24.

markets by productions of silk from Japan, and of tea from India, Ceylon, the Dutch East Indies, and Japan. To-day, these two exports count only as one-eighth of the total Chinese exports."¹

In addition to silk and tea, other export industries in the rural districts have also declined. Eleven of the fourteen products from China's principal rural industries exported during the six year period from 1927 to 1932 have shown a decline. In order of relative importance of export value in 1932, these industries were: silk piece goods and pongees, wood-oil, paper (chiefly joss paper), straw braid, mats and mattings, vermicelli and macaroni, lace and trimmings, fire-crackers and fireworks, nankeens, grass-cloth, and samshu (Chinese wine). In 1927, these eleven groups had a total export value of HK. Tls. 80,899,682; but in 1932, their total value was only HK. Tls. 49,870,185--a decrease of 38.4 per cent. Embroidery, drawn threadwork, and hair-nets are the only exports which have shown an increase, from HK. Tls. 4,101,500 to 12,668,818 during the same period--an increase of 309 per cent.²

Apart from the competitive influence of modern industry, Chinese rural industries have also been affected by

1. FONG, H.D., Rural Industries in China, Document III, of Problems of the Pacific, 1933, p. 311.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 312.

the changing mode of social and religious practices, due to the impact of western thought. For example, the making of paper mock-money surfaced with tin foil was one of the popular handicrafts of almost every rural family in Shaohsin, Chekiang, but it has declined rapidly because such mock-money is not being used in religious or ancestral worship services so extensively as in past days.

It is true that the more a country is industrialized, the smaller is the percentage of the rural population engaged in Agriculture. This is undoubtedly the trend that will increase in China. But in China partly owing to the dominating influence of the imperialistic powers which have kept China until recently in the status of what Dr. Sun Yat-sen called a semi-colony, and partly due to internal political disturbances, little industrialization has developed. Thus the farmers have been deprived of much of their income from home industries or homecraft work, yet they have not been compensated by the benefits that usually come with the development of urban industries. There are good reasons to suppose that this situation will be changed after the present war is over; but unless this change materializes, any effort on the part of the farmers to increase their purchasing power will be greatly hampered.

Thus far we have shown that so far as the economic side is concerned, the reasons why the farmers do not have better incomes are due to the fact that they are handicapped by insufficient land and equipment, by the natural difficulties connected with agriculture as an industry, and by the hindrances resulting from pressure exerted by outside forces. But rural life is very complex as is urban life. Its economic causes are supplemented by other causes. Interweaving the economic forces are other forces such as the political and cultural. If the political situation, for example, had been different, many of the economic causes would have been removed or their evil effects mitigated. The same is true of the social and educational problems. Therefore, if we would plan to solve the complex problems of rural life, we must examine what the other problems are and what may be their respective causes. However, we must not minimize the importance of this economic problem simply because of its interrelationship with others. In fact, in many cases, it is by far the most important, and its significance will become more apparent in the following pages.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL INADEQUACY

A. Diagnosis

According to an official statement made by the Minister of Education on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Republic of China, there were about three million students attending various classes of schools in the whole country in the first year of the Republic, that is, in 1912. Of this number, a little more than 1% were in the schools of higher education; 10% in secondary schools, and the rest in primary schools. However, at the end the first decade, ten years later, primary-school students had increased 2 1/2 times, and appreciable growth was also registered in the secondary and the higher schools. In 1933, the year when statistics for all branches of education were available, there were 110 recognized schools of higher learning, 3,125 secondary schools of all kinds, and 279,694 elementary schools.¹ Considering the domestic disturbance, economic depression and international crises during that period of 25 years, it was indeed a great stride so far as formal education is concerned.

1. Wang, Shih Chieh, Education under the Republic, Twenty Five Years of the Chinese Republic, pp. 105-7.

The question that concerns us now is to what extent this progress has affected the rural millions who live on the soil in numerous villages and hamlets. It is quite clear that the institutions of higher learning were out of reach of the children of peasant families, and that most of the secondary schools were located in large cities and metropolitan areas. The only schools that were accessible to farm children were the primary schools. Our question is what percentage of the rural school children were fortunate enough to receive any education. No statistical data are available for this. But the answer may be surmised from the fact that in 1933 the Government laid down a five-year program to begin in the fall of 1933 and to conclude in the fall of 1938. This program was designed to launch a comprehensive movement for the establishment and functioning of the one-year primary school so that by the end of the period, at least 40% of the children of school age would have received a one-year primary education. Then, from 1938 to 1942, the system of the two-year primary school would be launched, so that by the fall of 1942, at least 80% of the children of school age would have received a two-year primary education. From 1942 onwards, it was planned that the full-length system, (that is, four years) would be launched to provide primary education four years for all children of school

age in China.¹ It goes without saying that this program was interrupted by the war, and rendered inoperative at least for the duration. It did, however, tell us that at the time when the Chinese Government had to mobilize its resources in order to meet the needs of its war program--the program of resistance and reconstruction--not more than 40% of children of school age had the opportunity to secure a primary education. And if we ask further 'how many of these school children numbering about 21 million were sons and daughters² of rural people', the situation is still more appalling.

No record of a comprehensive survey is available. Nevertheless, during the last two decades quite a number of social-economic studies on rural life have been made by research students. From the results of these studies, we may get a general idea regarding the educational status of the villagers in China. For instance, in his studies on Chinese Farm Economy, Prof. Buck found that "of the present generation of farm operators less than one half ever attended school and there is little difference in the two regions of North China and East Central China. Those who had some education averaged only 4.1 years in

1. Ku, Yu-hsiu, Education in The Chinese Year Book, 1938-39 issue, pp. 635-636.
2. By the end of 1936, the number of school children reached 21,435,354. The Chinese Year Book, op. cit., p. 636.

school. As a rule tenants have been in school a shorter time than the owners; in fact nearly three-fourths of the tenants have not attended school at all. Even those tenants who have attended school, have had only 2.9 years as compared with 4.3 for owners. Seventy per cent of the children on the farms between the ages of 7 and 16 years inclusive are not in school,according to Dr. Buck. Only about one-third of the farm families reported expenses for education of one or more members, but of those who have the expense it was the largest cost for advancement, amounting to \$11.44 per family.¹

In a later study which covered a much wider area, including a greater number of rural localities, Prof. Buck confirmed what he found in his previous study. He says: "Less than one-half of the males and only two per cent of the females of seven or more years of age had ever attended school. Only 30 per cent of the males, and one per cent of the females, had attended school long enough to learn to read a common letter. Almost the complete story of education in rural China lies in these figures. Schooling and literacy were a trifle more common in the South than in the more conservative North, especially

1. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p. 406.

among females, but even in the South 98 per cent of the females over seven years of age were illiterate. The schooling of the few who did receive some education was, for the most part, extremely brief. Males who received some education attended school an average of four years, and females an average of three years."¹

The results of studies made by other scholars practically coincide with what has just been quoted. In a study, for example, of two villages, one in Anhwei and the other near Peiping, Prof. Chen Ta found that "of the children of school age in the families studied, only about one half had actually entered school, although there were facilities in the villages."² In another study of 50 farms on the Chengtu Plain in Szechwan, "It was found that forty per cent of the tenant-farmers had no expenses for education, while 22 per cent of the owner-farmers had no such expenses."³ In a sociological study of Phenix Village in South China, whose people were proud of their many famous scholars of recognized rank and many of their villagers had gone to foreign lands, especially to the South Sea Islands, thus gaining considerable wealth, Dr. Kulp

1. Buck, Land Utilization in China, pp. 373-4.

2. Chinese Economic Monthly, Feb. 1925, pp. 17, 21.

3. Chinese Economic Journal, Jan. 1928. For both 2 and 3 see Lamson, H.D., Social Pathology in China, pp. 191-92.

found that in 1919 there were 134 children of school age, but only 94 or 44% of them were in three schools, including a Christian mission school. In 1922, all these schools were closed, and two new schools were opened in buildings which had been originally designed for ancestral worship. In 1923, the school census showed that only 92 pupils (89 boys and 3 girls) were receiving primary education in these two schools.¹ In a study of Ting Hsien, the seat of the Headquarters of the Mass Education Movement, and known throughout Hopei province as one of its progressive and rich counties, it was found in 1930 that in 472 villages of this county there were 447 village primary schools. But of the 51,000 children of school age (6-12 years) only 15,500 boys and 2,100 girls (about 34%) were in school.²

In the Fact-Finders' Report of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, it was stated that in 'several thousand' Christian primary schools, "about half of the students come from the merchant class, and the other half are divided almost equally among the so-called scholar class, the professional class, officials, labourers, and 'others'. Only a few children of farmers and the poorer classes attend these schools. "It is evident," says Dr. Lewis, "that the Christian primary schools are still reaching the upper and middle classes of society, and have

1. Kulp II, Daniel Harrison, Country Life in South China, pp. 216-260.

2. Chinese National Association of Mass Education Movement, The Ting Hsien Experiment in 1934, Peiping, p. 4.

continued to neglect the lower classes and the farmers, who form the overwhelming majority of the people of China."¹ According to this statement, farmers' children are not being benefited by the numerous primary schools established by the Christian Church.

Furthermore, during the last twenty years, the children of farm families not only had no opportunity to receive primary education equal to that of those from the well-to-do families, but they were also deprived of the opportunities which did exist. The present war of course contributed, but even before the war broke out, because of the declining economic status of many villages, there were signs of the decline in education. The following report of the condition of a village in Southern Hopei is a case in point:

In the early 1920's there were two boys' schools with nearly 200 pupils and one girls' school with over 40 pupils, but at the present time (1935) one of the two boys' schools (the higher primary) has closed and the two schools now in existence are attended by pupils not only from the village itself but from the surrounding neighbourhood of three or four miles. In the village itself, half the boys of school age and three-fourths of the girls of school age do not even attend the lower primary schools.

The pupils from the outlying places stay with relatives in the village for the school period. Both they and the pupils from the village itself take their lunch to school, and this consists of nothing but millet dumpling and hot water. Even under these conditions these

1. Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, Fact-Finders' Reports, vol. V, part two, p. 422.

pupils are fortunate, for many boys and girls of school age are needed to work at home. Boys of seven or eight must help to prepare fuel from the trees in the spring and winter and must look after the cows and help with the hoeing during the summer and autumn. Girls of six or seven are needed by their mothers to look after the younger children and to assist in other domestic work. Furthermore, families that can really spare their children cannot afford the necessary dollar for tuition or the money to buy textbooks.

Only families possessing about 50 mow each could afford to send one pupil to the higher primary school, but that school has already been closed owing to the insufficient attendance. The expenditure for middle school students would be \$150 per person, which can only be met by a family possessing over 200 mow of land. Since there are only eighteen families in this village that have over 100 mow each, even a middle school student from this village commands much prestige. Two or three years previous to the present one, families with 50 mow of land could send a pupil to the normal school where no fees for tuition or keep were required; but now, owing to the impoverishment of such families, this can no longer be done.¹

That the Chinese peasants do not have any education, (that is, formal school education) is reflected in the attitude which people generally take toward them. On the one hand, it is taken for granted that the peasants are ignorant and illiterate. Therefore rapacious creditors may keep a peasant in debt for his entire life simply by asking him to pay more than he really owed. A cunning rent collector may demand more payment from a tenant

1. Kuo Shih-tze, A Southern Hopei Village in the Throes of Bankruptcy, Rural Weekly Supplement of Tientsin I Shih Pao, 31st August, 1935. Agrarian China, p. 170.

than is really required. An old rent collecting agent told a social research student: "The villagers are illiterate. They don't know how to calculate from rice to money. There is no receipt or anything like that."¹

On the other hand, the Chinese farmers pay high tribute to scholars. Any person who can read and write is considered as being élite. As soon as a boy has learned to read and write, he is expected to be sent to the city or town to be trained as a merchant or as a petty officer. Those who can afford to send their children away for higher education are generally rich owner-operators. In any case, once a boy can read and write, he ceases to work on farms. In other words, only those who cannot read and write remain to be farmers, and continue making a living through drudgery and hardship.

It is true that education in China is not confined within the walls of a school campus. It is a part of family life. In contrast to this dearth of education among farmers, we may quote a description of life within a family hall as written by a young Quaker who had the rare privilege of being adopted by such a family, sharing their daily life for a period

1. Fei, Hsiao-tung, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

of ten years. It reads as follows:

It is the habit of the Elder of the House of Lin, on summer afternoons, to gather us into the cool shade under the interlacing branches of two trees that form a leafy canopy over the library courtyard, and in winter to draw us into the library where the sun, shining through rice paper windows, lays a warm gold carpet on the floor. At times the Elder reads from the Classics. On other days he recites incidents from his experience. Always he encourages others to contribute what they will. Thus, even the littlest child is accustomed to entertain without self-consciousness. Often the wife of the Elder's third son enthralled us with folk-lore. Occasionally, an uncle who plays the table lute with charm joins us, then we chant epic poems, many about Lin heroines and heroes.

Another uncle, one of the first students to journey to America, from 1872 to 1881, brought back with him many dozens of scientific books and much laboratory equipment. With these he filled up one courtyard of the homestead and taught science to all his boy and girl relatives whom he could interest.¹

The education of the Chinese people is a sort of cultivation which permeates the life of the children without a conscious effort. This was shown during a visit to the Garden of the Children in the Lin household. The same author writes:

Nine little boys and girls received us. Shin-Yie, ten years old, rose from a game of hedged-in chess, which he was playing with his sister. He took her left hand, and the right hand of their half-brother, and all bowed together. A chubby lad, Tsai-fu, thrust a shuttle-cock into the pocket of his long turquoise gown and bent so low that his forehead tapped the playground floor. Nan-wie, slim and

1. Wain, Nora, The House of Exile, Little, Brown & Company. Quoted in Regional Reports of the Commission of Appraisal, of Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, vol. II, part one, pp. 99-100.

graceful, and her cousin, a maid of five summers, gave us jasmine tea and saw to it that the boys passed the salted water-melon seeds frequently.

However, we do not need to be reminded that this kind of family education is seldom found in a farm household. These children of the Lin family were living in a sort of ivory tower. Maybe there are many such towers in China, but they do not belong to the peasants. The family life of most of the Chinese farmers resembles that of those whom Prof. Marshall referred to when he said:

There are great bodies of people in country and in city who from birth have less than enough food, clothing, and shelter; who from childhood must toil long and hard to secure even that insufficient amount; who can benefit little from the world's advance in material comfort and spiritual beauty, because their bodies are undernourished, their minds overstrained, and their souls deadened by bitter struggle with want. These are the real poor in any community--the masses who, not lacking in thrift and industry, are yet never really able to earn enough for a decent existence, and who toil on in constant fear that bare necessities may fail.¹

Children of the ordinary farm family must rake leaves fallen from trees for fuel, and collect animal droppings along the roadside for fertilizer. How could they afford the polite company of visitors who come from far away foreign lands?

1. Marshall, Alfred, Principles of Economics, 6th ed., London, 1910, pp. 2,3. Quoted in Hollander, J.H., The Abolition of Poverty, Houghton Mifflin, p. 4. Also see Lamson, op.cit. p.7.

It is true that it has always been possible for a son of a farmer to become a prime minister of the government, provided he could pass the examinations that were required of a scholar. For that matter, China has been a democracy for thousands of years. There has been no class distinction as has existed in medieval Europe, nor caste system as there is in India. But as soon as the son of a farmer becomes a scholar, he has developed into a 'silkgown' man, and ceases to be a farmer.

In Chinese society, the people have generally been divided into four social ranks; Shih (scholars), Nung (agriculturalists), Kung (artizans) and Shang (merchants). Among these four, as Dr. Sun Yat-sen once pointed out to a group of farmers, the agriculturalists are most toilsome, and yet they are least rewarded. They are the ones who bear the most of our national burden. To these agriculturalists, to suffer is their duty and obligation; they think that their forefathers were such, so is their fate, and so will be the fate of their children, and their children's children. This is an old idea, an idea that belongs to the past. Therefore, it is this class of agriculturalists whose educational standard needs to be elevated. In saying this, we are not unmindful of the fact that so far as education is concerned there are many forgotten children in the urban areas whose parents are not peasants.

As a result of this inadequacy of education, rural people have been kept terribly ignorant, although they are not unintelligent. Many of them have never attempted to read a book or a newspaper. Their knowledge of agriculture has been transmitted from past generations by word of mouth and through imitation. They stick to a Chinese proverb which says, "to learn to be a farmer one need not study; one needs only to do as his neighbor does." They have no way of comprehending what is happening around them. "Even though the farmer's income be increased to an amount adequate for his needs, it is doubtful whether he can profit by it until he is educated to desire those things essential to his real welfare."¹

Because the farmer is ignorant, he is unwilling to accept anything new that was not practised by his forefathers. His wife remains ignorant about the decoration of the home in which they live, and the nutrition of the food which they eat. When he is sick, he would rather spend money for treatment based on superstitious religious practices than upon scientific knowledge. He, in short, seems to be content with the lack of comfort, beauty, and even the elementary sanitation necessary for health and well-being. Because of his ignorance, he is constantly and almost invariably cheated or oppressed by money-lenders, by rent-collectors and others whose aim is to "squeeze"

1. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p. 420.

him. The following case of the silk-farming peasants in Wushih, Kaingsu province, who after having endured a month of hardship of being underfed, with insufficient sleep, produced an excellent crop of cocoons, only to find themselves in debt, will illustrate this.

To understand this one needs to appreciate how the peasants are being cheated by the cocoon traders. At the time when cocoon collecting was at its height, the cocoon collectors deliberately spread rumours of political unrest, impending civil war, slump in cocoon prices and even suspension of cocoon collection. These rumours were quite sufficient to trap the peasants, but there were also many other ways by which the collectors could get the better of the peasants. The peasants often had to bring their cocoons a long distance to the door of the collectors and, in spite of the crowd, the collectors would delay weighing for many hours. During the weighing the collectors would sham depression and poor business, thus deliberately lowering collection prices. Finally the peasants, exhausted by fatigue and hunger from early dawn, were forced to beg in pitiful tones for a little better price, which when granted only meant about ten or twenty cents extra. In addition, the Chinese system of 'big' and 'small' money, gave the collectors a further opportunity to cheat the peasants. At the end of the day there would still be peasants who had not sold their cocoons. They often made a great noise cursing the collectors, calling for fire from heaven, without realizing that the collectors' property was insured and that such a burning would be of actual benefit to the collectors.¹

From the above description, we can see that the farmers were cheated because they could not read, because they did not know how to use the power of collective bargaining, because they

1. Chien Chao-hsuen, *The Mulberry and Silkworm Industry of Wushih under the Sway of Trade Capital*, Chung-Kuo Nung-Ts'un, vol. 1, no. 4, 1935, Shanghai. See Agrarian China, pp. 235-9.

did not know how to use cooperative methods in transportation and marketing. The peasants even did not know the exchange rates. All they could do was to wish that those who cheated them would be punished by fire which was purely accidental and against which precaution had already been taken.

B. MAJOR CAUSES OF EDUCATIONAL INADEQUACY

It seems that the high percentage of illiteracy and the ignorance of the peasant farmers are so obvious that they need no pointing out. But we must know that illiteracy and ignorance are not inherent nor are they hereditary. They are the results of inadequate education, whether it be school or social education and this inadequacy should be removed. In order to remove this inadequacy, one needs to know its causes. So far as we can see there are at least five factors that contribute directly to this problem. These are: financial inability; the traditional view of education; the unbridged gap between cultural learning and practical business in the modern Chinese educational system; the poor provision in primary and secondary schools for rural people; and the unstable condition resulting from political disorder.

1. Financial Inability

As we have shown, the majority of those who have had any education are of the owner-operator class. There is a definite

For the meagerness of family income are also responsible for the correlation between education and economic standing. For various reasons which we enumerated in the previous chapter, rural people are not able to increase their family income. Since they cannot increase their family income, they are not in a position to take the initiative in providing better educational facilities for their children than they themselves have had. The education of the children of the poorer families therefore is sadly neglected. A farm family cannot afford to pay the high cost of education even for one child. The female children in the family certainly must be kept out of school. Hence, the higher percentage of illiteracy in tenant families and among the female members. Perhaps we may say that so long as people, such as usurious merchants, selfish absentee landlords, ruffian soldiers and greedy bureaucrats, who are allowed to operate, very little financial resources will be left in the community for educational purposes. Furthermore, due to the hard struggle for a bare existence, it seems that the rural people themselves simply have no morale to think about either their own cultural advancement, or their children's education. It is, therefore, not hard for us to see that the economic factor is fundamental in this problem of education. The farmers should not be blamed or despised for saying, 'to pursue learning for ten years can in no way compare with the acquisition of ten mow of land.' In fact, many reasons which are accountable

for the smallness of family income are also responsible for the inadequacy of educational facilities in rural communities.

2. The Traditional View of Education

The peasants are poor, but they are intelligent human beings. They know that to be a scholar is something that commands respect. To be able to read and write is considered by them as recovery of sight to the blind. Why then, have the peasant farmers lost their desire to educate their children? Lack of financial ability is of course a major factor, but the situation goes deeper than that. This deeper reason has its roots in the traditional view of education.

According to the traditional Chinese view held by the populace, to receive an education is to be conversant with the classics, especially the Confucian school of thought. To be conversant with the classics is to be a scholar; to be a scholar is to prepare for public service. To be an official of high rank is to glorify one's ancestors, and thus bring prosperity to the whole family clan. In view of this, it is quite natural that in nearly every village, endowment funds were provided and donations in the form of land were given by the rich members of the clan, so that boys might be encouraged to pursue the classical learning, without discrimination of wealth. These boys were sent to the county seat, then to the provincial capital, and as the highest

step, to the national Capital in order to take examinations. If a student is able to pass those grilling examinations, he is accorded honors and a government position. His family thus became prominent, and the social prestige of his village elevated. The villagers felt gratified and the whole community rejoiced with him. Even those who did not go far enough to attain degrees, but had at least a smattering of the standard learning, were entitled to be ranked as scholars, and were accorded due respect and prestige.

This kind of educational system had its merits, if we look at it in the light of history. One of these merits is the fact that China with her vast territory over a period of thousands of years has been cemented into one civilization under one governing body of intensively trained literati. But since the invasion of China by the western world, the situation has changed. The government can no longer be manned by men who are experts in classical learning only. With the importation of the idea of universal elementary education and of the idea of technical training for specific positions, the defects of the traditional education were exposed. First, according to the traditional view, girls were excluded from the privileges of education, at least in respect to formal education, because girls could not be officials. This resulted in a higher percentage of illiteracy among the female

citizens of the country. Second, since competition in examinations was very keen, and it was difficult for the aspirants to fight through the long years of study in order to master the elaborate techniques of composing essays and poems, and to pass the more or less stereotyped examinations. Modest and unambitious parents generally discouraged their children from such learning, unless their sons proved to be exceptionally bright and precocious. This resulted in a low percentage of literate men.

Furthermore, because of the abolition of the old type of educational examinations, the most essential incentive for learning, to be officials with social prestige, was lost. In the meantime, new incentives were not aroused, because most of the newly established schools, whose programs are not necessarily designed to train boys for civil service, did not provide adequate courses for practical vocational training. Hence, the village as a family community had no longer any interest in providing funds for the educational advancement of bright children. Consequently only the few parents of well-to-do families considered education of sufficient importance to underwrite the expenses involved. Thus education became a privilege of the few who were selected on the basis of wealth, which was quite contradictory to the democratic idea that was inherent in the traditional view of education. And the education of the majority of the children who, through no fault of their own, were born in poor families, has been neglected.

3. The Gap Between Cultural Learning and Practical Business in the Modern Educational System

If the abolition of the old examination system for civic service has deprived the poor farm families of the incentive for encouraging their children to pursue classical learning, the modern educational system has certainly not yet corrected the defect of the old system which exalted the educated man to a position more or less detached from the practical life of the masses. Not only are the secondary schools and the institutions of technical training too few in number to provide opportunity for all the students who are capable of learning; but also the curricula of these schools are lopsided, emphasizing work of an academic rather than a practical character. It is a common feeling that the opportunities for a college graduate or even for a high school graduate are too limited. He has either to be employed by the government as an office-holder or to secure a position as teacher in some school whose standard is lower than that of the one from which he himself graduated. An ambitious college graduate may strive to get further education in foreign lands and upon his return aspire to get a government appointment of considerable standing, or be invited to become a professor in some college or university, thus propagating more teachers and more office-holders.

Returning Chinese students were at one time sarcastically referred to as the 'salt and light' of China, because many of them did not want to drift in the unstable sea of officialdom, or live upon the scanty and uncertain income that college professors were then receiving, so they joined the Chinese staff of the Standard Oil Company of New York, or the staff of the salt inspectors, whose administration was then headed by a foreigner and was more or less modeled after the pattern of the western civil service system. Both of these jobs were immune from the disturbing influence of the political world, and offered a comparatively lucrative remuneration. To such an awkward situation the mission schools contributed to a certain extent. If we read the report of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, we may note certain traces which indicate the close relationship between mission schools and the 'salt and light' of China. The report says:

In China, mission education has been 'housed' beautifully. In architecture, grounds, and in buildings for their American staff, these schools are remarkable for their excellence in terms of American standards. Our great private schools stand out, for the most part, amid their surroundings as conspicuously Western and excessively expensive.

We fear for these Christian private schools that their 'foreignness' may insulate their students from the eager patriotism which is at present stirring. If mission schools spend as much time as they do at present, in educating privileged boys and girls, surely they should make special efforts,

educationally and socially, to have these youths catch a contagion of helpfulness to serve the less privileged, so that their contribution to their country's need may be a noticeable and valuable fact.¹

It is true that with the development of modern industry and commerce, especially the banking business, the outlet for high school and college graduates has been greatly broadened, and the jobs which they like to occupy have been multiplied. Nevertheless, the old idea of education mainly for government service persists. Even recently the ills of the present Chinese Government were blamed on a bad system of education. It was pointed out that the Government was over-staffed, thus dividing responsibility and impeding efficiency. Moreover, it paralyzed local government. In an article which appeared in *Ta Kung Pao*, one writer says:

When the personnel in the upper organs is large, ... matters that should be left to the local governments are concentrated in the upper organs. Affairs which should be settled through economic processes are dealt with politically. Whereas general directives should be sufficient and details should be worked out locally, the central organs step in to map out every minute point and demand universal enforcement despite its impracticability. ... All these things are the result of the fact that education during the last several decades has turned out graduates who are suitable only for government and school staffs.²

Not only has the gap which exists between practical

1. Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, Regional Reports of the Commission of Appraisal, China, pp. 113-114.
2. *Ta Kung Pao*, (Nov. 26 and 27, 1942) article by Hsu Tsing-pu. See Pacific Affairs, June 1943, p. 240.

life and the colleges of liberal arts and their feeders, the secondary schools, not been bridged, but even the few institutions, whose mission it is to introduce scientific agriculture to rural life, are facing difficulties of being able to be practical enough. Prof. Tawney points out that "Government experiment stations and model farms, agricultural departments of universities and undertakings established by commercial organizations for testing and grading agricultural products, such as silk and cotton, all these three have made contributions; but the introduction of better methods depends not merely on the work of scientific and governmental institutions, but on the degree to which its results are disseminated among those who must apply them in practice. The superficial view that the peasant is too torpid and conservative to adopt improvement offered him is not confirmed by those who know him at first hand.... the evidence of close observers is that, given visual demonstration of the practical advantages of, for example, better seeds, they are, in so far as their means allow, quick to take advantage of them."¹

But so far, very few agricultural students are using their knowledge in a practical rather than a theoretical way. "In China, it is not customary for an educated man to engage in manual work of any sort. Farmers' sons who have had the advantage of going away to school do not return to the farm after finishing their

1. Tawney, R.H., Land and Labour in China, p. 90.

agricultural course but seek an opportunity to teach; and many of them who fail in finding such employment drift into other lines of work where their special training is lost but where their dignity as men of education is preserved."¹ The result is that, as Prof. Tawney has rightly said, "the universities appear sometimes to be suspended in the air, that intelligence, which ought to be employed in spreading knowledge of the way to a better existence among the mass of the population, is wasted in a demoralizing scramble for openings into careers which are already overcrowded, and that practical life, which in China means overwhelmingly the life of the countryside, is deprived of the stimulus which it might derive from the influence of education."²

4. The Poor Provision for Rural People in Primary and Secondary Schools

After having learned that higher education is divorced from practical life, one wishes to know about the primary schools which are or should be accessible to rural people. If these can meet the needs of rural life, or can be a source of inspiration, the situation might be different. But as we shall presently see, this is not the case. In the first place, the schools in rural areas are invariably unattractive. They are located or housed in

1. Mallory, op. cit., p. 109.

2. Tawney, op. cit., p. 91.

temples or in ancestral halls. The equipment is not properly adapted. The double seat, for instance, which is commonly used, is not good, for one pupil may be taller than his seat-mate; one's feet might touch the floor while the other's might not. In the second place, the textbooks are not appropriate to rural life. As Prof. Buck found out "the education given in these village schools attended by the operator has been almost exclusively of the old classical type, where ancient books are memorized. Such learning has little value for the practical life of the farmer. ... Reading matter is non-existent for Chinese farmers."¹ In more recent years, however, modern textbooks are gradually supplanting the classics. These textbooks are generally prepared for city children, they are unsuited for country children and above their comprehension.

In the third place, teachers are inadequately paid; they know little about pedagogy, and they have no means or help for self-advancement. Their methods are unscientific while their attitude towards the pupils is stern. The instruction "gives little thought to the physical needs of the children, and makes excessive demands on their powers of attention. It overloads their memory instead of exciting their interest and curiosity. It keeps them pouring over textbooks, or listening to a teacher when they should be using their eyes and ears for purposes more important.

1. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p. 408.

It makes an excessive use of oral instruction, to the neglect of practical activities and experimental work. Except here and there, it does little to prepare them to understand the life of the society to which they belong. Not infrequently, indeed, it appears expressly designed to make the rising generation stupid, nervous and unhappy, by means of education."¹

Lastly, the primary schools are "as a general rule not free schools."² The pupils are required to pay tuition as well as to pay for books and other fees, which means a heavy burden for their parents, considering the small income of the peasant families.

In view of these characteristics of present primary schools, how can we blame the farmers for their indifference and unwillingness to send their children to school?

5. The Unstable Condition Resulting from Political Disorder

Almost twenty years ago, Mr. Bertrand Russell, after a year's visit in China, wrote these words:

Even given good government, it is doubtful whether the immense expense of educating such a vast population could be borne by the nation without a considerable industrial development. Such industrial development as already exists is mainly in the hands of foreigners. And its profits provide warships for the Japanese, or mansions and dinners for British and American millionaires. If its profits are to provide the funds for Chinese education, industry must be in Chinese hands.³

1. Tawney, op. cit., pp.184-5.

2. See The Reorganization of Education in China, pp. 93, 94.

3. Russell, Bertrand, The Problem of China, New York, The Century Co., 1922, p. 262.

Unfortunately, the "good government" did not exist until too late. As we have mentioned at the beginning of our discourse on this problem of education, the Chinese government laid down a five year program in 1933 to launch a comprehensive movement aiming at universal education for the country. But this programme was disastrously and inevitably interrupted by the present war. This demonstrates how fatally the development of rural education can be impeded by political disturbances regardless of whether the disturbances are due to internal struggles or foreign aggression.

Since we shall discuss the political and social problems in the following chapter, suffice it to quote a passage from Prof. Tawney's book, just to give us an idea of the effects of political disorder upon rural life in general and upon education in particular.

He says:

Expenditure on war absorbs resources which should be spent on elementary improvements, such as roads and primary education. Trade is paralysed, and such communications as exist are turned by the soldiers who seize them from a blessing into a curse. Capital flies from rural districts, where it is urgently needed, to be buried in the Concessions. Population flies with it; here and there whole villages are on the move, like animals breaking from cover as the beaters advance.¹

We must not be discouraged. Despite such devastating conditions as described by this foreign observer, Chinese rural education, inadequate as it has been, has progressed since the establishment of the Republic. Our hope today is that when the war is over, this progress will be increased.

1. Tawney, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHAOS

A. Diagnosis

As we have seen, Chinese peasant-farmers have been and still are suffering from poverty and ignorance. Because they are poor, they cannot afford an education, and because they are ignorant, they are unable to increase their income. But poverty and ignorance are not the only problems that confront them. These two problems are inextricably involved in the social and political chaos in which they find themselves. Because of the chaotic condition of their social and political life, poverty seems to be aggravated, and the effects of ignorance accentuated.

What is this chaos? Since the impact of the Occident, the old social structure and political order of rural life has disintegrated to a greater or less degree, yet new forms of social and political life are still in the making. In other words, the established equilibrium has been disturbed, and rural people are finding themselves in a state of utter confusion, knowing not what to do or what to follow in order to improve their community life.

In describing this chaos, we must recognize that China has extensive territory, and an immense population. Not only are there variations in customs but also changes which have taken place have not affected different localities uniformly. What, therefore, may be true in one district may not be the appropriate

picture in another. Moreover, what happened yesterday may not continue to exist tomorrow. And what might occur tomorrow in a remote village may have already occurred in another place which is nearer a port city. However, there are some trends which indicate the changes that are taking place. And during this transitional period, rural people are lost in confusion.

The Chinese rural community has been based on the family system under the leadership of elders and scholars. Its social control and political structure have always been subject to the traditional ideas preserved and transmitted by literati of the Confucian school of thought. A Chinese author has pointed out that "the family system is the root of Chinese society, from which all Chinese social characteristics derive. The family system and the village system, which is the family raised to a higher exponent, account for all there is to explain in the Chinese social life. "Face", favor, privilege, gratitude, courtesy, official corruption, public institutions, the school, the guild, philanthropy, hospitality, justice, and finally the whole government of China, all spring from the family and village system, all borrow from it their peculiar tenor and complexion, and all find in it enlightening explanations for their peculiar characteristics. For from the family system there arises the family mind, and from the family mind there arise certain laws of social behavior."¹

1. Lin Yutang, My Country and My People, pp. 175-76.

This family mind, however, has undergone changes ever since the coming of the western mind with its influence toward industrialization and the individualistic concept of life. The changes became prominent when the integrity of the nation was at stake resulting from the subversive actions of the aggressive neighbor. A foreign observer says:

If a Chinese Gallup could circulate a questionnaire among China's youth today, to ask, 'What is your first duty?' the finding might be considered revolutionary. Quite a percentage would answer, 'To China' instead of 'To my family'.

Confucius said wu wei meant simply that the highest duty of man is to serve one's parents while they are alive, to bury them with propriety when dead, and to worship them with propriety when buried.... But in many ways the 2,000 years of Confucian domination of the Chinese intellect is being overthrown. Filial piety is no longer the glorified thing it was once.¹

Indeed, wu wei which means literally 'do not disobey', is the essence of filial piety. This piety makes one value the things of his forefathers above his own, and hesitate to reform whatever has been tenaciously practised by his elders. But this piety was denounced openly by students recently when the New Thought Movement was in full swing, and the slogan "Down with the Confucian school" has been echoed and reechoed ever since. To be sure, all this happened in cities among student circles. But their influence is bound to be exerted upon the masses even

1. Snow, Edgar, The Battle for Asia, pp. 242-3.

in rural areas. It is something like throwing a heavy stone in the middle of a calm lake. There are bound to be ripples steadily moving outward until all the water has been affected.

However, apart from the changes which are fermenting in the life of the people, there are also changes which would strike any observer who is concerned with the social and political life of the rural masses. It is these changes we now wish to consider.

1. Changes in Social Life

Since social life in China is closely related to the family system, as Lin Yutang said, 'the system colors all our social life,'¹ the signs of disintegration of the family system form the natural indication of the social chaos. Several of these signs should be mentioned.

(1) The Family Ties

In the first place, the ties that are responsible for binding the family together are becoming less effective. Due to the economic pressure regarding food, there has always been a tendency for farming families to split up into the natural primary unit composed of the husband, wife and children. It has been found that 70 per cent of the rural families do this, while patriarchal families represent only 30 per cent of all families studied.² And there is good reason to believe that "in some

1. Lin Yutang, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

2. Buck, Land Utilization in China, pp. 19 & 367.

districts, large families, in which three generations or even four live together in one compound, are diminishing in number."¹

Small families, however, are still bound together by blood and cultural ties. They have the same ancestral hall, they respect their elders and they often possess public family land, both for the maintenance of common property and for the promotion of education among the clan members. Even "when, as has often been the case, a family has risen to importance in an urban center, not infrequently it has continued rooted in the soil through membership in a 'clan' whose seat is in the country."² The institution of ancestral worship, for example, is not merely the effect of a 'dread of ghosts' or of an 'animistic lottery'. "This form of worship must not be confounded with the primordial magic of the savage tribes, or the refined superstition of the Christian churches."³ This worship is a sort of expression that they belong to the same origin and that they are not forgetting that origin.

1. Cf. Latourette, Kenneth Scott, The Chinese, Their History and Culture, vol. two, p. 231.

2. Ibid., p. 187.

3. Kia-Lok Yen, The Basis of Democracy in China, International Journal of Ethics, 1918, vol. 28, p. 201. Quoted in Su, The Chinese Family System, p. 84.

It is certainly a joyful experience to see group after group of people coming from near and far, gathering around their ancestors' tombs, during the Ching-Ming festival (the spring festival). There men and women, the young and old, meet for the purpose of paying respect to their departed common ancestors. "There, on the top of the hill, away from strangers, is held the reunion of the whole family, the living and the dead. They eat and drink and enjoy each other's company exactly as at the feast held in the ancestral temple. The beneficial social effect of this convivial gathering of the whole family once a year cannot be overstated."¹

It certainly would be a thrilling experience for one brought up in urban surroundings to visit the village from which his grandfather moved to the city. He would hear many of the aged farmers addressing him as grand-uncle. Entering his ancestral hall, he would find hundreds of tablets on which are inscribed his forefathers' names, and many boards hanging on walls with inscriptions which reflect his ancestors' aspirations in the days of the past. The system of remembering and respecting one's ancestors is a tie which brings together city and rural people.

This kind of tie is now gradually being dissolved. The worship services are being held as a sort of annual routine runder-

1. Su, Sing Ging, The Chinese Family System, p. 87.

ed by the different branches of the family in rotation. When it is the turn of a certain branch who happens to live in an urban area, the performance of this duty is usually entrusted to some one who remains in the local community and is on a strictly business basis. The family land, the rent of which is generally collected in rotation by those in charge of the services, has now degenerated to a source of income for private individuals, instead of a public fund entrusted to the hands of stewards. It is not an uncommon experience to find that the family land has been sold by powerful members without first getting common consent of all its members. The ancestral halls in many places have been turned into school houses, which is all right. But in other places, they look like rural slums. They are rented to poor farmers as a sort of apartment house.

Furthermore, because of the pressure of poverty, many of the able bodied young men and women have left the country to earn a living either in business or as laborers, or domestic servants. These people are not at liberty to come home to attend all the family gatherings, although their hearts remain at home.

There are also wealthy people who are attracted by urban life. They move to cities for various reasons such as educational facilities or business opportunities. In recent years, many wealthy landlords have found the country too dangerous a place in which to

live, because of the increasing number of bandits. and To be sure, bandits are not necessarily bad elements. On the contrary, many rural people join the bandits as a sort of protest against the existing system of government or after having become victims of the present economic or political maladjustment. As they have moved into cities they take with them the cash capital which is badly needed in the country, and deposit it in city banks. After a long while, these people gradually lose their interest in the rural community. All they care about is their farm rent which is collected through agents. If perchance, they should come to the country again, the dire poverty of the people is sufficient to prevent them from having intimate contact with the people. It seems that there no longer is anything in common between the poor family members in the country and the rich ones in the city. No wonder, the family tie is disappearing.

(2) The Status of Women

It is true that "a woman in China always seems to belong to somebody else," as Dr. Felton has pointed out.¹ But in describing the condition of China, it must be borne in mind that China is changing, and changing rapidly, even in rural areas. This change in the status of women is the second sign of the disintegration of family life that needs to be considered. The Chinese used

1. Felton, The Rural Church in The Far East, p. 19.

to have the conception that "there were the three obediences, as a girl, the woman obeyed her father; as a wife, she obeyed her husband; as a widow, she obeyed her son. There were women's four graces--good behavior, good speech, good appearance, and good works."¹ But these duties and virtues are fetters which can no longer restrain modern Chinese women. The missionaries who established the first schools for girls, and emphasized the education and the training of girls for work outside the home, had their influence on shaking the traditional family system.² Because of the development of industrial factories, both peasant boys and girls were drawn from their homes to accept outside employment which has consequently caused many changes in village family life.³ Legally speaking, the daughter now has an equal right with her brothers to claim a share of the property of her parents, which was denied to her in days past. Girls are entitled to an equal opportunity for education. The occupations for women have multiplied. We must also not forget that since the Japanese invasion, the rank and file in China have been awakened. For instance, in North China, a great many daughters of workers and peasants have hiked hundreds of miles through guerrilla trails to get their education in the "College of Amazons", a woman's

1. Lo, R.Y., China's Revolution From the Inside, pp. 257-8.
2. Pratt, Helen, China: and Her Unfinished Revolution, p. 110.
3. Ibid., p.154.

university established by the Communist Party at Yen-an.¹ They are given a training more or less after the fashion of the Old Red Academy, and when these trained women return to their home villages, their influence must not be minimized or overlooked.

But after everything has been said in favor of the changing status of women, we must not deceive ourselves by pulling down the blinds, and thus not seeing an ugly sight. We have to recognize the fact that the changing status of women is the trend, but the unchanged status is still the rule. How to put the new wine into the old bottle is a painful problem that the reformer of rural society has to face. For instance, polygamy is not legally permissible, yet married men, such as the emigrants from the Phenix Village, Kwantung, marry other women abroad. In every respect, these women are their wives, and make better wives than the ones whom they left at the village home. For the time being, "social opinion has rationalized a situation that the community has been unable to do anything about."² On the other hand, let us suppose a village woman has been forced to seek employment in a city. After having tasted life in the city, she begins to feel that her own husband at home is not the right companion for her. Yet, being restrained by the old tradition, she would not be allowed to divorce her first husband. Very likely,

1. Snow, Edgar, The Battle for Asia, p. 273 et seq.

2. Kulp, op. cit., p. 182.

her life will be more miserable than it would have been had she not come into contact with the new way of living, and did not know anything about the fact that love, not fate, is the basis of matrimony.

This, however, is a highly hypothetical case. By and large, there are very few country women who have come to such an enlightened stage. In the remote and more isolated districts, women are still living a life of slavery. They are not treated as equals by their husbands. While they are indispensable laborers in the households, they may be sold and mortgaged. Concubinage is still prevalent in some villages, not so much because the man who marries a concubine is rich, and therefore wants a young woman to show off his wealth, but because concubines make cheaper and more efficient labourers.¹ The life of these women is difficult, partly due to the traditional idea of the low position of women, and partly to the fact of poverty which ^{is} like a huge blanket spread over their heads shutting them off from whatever light might shine upon them.

(3) Other Aspects of Social Life

The present social condition in China is somewhat like a loaf of bread put in an over-heated oven. The outside of this bread burns, while the inside remains cold and unheated. Nowadays,

1. Regarding the status of women of the peasantry, many research articles have been published in the last decade, in such magazines or periodicals as Chung-kuo Nung-ts'un, and The Eastern Miscellany.

in a few coastal cities like Shanghai and Tientsin, where western civilization has been introduced through movies, living examples, newspapers, and reading materials, young people are talking about free love and companionate marriage, while in the interior young girls are still being given away as foster daughters-in-law. "Boys of 13 to 14 are still marrying girls 4 or 5 years older than themselves, and in fact, very often a boy of eleven may have a wife of sixteen."¹ In cities, a few married couples are practicing birth-control through the use of contraceptives because they do not want to be bothered by children. In most of the rural areas women are still suffering from uncontrolled fecundity. "The appalling misery and waste of human energy involved in excessive propagation, together with the great preventible loss of life, is not the least of China's problems. Nowhere else is the burden of motherhood so great an obstacle to social progress."²

In some cities people work 8 hours a day, six days a week. They spend their leisure time in dance halls and in playing mah-jong or bridge, or amusing themselves in 'little' theaters, or on athletic fields. For country folk, life is still engrossed in the monotonous task of tilling the soil with primitive implements. The only recreation that seems available to them is gossiping, gamb-

1. Agrarian China, p. 83.

2. Condliffe, J.B., China Today: Economic, p. 13.

ling in a crude form, and occasional performances connected with superstitious religious beliefs. All these contrasts and many others are signs of changes that are emerging. Maladjustments seem inevitable. But it is only through the throes of adjustment and readjustment that the new mores of a social order are to be shaped.

2. Political Life

Until recently, the self-government in Chinese villages was more or less maintained by custom and usage. No visible body of authority was legally appointed. Elders by virtue of their great age, and the gentry by virtue of their knowledge of law and history, generally commanded the respect of the villagers and therefore exercised a considerable political influence upon them. As a rule, villagers do not want to be bothered by governmental affairs or government officials. All they have to do with the government is to pay taxes. Their life is simple and they enjoy its simplicity, as is illustrated by the burden of the song sung to the rhythm of sticks beaten on the ground:

We go to work at sunrise,
 And come back to rest at sunset.
 We know nothing and learn nothing.
 What has the emperor's virtue to do with us?¹

¹ Lin, Yutang, *op. cit.* p. 120.

(1) The Organic Structure of Self-Government

It was due to the impact of the western powers that the Chinese government began to intervene in the affairs of these autonomous groups with a view to the establishment of a constitutional government. In 1908, five years before the downfall of the Tsing Dynasty, two sets of regulations were promulgated, namely, the 'Regulation on Local Self-Government in Ch'eng (城), Chen (鎮), Hsiang (鄉); and the 'Regulation on Local Self-Government in Fu (府), Chow (州), Ting (廳), and Hsien (縣)'. These were the first written documents on local self-government in China. The Tsing Dynasty, however, was not altogether sincere in its promulgation, it merely used this as a means to calm the revolutionary clamour which was then strong. "After the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty, these documents were reduced to nothing but scraps of paper."¹

Since the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, many plans and programs have been mapped out by the central government regarding the county and district administration, but due to the continuous disturbances in the political world, none of these have been successfully carried out, and many of them were merely on paper.

1. Cf. Chiang, Tso-pin, Local Self-Government in China, in Twenty-five years of the Chinese Republic, p. 120.

It was not until the establishment of the present Nationalist Government in 1927 that political reforms were carried out, in accordance with Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings regarding a serious attempt to strengthen local self-government. In 1929 the Government promulgated a Revised Law Governing the Organization of Districts (Hsien 縣), a Law on the Administration of County (Chu 區) self-government, and a Law on the Administration of Village and Town (Hsiang and Chen 鄉鎮) self-government.

According to these laws, the district is the basic self-government unit. A magistrate for each unit is to be elected by the people. The following account will show the position of the village in the whole picture of local government.

According to the revised law of June 1929, the District Government will be supervised by a District Assembly (Hsien Ts'an I Hui 縣參議會), composed of members elected by the citizens of the District for a term of three years. The authority of the latter is to discuss and pass upon the budget, financial statements and ordinances as well as suggestions for the improvement of the District and other matters handed down by the Magistrate.

All districts are divided into three classes, according to their size, population and financial ability. Every District is composed of a number of counties. Each county is composed of from twenty to fifty rural districts (or villages) and towns. A rural district is a village possessing at least one hundred families, while a town is a market place. Within each village or town, five families form one Lin, and five Lin one Lu. (鄰 閭)

The chairmen of the County, Village, Town, Lu and Lin are elected by the people; and are responsible for carrying out local self-government in their respective areas.¹

In 1935, the Law of 1929 was superseded by a series of laws. According to the present statutes, a district is divided into several counties, and subdivided into the system of Pao Chia (which means mutual guarantee; this is an old administrative system proposed by an administrative reformer in the Sung Dynasty, 960-1276 A.D.), for the citizens' self-defence against lawlessness. According to this system of Pao Chia, each ten households (Hu) form a Chia and each ten Chia a Pao. Thus "the uniform units of Pao and Chia were substituted for the old units Lu and Lin, and County (Chu), Village (Hsiang) and Town (Chen) units were to be on the same level; in other words, the original status of the county as an intermediary unit between district and village or town was abolished."²

The functions of the local government are listed as follows:

Census taking, population registration, land survey, public works, education, self-defence, physical training, public health, water regulation, forest preservation, industrial and commercial improvement, food storage and regulation, protection and prohibition of plantation and

1. The China Year Book (1934) pp. 465-6.

2. Fei, Hsiac-tung, Peasant Life in China, p. 112.

fishery, cooperative organization, improvement of customs, public relief, public enterprise, and financial control.¹

It may be interesting to note that the Chinese Nationalist Government was not only anxious to develop the self-governing capacities of people in the villages by enforcing the laws on local self-government, but they were also alert to the need of good environmental conditions which would facilitate such development. This was revealed in the Provisional Constitution of the Political Tutelage Period, promulgated on June 1, 1931 of which Article 34 reads as follows:

In order to develop rural economy, to improve the living conditions of farmers and to promote the well-being of peasants, the State shall take active steps for the carrying out of the following measures:--

1. Reclamation of all waste land in the country and development of farm irrigation;
2. Establishment of agricultural banks and encouragement of cooperative enterprises in the rural communities;
3. Enforcement of the (public) granary system for the prevention of famine and other calamities and replenishment of the people's food supplies;
4. Development of agricultural education with special emphasis on scientific experiments, extensive development of agricultural enterprises, and increase of agricultural produce;
5. Encouragement of road-building in the rural villages to facilitate the transportation of agricultural products.²

1. Fei, Hsiao-tung, Peasant Life in China, pp. 110-11.

2. The China Year Book, (1934), p. 467.

In his Fundamentals of National Reconstruction on the basis of which, the innovations of the Nationalist Government were supposed to be built, Dr. Sun Yat-sen had explicitly stated that:

During the period of political tutelage the government should despatch trained officers qualified in the examinations to the different districts to assist the people in making preparations for local self-government. The attainment of local self-government depends on the completion of the census, the survey of the district, the organization of an efficient police force, and the construction of roads throughout the district. Moreover, the people of the district must be able to fulfill their duties as citizens by exercising the four rights mentioned above,¹ and must pledge themselves to carry out the principle of the Revolution, before they are entitled to elect the chief officer of a Hsien for the administration of its affairs and representatives of the Hsien for the formulation of its laws. By that time, the Hsien will then be considered as fully self-governing.

From these documentary statements we can see that the government was trying to improve the life of the masses in villages, and its aims correspond exactly with the aspirations of those who are interested in the Rural Reconstruction Movement. But what matters is not that the government lacks programs or plans, but that it lacks the right kind of personnel who know how, and are willing to carry out these purposes. So far as we know, the rural reform movement has been promoted largely by private agencies or institutions, such as The Chinese National

1. They are "a direct right to vote for the election of officers, a direct right to recall, a direct right of initiative, and a direct right of referendum."

Association of the Mass Education Movement, the Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute, the Kiangsu Rural Educational Institute, the Chinese Association of Vocational Education, and the Christian Church.

What the government actually did was establish a few Local Self-Government Experimental Centers. These centers were located in Lan-che of Chekiang, Yu-hsien of Honan, Quan-ming of Yunnan, Ting-hsien of Hopei, Chou-ping and Ho-che of Shantung, Ping-yang of Kwangsi, Hen-shan of Hunan and Kiang-ning of Kiangsu.¹ Although commendable results were achieved in these experimental Hsien before their administration was disrupted by war, they were, after all, only experiments in local self-government.

There are in China about nineteen hundred Hsien and over half a million villages. In these neither had the people accepted the government policies, nor had the government sent qualified officers to assist the people in making necessary changes as suggested by Dr. Sun. It was said that the reorganization of village administration under the beautiful name of rural self-government was "chiefly for furthering the purpose of taxation." As a matter of fact, the total tax burden in some places has trebled as a result of the reorganization of local self-government units. And this burden is largely upon the shoulders

1. Chiang, Tso-ping, op. cit., p. 131.

of peasants who have to pay rent.¹ It has also been pointed out that the Pao-Chia system with every ten families as a unit, was originally used as an aid for common defence, but has long since been utilized by the authorities as a means of demanding community responsibility, and as an additional instrument for the maintenance of peace and order.² Thus the misuse of local self-government has perplexed the people as to its real value; and this perplexity was enhanced by the local administration which tried to exploit the people, oftentimes in the name of self-government.

(2) The Administration of Village Government

The administration of local village government, as has been indicated, is also closely related to the traditional family system. In former days, the village was more or less an autonomous unit, with elders and scholars as 'ipso facto' leaders. People did not want to be bothered by government officials, and good officials oftentimes did not bother them. The fact-finders of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, report, "the magistrate of the Hsien, or County, is the chief legal official of these villages. But the magistrate sees little of the village, and the villagers know little of the magistrate. The social

1. Chen, Han-seng, Landlord and Peasant in China, p. ix.
 2. Wong, Li-jen, After Three Months of being a Cooperative Director, Chung-Kuo Nung-Ts'un, vol. 3, no. 4, April 1937, Shanghai, See Agrarian China, p. 212.

control of the villages is carried on by the gentry."¹ This impression was confirmed by a competent foreign observer, Mr. C.F. Strickland, who contrasted village conditions in India and China as follows:

When you enter on a discussion with the people, if in an Indian village you can persuade a number of the leading men that such and such a thing ought to be done, they will agree, and they will say, 'We will talk it over with the other people and see whether we can persuade them.' In China, if you persuade the leading men of the village, you need not trouble about the others. This is because the whole village consists of two or three families, except perhaps in areas close to the big towns. If the head men of the families have approved a certain step, then unless the proposal is something very unexpected, something that really offends the older women, the rest of the family falls into line. That is to say, the village in China is still a much more closely cohesive unit than in India--again a result in India of westernization. This is the moment when China should look to India and say: 'These are the tendencies ... This will happen in China. What has India done about it?'²

This condition may continue to exist even after the war. But we must not mistake this condition for democracy. While there are advantages in having leading men who are capable of seeing things done without much difficulty, there are also many disadvantages. "Very slight inquiry is sufficient to make it evident that while all matters of local concern are theoretically managed by the people, in practice the burden falls not

1. Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, Fact-Finders Report, vol. V, p. 184.
2. Strickland, C.F., Rural Welfare in India and China, The Asiatic Review, Vol. XXXII (1936) pp. 37-38.

upon the people as a whole, but upon the shoulders of a few persons."¹ If these few persons are honest, conscientious, and reliable, really working hard for the good of their fellowmen, the villagers will of course be benefited. On the other hand, if these head men are selfish, short-sighted, and corrupt, then the rural masses--who are generally poor (in the sense that they can not afford any extra expense for law suits) and timid (in the sense that they are shy of strangers, especially government officials), blind (in the sense that they cannot read, therefore not informed) and dumb (in the sense that they are not able to express themselves in writing)--will be at the mercy of their leaders, and liable to be circumvented and "squeezed".

The latter kind of local leaders have often been called village bullies or 'depraved gentry'. Over forty years ago Dr. Arthur H. Smith, a missionary in China, devoted two chapters of his book, on Village Life in China describing the village bully and the village head man. He said:

The most expert of all this dreaded class is the bully who is also a literary man, perhaps a hsiu-ts'ai, or Bachelor of Arts, and who thus has a special prestige of his own, securing him a hearing where others would fail of it, guaranteeing him immunity from beating in open court, to which others are liable, and enabling him to prepare accusations for himself or others, and to be certain of the bearing of these documents upon the case in hand.

1. Smith, Arthur H., Village Life in China, p. 226.

These advantages are so great, that it is not uncommon to find persons who make no secret of the fact that their main motive in submitting to the toils requisite to gain the lowest literary degree, is that they may be able, during the rest of their lives, to make use of this leverage as a means of raising themselves and of harming their neighbours. Any Chinese bully is greatly to be feared, but none is so formidable as the literary bully.¹

The progressive disappearance of these bullies does not mean that peasant farmers are free from parasitism, and are able to build up a community life according to their own desire or for their own good. On the contrary, because of their increasing poverty, and the fact that they are illiterate, their political status is as low as it used to be, except for a brief period from 1924 to 1927, when the Farmers' Union Movement in South China was in operation. Even then the real farmers did not have much to say; rather, they were used as a sort of political weapon. It is said that when this movement was at its height, terrorism prevailed.

Through ruffians and brigands who joined the unions the movement was able to establish a sort of terrorization among the weak and oppressed peasants. Small farmers and labourers were compelled to join, otherwise the unionist would adopt certain measures which would make life unendurable to them.²

Perhaps it was partly due to this terrorism which threatened to lead the farmers into communism, that the National-1st Government, (established after the purification of the

1. Smith, Arthur H., op. cit., p. 219.

2. Chang, T.C., The Farmers' Movement in Kwangtung, p. 22.

Kuomintang Party in 1927) discouraged the people to further the movement by enacting laws or creating committees that would safeguard the farmers' unions against being infected with what was considered as seditious propaganda. With the return to normal conditions, the village administration in South China, as in other parts of the country, was again "permeated by the omnipresent influences of the landlord. Tax, police, judicial, and educational systems are built upon his power. Poor peasants who fail to satisfy the landlord-officials in tax and rent payments are brutally imprisoned and tortured."¹

Besides, "there is also the small local bureaucrat. Sometimes in office, and sometimes on the retired list, he is a smart politician in local affairs whose family, probably, has the secret of some local tax list or other information which is its professional seal, handed down from father to son. He may have been superintendent of schools or police chief; at any rate he is not likely to die poor unless some unusual misfortune visits his family."² This local bureaucrat cooperates with the landlords, especially the absentee ones, by acting as the latter's rent collecting agent. He also collaborates with the Hsien magistrate or the petty military officer who happens to

1. Chen, Han-seng, The Agrarian Problem of China, Document II, Problems of the Pacific, 1933, p. 287.
2. Cf. Fong, H.D., Industrial Capital in China, Nankai Social and Economic Quarterly, vol. IX, no. 1, 1936, p. 71.

have his troops stationed in a nearby market town. He acts as a liaison officer between the people and the authorities, and he is always handy to carry out the implicit or explicit desires of the authorities regardless of whether or not these desires are beneficent to the people.

Men like this are to be found almost everywhere in rural districts. They are both assets and liabilities to the villagers. When they desire to do something profitable for their fellow villagers, they are the eyes and ears, the brains and the mouths, of the people. They are, in fact, often the leaders of local enterprises. But if they fall into the hands of villainous militarists or usurious merchants, they become instruments of evil. They live the life of parasites, not only devouring the fruits of social labor, but paralyzing the sinews of production and distribution. In both cases they are influenced not by the people within the community, but by the forces that come from without. As a general rule, they are apt to follow the line of least resistance by allying themselves with the group that is related to the ruling class. Thus one cannot but agree with the author who wrote:

In the present system of rural self-government, the chiefs of sub-districts and the chiefs of villages, as well as their subordinates, are for the most part recommended by the authorities of powerful clans. Many of the clan officers themselves have become such chiefs concurrently. In theory the system may seem as embodiment of local

autonomy admirably blending old Chinese institutions with western principles of democracy. But actually it only means a further gain of power by those who already dominate the economic life of the community.¹

Under present circumstances, it seems there is very little that peasant farmers can do for themselves. Any reform movement is confronted with political obstacles even as "the industrial cooperative movement, upon which great hopes were placed from abroad, has faced not only normal technical and economic problems of organization and operation, but political difficulties, generated in circles which fear any organization not under strict central control."² Also, peasant farmers themselves would actually react against any new reforms, innovated in sympathy for them, because they are like a burned child who dreads the fire. They are afraid of labour requisitions, or an increase in taxes which usually results from a reform measure enforced by the ruling class.

It is appropriate to say that unless this vicious circle resulting from fear entertained by both the authorities and the people alike, is broken, the chaotic condition of the present social and political life in villages will continue. But in order to break this circle, some of the major factors

1. Chen, Han-seng, Landlord and Peasant in China, p. 40.
2. Tanagua, Frank M., China's Economic Future, a review article in Pacific Affairs, March 1943, p. 90.

contributing to the existing condition should first be removed or remedied. In the next section these factors will be considered briefly.

Mr. Arthur M. Smith spoke of village life in China as stagnant and vacuous. He said:

... village is physically and intellectually a fixture. Could one gaze backward through a vista of five hundred years at the progress which that vast stretch of modern history would present, he would probably see little more and little less than he sees to-day. The buildings now standing are not indeed five hundred years old, but they are just such houses as half a millennium ago occupied the same sites, 'similar and abuttedly situated.' . . . Those who now subsist in this collection of earth-built abodes are the kindred descendants of those who lived there when Columbus discovered America. The descendants are doing just what their ancestors did, no more, no less, no other. They cultivate the same fields in the same way (albeit a few of the crops are modern); they go to the same markets in the same invariable order; buy, sell, and wear the same articles; marry and are given in marriage according to the same patterns.

Referring to the vacuity of the villagers, he pointed

out that

The rustic of this class is abroad in his own affairs, and by no means deficient in practical intelligence. He is passionately fond of hearing story-tellers and of witnessing plays having for their heroes the great men of the Three Kingdoms seventeen hundred years ago, and on occasion he might be able to tell us much about their characters and their deeds. But modern and contemporary history is not of his line, and Locke flows. It is not literally none of his business, and he knows not where to find anything about it. The whole lot of such might be reconstructed, and it would have for him no interest whatever, provided it did not increase his taxes and raise the price of grain.

with, Village Life in China, p. 212.
p. 212.

B. Some Factors Contributory To The Existing
Condition of The Social And Political Life
In Rural Areas

Over forty years ago, Dr. Arthur H. Smith spoke of village life in China as monotonous and vacuous. He said:

A Chinese village is physically and intellectually a fixture. Could one gaze backward through a vista of five hundred years at the panorama which that vast stretch of modern history would present, he would probably see little more and little less than he sees to-day. The buildings now standing are not indeed five hundred years old, but they are just such houses as half a millennium ago occupied the same sites, 'similar and similarly situated.' . . . Those who now subsist in this collection of earth-built abodes are the lineal descendants of those who lived there when Columbus discovered America. The descendants are doing just what their ancestors did, no more, no less, no other. They cultivate the same fields in the same way (albeit a few of the crops are modern); they go to the same markets in the same invariable order; buy, sell, and wear the same articles; marry and are given in marriage according to the same pattern.¹

Referring to the vacuity of the villagers, he pointed out that:

The rustic of this class is shrewd in his own affairs, and by no means deficient in practical intelligence. He is passionately fond of hearing story-tellers and of witnessing plays having for their heroes the great men of the Three Kingdoms seventeen hundred years ago, and on occasion he might be able to tell us much about these characters and their deeds. But modern and contemporaneous history is out of his line, and lacks flavour. It is most literally none of his business, and he knows nor cares nothing about it. The whole map of Asia might be reconstructed, and it would have for him no interest whatever, provided it did not increase his taxes nor raise the price of grain.²

1. Smith, Village Life in China, p. 312.

2. Ibid, p. 319.

If the above description of the Chinese village and its villagers was true at the time it was written, it is certainly not true at the present time. For one thing, owing to the 'scorched-earth' policy adopted by both sides of the belligerents, many of the Chinese villages have not only been abandoned, they have also been literally burned down and wiped out. When the war is over, necessity will demand new buildings with new ideas embodied in them. But even before the war, Chinese villagers could not escape all the changes that have occurred since the dawn of the present century. One needs to be reminded that taxes have gone up everywhere and the price of grain has fluctuated a great deal more than it did during the last century. Both of these changes are closely related to the life of the peasant regardless of where he has been living. He had no way of escaping them.

Since the establishment of the Chinese Republic, village life in China has been constantly undergoing a process of change. In some places, these changes are tangible, and violent. In others, they are invisible and seemingly calm and harmless. But once the changed condition becomes the mode, the unchanged operates either as a challenge to, or as a stumbling-block for the exponent of the change, thus adding confusion to the changing phenomena. This is what we mean by chaos. In this state of

chaos, something is happening. It is not yet in a recognizable form, and is still subject to the action and reaction of different factors before it comes into being. In the meantime the old (be it a custom, a tradition, a system, or an institution) is being gradually reshaped or disintegrated. Perhaps during this present stage, rural people are facing the agonies of the disintegration of the old, while the fruits of the renaissance are not yet available.

Let us use the marriage system as an example. Suppose a young man at the age of sixteen, is sent by his farmer father to a market town to learn to be a carpenter. There he becomes an apprentice in a carpenter shop. During the period of his apprenticeship he comes in contact with some other young people of his age who are studying in a high school, presumably co-educational. He learns from them that marriage should not be arranged by one's parents, it should be consummated through a process of courtship between the two parties directly concerned. As a result of this, every time his parents try to arrange a marriage for him through the traditional channel, he vigorously protests against any such suggestion. But the general opinion of society, outside the student circle, is not ready to accept such a notion as securing a date with a girl. And no decent girl

except a student will go out with a young fellow who is not a member of her family. Since this young man is not a student himself, he has no way of meeting a girl whom he might court. He therefore has no way of getting to know a girl in a proper manner. He will either need to compromise his principles by marrying a wife chosen by his parents, or he will remain single. In either case, he will be an unhappy person.

Similar to this is the dilemma that exists in village political life. Suppose, some of the progressive members of a rural community realize that the elder who has been acting as their headman for years is too old and too conservative, and therefore is not competent to represent them in the new system of local self-government. They decide to elect a younger man who has studied for years in a Hsien Middle School, and is a member of the Kuomintang party. But here they drift into a dilemma. When this younger man is elected, they find that, because of his connection with the party, he is not only arrogant, but also despotic in his way of administering village affairs. Besides, it seems that he is more interested in Party affairs than in community well-being. He acts more like a petty politician representing the ruling class in order to expand the sphere of political influence, rather than as a representative of the people endeavoring to do his duty as such. Of course, in a

well advanced democratic country the more a party does for the well-being of the people, a better chance it has of winning the support of the people. But this is not yet the situation in China. The interests of the party in power are not yet identical with those of the people. Hence the inevitable disillusion and disappointment on the part of those who elected the young man. It is somewhat like a change which removes a well-fed swarm of flies and makes way for a much more hungry swarm. It is a substitution against which the fox in the fable wisely remonstrated.

Hypothetical incidents like the above may be repeated in respect to other aspects of village social or political life. But these two are sufficient to show that the existing chaos in the rural area is caused by factors which do not originate entirely within the rural community itself. In other words, it is impossible to separate rural reconstruction from national reconstruction. In addition to the two major factors--poverty and ignorance, which we have already discussed--there are at least four others; the disintegration of the family system; lack of wholesome recreation; emigration of the rural population; and the confused condition of national politics.

1. The Disintegration of the Family System

As we have seen, the old family system in China is being disintegrated. This is one of the signs of rural chaos.

But we must realize that this disintegration is caused partly by the defects inherent in the old system itself. These defects have been exposed to criticism more and more as the impact of modern culture pushes deeper and deeper into the life of the Chinese people.

Because of the premium on male progeny, the practice of early and universal marriage, and the imperative desire of family continuity, the traditional family system encouraged a high birth rate. High rate of birth naturally results in overpopulation. Even though modern sanitation and medicine are conspicuous by their absence, and famines and wars are frequent, pressure of population has already been considered by competent authorities as the most fundamental cause of the existing low standard of living. If modern methods of public health are adopted, and the natural causes of famines mitigated through the application of science, the problem will be intensified. Obviously radical changes in the mores are desirable.

The greater the birth rate under present conditions, the shorter is the expectation of life. The shorter the expectation, the greater is the desire to have many children. Hence a vicious circle is established. It is found that one-half of the population in China dies before the age of 28 years.¹ What^a/tremendous economic loss.

1. Buck, Land Utilization in China, p. 19.

There is no gainsaying the fact that under the patriarchal family system, its members are required to pay much attention to internal politics. The time and energy which should be spent in self-development are wasted in meeting the need for mutual toleration and adjustments in human relationships within a household. A story is told that once upon a time there was a prime minister, named Chang Kungni. He was much envied for his earthly blessedness because he had nine generations living under the same roof. Once he was asked by the emperor, T'ang Koachung, about the secret of his success. In response to the question, he wrote on a piece of paper a hundred times the character "patience" or "endurance". No wonder, for even though everybody seems to aim at building up a family with many generations living together, only a few have actually attained this much coveted blessedness.

From an agricultural point of view, the traditional idea of the family constitutes a very real problem. Its emphasis on ancestral worship, for example, has resulted in maintaining family burial grounds. Sixty-four per cent of the grave land is in cultivated fields, 15 per cent in arable uncultivated land, and only 21 per cent in non-arable land. The number of graves located in cultivated land averages 3.4 per farm. Not

only is land actually taken from cultivation but these graves also are a great obstacle to cultivation. It is estimated that "if the graves could be removed, China's crop area for the eight agricultural areas would be increased by 1.1 per cent or by 2,552,000 acres and this area could support over 400,000 farm families.¹

From the socio-economic point of view the family system is a source of some of the greatest weaknesses in modern China. The family has not only discouraged individualism, it is chiefly responsible for the nepotism which is a very apparent impediment in establishing a proper conception of the responsibility of trusteeship. For example, as Dr. Latourette has keenly observed, "loyalty to the family has stood and often still stands in the way of operating efficiently such typical Western devices as the stock company and a strong government. The traditional ethics which stress devotion to one's family have often made it seem natural and moral for an official in a business concern to bring into lucrative positions as many of his relatives as possible, regardless of whether they are fitted for them. It has also made it seem right to use public office to restore the family fortunes and appoint relatives to public posts, even when to do so has jeopardized the well-being of the state."² Such a family system

1. Buck, op. cit., pp. 176-79.

2. Latourette, The Chinese, Their History and Culture, vol. two, pp. 195-6.

is therefore bound to be weakened as individual freedom and social cooperation are more and more recognized as the cardinal requisites of a sound national unity.

While what has just been said may not be exhaustive, these four characteristics of the traditional family are sufficient to indicate that the inevitable disintegration of the family is partly due to its own defects.

2. Lack of Wholesome Recreation

It has been said that "wholesome recreation in rural districts is not only lacking but in the majority of rural communities wholesome recreation is totally absent; consequently gambling has developed and is wide spread. Gambling is an urban vice, but in China this vice is universal."¹ It is true that during the slack season farmers have very little to do, but they also have very few facilities for amusement and healthy recreation. In rural China, ball games are conspicuous by their absence, and dances such as folk dancing in which all people regardless of sex and age can join are tabooed, for the reason that young people are not supposed to play with the aged, and women and girls are isolated from the company of male folk.

Recreation in rural China is usually associated with religious practices, such as idol processions and theatrical per-

1. Lamb, Jefferson D.H., Development of the Agrarian Movement and Agrarian Legislation in China, p. 80.

performances given under the auspices of temples, which, however, have been gradually disappearing. To be sure, drinking tea and listening to the story-teller in tea rooms is common in market towns, but this is a privilege which is available only to those men folk who can afford to spend time and money. The majority of the people spend very little for recreational purposes. According to Prof. Buck, the annual cost of recreation for those families reporting such expenditure is not more than two dollars per family.¹

Furthermore, in modern China, the notion that people should work six days and have a holiday on the seventh is yet to be adopted by the rank and file. Except for a few days at New Year's season, and the few festivals, people are supposed to work continuously day in and day out. This lack of a common conception of regular intervals of leisure is an important factor that prevents the development of both indoor and outdoor recreational and social activities.

In short, we may say that the lack of wholesome recreation has handicapped the rural community in creating a group morale that is necessary in order to have a vigorous and progressive community. If lack of recreation is not an active dis-

1. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, pp. 411-2.

integrating force which contributes directly to the existence of rural chaos, it is at least a factor that makes possible many vices, such as gambling, which are substituted for wholesome recreation.

3. Migration of the Rural Population

During the last two decades owing to the collapse of village industries, the pressure of population and the deplorable poverty of the rural communities as well as famine and civil war, many rural people have left their original homes and moved to urban areas. The percentage of the population thus migrating varies from locality to locality.¹ In one place in 1932 migration was as high as 21 per cent of the population.² The figures regarding internal migration reported by the Ministry of Industries in 1935, are of extraordinary significance. "The reports from 1,000 districts in 22 provinces, which were supposed to cover nearly 40 million families, stated that 1,900,000 entire families

1. To quote some figures here:

(1) Han Tan Hsien, Hopei Province, the percentage of emigrants is 1.82. Malone & Taylor: The Study of Chinese Rural Economy, p. 120.

(2) Yen Shan Hsien, Hopei Province, 8.72% emigrated in one year. See Buck: An Economic and Social Survey of 150 Farms: Yenshan, pp. 81-84.

(3) Chang Shu, Kiangsu Province, during 1931-34 4.3% of population emigrated. Feng, Ho-fa (edited); The Chinese Rural Economics Source Book (in Chinese), Supplementary Volume, p. 52.

2. Feng, Ibid., First Volume, p. 412.

had left their villages, while 3,500,000 families had had some member leave. According to this, 13 1/2 out of every 100 families have been affected by migration, and in Southern Shantung, Western Hopeh and Northern Anhwei, the percentage is above 50."¹

Of these migrants, the large majority were male members above the age of 16, and only a few were females and children under 16.² Of the male migrants, almost two thirds belonged to the age groups between 20 and 40.³ This situation is easily understandable for the reason that men in their prime were more able to endure hardships, and consequently it was easier for them to secure employment elsewhere, whereas women had to remain at home to take care of children and the aged persons, and in some cases they were needed at home to cultivate the land. As a rule, the majority of migrants have been the poorer class of peasants, and only those rich landlords who could afford to live in the city or in other comparatively prosperous villages. We are, of course, speaking of the situation prior to the outbreak of the present war. Since

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1. Hu Nai-tsiu, *The Problem of the Peasant Exodus in China*, Education and the Mass, vol. VIII, no. 3, 28th November 1936, Wusih. See *Agrarian China*, p. 256.
 2. Malone and Taylor, *The Study of Chinese Rural Economy*, p. 12.
 3. Buck, *An Economic and Social Survey of 150 Farms*, p. 83. Also see Feng, *op. cit.*, First Volume, p. 675.

then the internal migration of the Chinese population has taken place in a radically different manner. This is a factor that has to be reckoned with in the post war reconstruction program, but a discussion of this factor will be outside of the scope of our present task.

Our task at this moment is to see the implications of the migration of rural people in relation to the rural community that is confronting social and political chaos. The migration of the rural population is justified if we consider the fact that it releases the pressure of population and that it provides the community with an additional source of income, other factors being unchanged. But as it has been in China, migration is a definite disintegrating factor in the poverty-stricken condition of rural communities.

If the emigrants are of the landlord class, their migration from the village will naturally be accompanied by capital and the shrinkage of cash which would otherwise be circulated among rural inhabitants. It will also result in the increase of absentee land owners whose connection with agriculture is purely financial, and who have no intimate concern for the welfare of the villagers. The growth of absentee landlordism will in turn aggravate the deplorable condition of village people by continually draining the profits from the land through their rent-collecting agents with all the attendant evils.

If the emigrants are of the poorer peasant class, their migration will mean the exodus of the strong, able-bodied farmers. It will result in the shortage of agricultural labor, which in turn will cause the lessening of the productivity of the land.

Moreover, since the majority of the emigrants are males ranging in age from 20 to 40, their absence from the village creates an abnormal social phenomenon disrupting the ratio between male and female and between the able-bodied and the aged. Moreover, while they are away from home, they are also away from the primary social control. Their ideas regarding sex and marriage are bound to be affected by the practices prevailing in urban areas, which may not conform to the traditions at home. Their respect for the traditional ideals is lessened. Along with the money sent home, their letters also contain new ideas. These new ideas in some instances may be good, in others, bad, but regardless of whether they are good or bad, they serve as social stimulants challenging the old systems and institutions.

Thus, for better or for worse, the migration of the rural population is a factor contributing to the present disintegration of rural society. This is true, regardless of who the emigrants are. One other factor has contributed to the same

effect. This has to do with the political aspect of society.

4. The Confused Condition of National Politics

That the lack of a stable government is chiefly responsible for the retardation of progress in all aspects of Chinese life, including rural life, is a well-known fact. It needs no elaboration. That the confused condition of the national political life has a direct bearing upon the confused condition of rural life is a common observation. But why is this so? The answer to this question varies depending upon the angle from which one views the problem.

Some think that the confused national political life has contributed directly to the disastrous sufferings of village people because the politicians and militarists have caused civil wars, excessive taxation, military requisitions for labour and provisions, illicit practices with landlords for monopolizing land-holdings, compulsory cultivation of the opium poppy, and have abused political power for favoritism. Others think that government officials should be held responsible for the miseries of the rural population because of their many sins of omission, such as the lack of preventive measures for famines, insufficient appropriation for agricultural credit, indifferent attitude toward the exploitation of peasants by the landlord-merchant-gentry class, inadequate educational provisions for rural people, and so on.

All these are very true, perhaps they are so true that they seem to be like platitudes. We must realize, however, that the confused political affairs could be an important factor in rural chaos regardless of what has been done or what has not been done. The fact that the government has done that which it ought not to have done, or that it has not done that which it ought to have done, is of course detrimental to the well-being of the people. But aside from this, there are still a few points that ought not to be ignored. These are, first, insincerity on the part of the government to carry out its professed policies; second, inefficiency in the way the government programs are being carried out; and the third has to do with the fundamental principle of rendering governmental service for the people.

As has been noted, the Chinese government has not been unmindful of the needs of the rural people. If we read the resolutions that have been passed in the various government councils, we shall be tempted to think that active steps have already been taken, and considerable results achieved. But, we shall realize that most of these resolutions and promulgations are mere lip-service. Take, for example, the Policy of Rent Reduction. In October 1926, rent reduction was officially made the most important item in the Kuomintang's agrarian platform.

This is always referred to as the Plan of Twenty-five per cent Rent Discount. But since then, only five provinces have issued a governmental decree for rent reduction and out of these only one province, Chekiang, has given it an actual trial.¹ This trial, however, was not successful.

The insincerity of government officials in carrying out government policies can, perhaps, be illustrated by the story of a man who had actual experience as a district director of cooperatives. He was a college graduate and a firm believer in the cooperative movement. After being in office for three months, he resigned, disillusioned as to the usefulness of the cooperative movement. While he was in office, he saw the existence of every kind of cooperative recorded, but during his trip of inspection he was disappointed to find that some of the cooperatives kept no accounts, some were unable to call a meeting because they consisted of only one person, and others were literally non-existent. On his return, he studied the office records, and found that in some cases all the applications, the regulations, membership lists and certificates of registration had been written by the same hand. In order to satisfy his curiosity, he finally

1. Lin, Chu-ching, *The Twenty-five per cent Reduction of Rent in Chekiang*, Sin Tsan Tsao, vol. 1, nos. 1 & 2, July 1932, Shanghai. See Agrarian China, pp. 144-49.

wrote to his predecessor, and the following is the reply he received.

... The poor people have not yet understood what the cooperatives are, since the general level of education is low. Because of their ignorance, the merchants in general have very often utilized the name of cooperative to avoid the payment of business taxes, while many cooperatives are in the hands of a small group who are out for their own selfish ends. Generally speaking the credit cooperatives are being used by the gentry, the landlord and the rich peasant to secure bank loans for sub-renting to the poor in order to extort usurious interest; the consumers' cooperatives constantly meet with failure because they cannot compete with the merchants; cooperatives for production meet with the same fate for they cannot stand the price drop resulting from the concerted action of the factories; and cooperatives for marketing are equally unable to stand the competition of big merchants. Knowing the real situation as I do, I was compelled to make fictitious records in order to satisfy the Provincial Bureau of Reconstruction. I did this because I was well aware that the high officials would not look into the matter anyway. . . .¹

This story not only shows us that the officials are not enthusiastic about the government programs, but it also shows us that officials have certain techniques by which they evade their duties with complete complacency.

The second point we want to mention here is the inefficiency of the government organizations. As we have already

1. Wong, Li-jen, *After Three Months of Being a Cooperative Director*, Chung-kuo Mung-ts'un, vol. 3, no. 4, April 1937, Shanghai. See *Agrarian China*, pp. 211-216.

noted, the Chinese National Government is over-staffed. There are many bureaus under many different departments and ministries. Each has its plans and programs. These are mapped out in such detail they become inelastic, and impractical for any specific locality. These programs are so planned that there is little room left for local initiative. This is perhaps one reason why the local offices had to make fictitious records. They had to satisfy their higher officers.

Again, there is too much red tape; so much so it makes the government organization ridiculously inefficient. It is said that during the winter of 1935 the peasants of western Shantung were facing a famine. In one district named Cheng-nan some of the peasants had to eat bark from trees and roots from herbs. They therefore organized themselves to petition the magistrate for relief. A few peasant delegates were permitted to talk with him. As a result the magistrate promised to petition the provincial government for relief from the public granary. It took several months for this petition to get through all the red tape. When the relief rice was granted to the peasants, it was already the spring of 1936. Many of the hungry by that time had abandoned their homes and fled to other districts.¹

1. Hao P'un-sui, The Villages in Cheng-nan in the District of Yue-cheng, Min Chien, Semi-Monthly, vol. III, no. 19, 10th February, 1937, Peiping. See Agrarian China, pp. 247-51.

Furthermore, the fundamental philosophy of the government needs to be reoriented. Until now, the Chinese government has been dominated by military rather than civil authorities. The methods of the 'military' group may be described as authoritarian. "The quickest route to reconstruction, they maintain, is military unification and political control from above. The peasant is assumed to have insufficient initiative and understanding of his own problems; therefore he must be led along a course prescribed for him."¹ As long as the government prefers military methods to democratic methods in 'organizing the people,' it behooves us to say that any attempt to develop local self-government will meet with disillusionment. Real autonomy must have its root in the people themselves. Take for example, the New Life Movement in China. While this movement calls for the revival of the cardinal virtues of property, loyalty, integrity and honor which have constituted the bulwark of the Chinese national existence, still it is an effort initiated by the ruling class with an impelling force.

This was obvious even to a foreign observer, like C.F. Strickland, who after having taken a survey trip in rural areas in India and China, made the following remark:

1. Problems of the Pacific, 1936, Aims and results of Social and Economic Policies in Pacific Countries, p. 387.

CHAPTER VI

The Chinese government, when it thinks it has found out something beneficial to the people-- that for instance, a certain strain of cattle would be desirable and would do well--is in a hurry, partly for political reasons and partly because it wants to add to its internal strength. All China is in a hurry. The Government, when it has something definite to give to the people, says, 'Come along, you are all to do this,' and introduces it by order.¹

Referring to the New Life Movement, he said: "China is again trying to achieve an end by compulsion."²

Indeed, the Chinese government in trying to develop local self-government among rural people by the use of military methods and political control from above, is in danger of forgetting "that the democratic process requires the participation of all in the decisions of the group; that decisions imposed from above, even though accepted, are not the democratic way."³

1. Strickland, C.F., Rural Welfare in India and China. Asiatic Review, vol. 32, 1936, p. 41.
2. Ibid., p. 47.
3. M.S. Wilson, Foreword Leadership for Rural Life, by Dwight Sanderson, p. 3.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS DISINTEGRATION

A. Diagnosis

In China, except for a small minority (48 millions) who are Mohammedans by tradition, the Chinese people are generally considered as believing in three religions: Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism.

1. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism

Confucianism, however, is not a religion in the strict sense of the word. It has certain feelings toward life and the universe that border on the religious feeling, but it has no order of priesthood devoted solely to the performance of religious functions. The teaching of Confucius deals with the relationship which exists between man and man, not between God and man. He did not bother himself about life after death. It is recorded that once his disciple, Chi Li, asked him about serving the spirits of the dead. The Master said, "While you are not able to serve man, how can you serve their spirits (Kuei)?" His disciple added, "I venture to ask about death." He was answered, "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?"¹

1. Confucian Analects, Book XI, Chapter XI.

Confucius did teach men to worship God, to be sure. But he taught men to worship as if there were a God. Confucius did not tell his disciples 'who God is' and 'what God is', as did Jesus. The kind of worship Confucius taught is thus described by his followers: "When you have purified yourself for worship and put on the grand sacrificial robes, the solemnity of the occasion naturally makes you feel as if the objects of worship were really above you, and on the right and left of you." It is not uncommon today to find written in big characters on the village shrines the Confucian motto: 'As if he were above you' (Ju tsai ch'i shang).¹

As to Taoism, it is also a philosophy rather than a religion. Lao-tse, its supposed founder, was a profound thinker as well as an ethical teacher of a very high order. In the classic "Tao Te Ching", attributed to his authorship, he discussed the eternal principle of the universe, the changeless that lies behind all change, which he called Tao, and which cannot be defined because to define it is to limit it. While Confucius put emphasis on propriety and social status, Lao-tse advocated allowing things to take their course. He sought to make men masters of themselves not by a method imposed upon them from without by laws and commands.

1. Hu, Shih, The Chinese Renaissance, pp. 181-2.

Beside the "Tao Te Ching", there is another Book which is attributed to Taoism, entitled the "Kan Ying Pien" (Book of Rewards and Punishments). The author is unknown, but it is widely revered and copies of it have been gratuitously distributed. In this a high standard of morality is taught, such as:

There are no gateways to calamity or blessing save those which men open for themselves. The recompense of good and evil follow as naturally as the shadow follows the substance.

Be compassionate towards all creatures.

First correct yourself, and then convert others.

Have pity upon the orphans; assist the widow; respect the aged; be kind to children.

Be grieved by the misfortunes of others and rejoice in their good luck.

Do not publish the faults of others nor praise your own goodness.

Bear insult without hatred; accept kindness as unexpected; bestow charity without seeking reward; give to men without regret.

However, for the rank and file, Taoism is a religion. It was said that in 166 A.D. a temple was erected to Lao-tse and the old philosopher had become a god, whereas Confucius was never made a god, he was always revered as "The Great Teacher." Taoism as a religion differs from Confucianism in that while the latter provides for the existence of spirits but

takes care to keep them at distance, the former has a hierarchy of gods. To the "Taoist Pope" is attributed great power over evil spirits. Taoism like Buddhism offers blissful immortality to those who are willing to pursue the exacting course necessary to its achievement.

The third religion is Buddhism. It did not originate in China, yet it has become part and parcel of Chinese life. It has been imitated by Taoism, and it has to a certain extent transformed Confucianism. Its influence has permeated almost every phase of Chinese civilization. As a philosophy, Buddhism has always enjoyed prestige among the Chinese scholars because of its high tradition of scholarship in the translations of Buddhist classics. As a religion, Buddhism has achieved a popularity among the Chinese people which has not been surpassed. At present China is still an important center of Buddhism, possessing the greatest number of Buddhist texts.

Buddhism exerts its influence upon the masses of the nation in many ways and touches their lives at many points. "One source of Buddhism's power", says Latourette, "is the belief that through the friendly offices of Buddhist divinities, present evils are to be avoided and desirable goods of this life to be obtained. ... Another source of its hold is the determining influence which can be exerted through Buddhism upon the soul's lot after death. The reincarnations and, especially, the heavens

and hells in which popular Chinese Buddhist beliefs have been made graphic to the multitude through literature, pictures, sculpture, and ceremonies, and have found their way into folklore."¹

The Chinese people, however, do not take religion as seriously as do the people in other lands. In the United States, for example, an orthodox Jew may not eat in the home of his Christian neighbor. A Catholic won't worship in a Protestant church. Protestants in America are the most liberal and reconciliatory group. Even so, many Protestant Christians would not feel at home if they were to worship in a church not of their own denomination. In China, except for that group who are Mohammedans by birth, no clear-cut distinction is observable among the rank and file between different religious faiths. In the same household, the mother may be a very devout Buddhist; the father an earnest adherent to the teachings of the Confucian school, and yet their daughter may become a Catholic in her Catholic school, and their son may be baptized as a Protestant Christian, if he happens to be studying in a Protestant mission school. The Christian son may not believe in what his Buddhist

1. Latourette, K.S., The Chinese, Their History and Culture, vol. Two, pp. 157-8.

mother worships, but he would not be offended if she asked him to accompany her to a Buddhist temple. The opposite is also true. A Confucianist father is perfectly willing to sit among Catholic friends and watch his Catholic daughter being presented a diploma by the principal of the Sacred Heart Academy. Taking the situation as a whole, the Chinese are very tolerant in regards to every religious faith.

2. The Superstition of Rural People Regarding Religious Beliefs

For ordinary men and women in villages, all kinds of religion possess the same significance, namely, to exhort people to be good and to do good. Whatever the various kinds of religion might be in their purer forms is not seen by the simple, busy folk, who are neither learned enough to understand them, nor have they the leisure to practice them. If any generalization is possible, the religion of the rural masses is an indistinguishable blend of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism plus a kind of superstitious animism.

The last mentioned has its origin in what Dr. Leo Wiegner calls the 'hybrid folk-lore' which congealed into its final form during the period between 1000 to 1200 A.D. It is "an ensemble of supernatural anecdotes, born among the people, imaginary or untrue, but which were recorded as things which had actually happened, at first in the archives of the prefectures,

afterwards in special collections....Generally, they have not a definite doctrinal tint, but contain mixed elements of the diverse doctrines then current in China, Taoism, especially, Buddhism and Confucianism. There are besides, elements of popular invention, which are foreign or even contrary to the doctrines of the three sects."¹ Dr. Wiegner says:

Interrogate a man of the people who calls himself a Buddhist, on the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism; it is a hundred to one that he will not tell you a single one correctly; and it is the same with him who calls himself a Taoist. On the other hand this hybrid folk-lore is known by all and believed everywhere, alas! It is it which has produced this atmosphere of superstitious fear, in which the common Chinese people move.²

These superstitions were fixed and popularized through the influence of the Chinese novels and plays which were created under the Yuan Dynasty (the thirteenth century) and reached their most perfect state at one bound. Novels such as Hsi-yu-chi (西遊記), the Three Kingdoms (三國志), the Red Chamber (紅樓夢), and the Liao-chai-chih-i (聊齋誌異), consist of literary amplifications of the traditional themes of folk-lore. Drama and fiction designed to exhort moral teachings

1. Wiegner, Leo, A History of the Religious Beliefs and Philosophical Opinions in China (Translated by Edward Chalmers Werner) p. 613.

2. Ibid., p. 613.

with excellent plots but mingled with fantastic and unbelievable stories, "became extremely dear to the people, and exercise a profound influence over them."¹

3. The Decline of Old Religious Faiths

Against these superstitions, various attempts have been made since China felt the impact of the western world. Government officials, social reformers, Christians and Communists have all worked in one way or another with a view to the destruction of such superstitions. With the abolition of the old type civil service examination, Confucianism has suffered a great loss in prestige among the people. With the overcoming of Nature by modern science, the Taoistic magic and its search for the elixir of life have been forced to loosen its grip upon the minds of the populace. In districts where communism prevails, the land held as endowments of Buddhist monasteries has been confiscated and distributed to tenant peasants.

Since the Revolution of 1911-1912, iconoclasm has been widespread, and old faiths hard hit. "Religious properties of various kinds have been secularized. The diversion of temples to non-religious purposes greatly increased with the political

1. Wiegner, Leo, *A History of the Religious Beliefs and Philosophical Opinions in China*, (Translated by Edward Chalmers Werner) p. 731 et seq.

disturbances and anti-religious movement of 1926-1927 and the years immediately thereafter. Some temples simply disappeared. Others were used as schools or barracks. Still others became apartment houses, rice markets, rickshaw stands, or auto terminals. In many, the images of the gods were allowed to remain with a few priests to serve them, although most of the building was secularized. In one provincial capital, by 1931 out of one hundred and seventy-five temples examined only three were being used exclusively for worship and only one temple had been erected within three years."¹

Even in rural areas where traditional religious practices do persist, this tendency in the decline of old religious faiths is evident. For example, the annual theatricals and fairs which used to be held in village temples, and pilgrimages to distant monasteries, have been diminishing in both extent and frequency, if they have not entirely disappeared. If the reminiscences of these religious practices still remain in the minds of the older members of rural communities, they serve only as material for conversation. Buddhist temples which used to be the center of town and village life have now become dilapidated, their courts weed-grown, and their halls dusty and festooned with cobwebs. To be sure, some of the ruined temples have been repaired, but they are exceptions, whereas "the brazen camels

1. Latourette, K.S., The Chinese: Their History and Culture, p. 176.

buried among the brambles" is the scene that presents itself in most places to casual visitors.

B. Contributing Causes of Religious Disintegration

Regarding the disintegration of old religious faiths in China, we find that it can be attributed to at least five causes. These are poverty, political disorder, and three other factors resulting from the impact of the western world, namely: modern science, western scepticism, and Christianity.

1. Poverty

Because of various economic, social and political reasons, all of which have been enumerated in the previous pages, many of the peasant families are not able to maintain their livelihood even at the subsistence level. Naturally, therefore, they cut their expenses for commodities which are not absolutely essential to the minimum. Deterioration of village temples and suspension of customary religious practices are to a large extent due to the increasing poverty of the rural people. This is a very obvious fact which cannot be over-stressed.

2. Political Disorder

That political disorder has a direct bearing upon the religious life of rural people is also undeniable. Rural people are so frequently disturbed by the uncertainties of politics that they do not have the leisure to attend to religious affairs.

Religious celebration and worship services not only cost money but also time, both of which are lacking. Moreover, because of the continual civil strife, many of the temples have been demolished or used for purposes other than religious services. Furthermore, during this great world war many religious buildings have been destroyed as a result of the 'scorched earth policy' and of the devastating seesaw warfare between the Chinese guerrillas and the invading soldiers. Many buildings in the interior of China which formerly belonged to religious bodies have been used by industrial cooperative societies, and as hospitals for wounded soldiers, and as "warphanages".

3. Science

As science entertains doubts, raises questions, seeks for proofs, and suspends judgments, many things that were once taken as a matter of course have now fallen under suspicion. Religious dogmas and practices are no exceptions. Hence, the foundations of those old beliefs which were based upon superstition have been shaken.

On the other hand, because of modern inventions, one's attitude towards the power of Nature has greatly changed. Scientists, through their many inventions, especially those in the realm of medicine and agriculture, have demonstrated to awe-stricken people like the farmers, that they can perform more

wonderful things than the Taoistic magic. Hence, the fears that once drove them to seek help from superstitious religions are now gradually disappearing.

4. Western Scepticism

Many Chinese leaders, both in government and in general society, have received education abroad; as a result, anything that has happened in America or in Europe is likely to be copied. Scepticism is one example. Its attitude towards religion is described as an agnostic indifference of suspended judgment. It is more subtle than open contradiction but no less destructive of religion. It assumes that religion is not necessary, that the inner needs of life can be met through other means, such as art and music. Although people in villages are generally unable to comprehend what the exponents of scepticism have to say, the indifference towards religion on the part of leaders is bound indirectly to chill the enthusiasm of the villagers.

5. Christianity

Opposed to scepticism is the view of Christianity, which also exerts a disintegrating influence upon non-Christian faiths. Although Christianity refutes scepticism, it constitutes a disintegrating factor among the non-Christian faiths, because

CHAPTER VII

of its monotheistic theology and its faith in Jesus as the Revealer of God. For instance "Taoism as it was usually practiced, popular polytheism, and demonism crumbled, where the Christian missionary had his way."¹ Yet the presence of Christianity has helped to stimulate reform in both Confucianism and Buddhism.

All of these five factors are definitely putting pressure upon the old religious faiths. After the disintegrating forces have done their work, a sort of vacuum will be created in the religious life of the people. If this vacuum is not refilled with a genuine religious faith, negative cynicism will creep in. People will continue their struggle for existence, but they will have no positive and dynamic philosophy with which to satisfy the deeper needs of life.

1. Latourette, K.S., A History of Christian Missions in China, p. 838.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION OF PART ONE

It is a tautology to say that China is changing, and changing rapidly. We know from the recent development of world politics that when the war is over, not only will China be free from the threatening invasion of its former foe, but she will also regain her lost territories, such as Manchuria and Formosa. But behind this optimistic view we see two pictures: one is a scene of destruction and human suffering, the other is the sight of the misery of millions who labor on the soil. The former is the result of the war, it is an emergency condition that will be followed by reconstruction; the sufferings involved are the necessary birth pangs of a new nation. Acute as they are, they are to be endured, and the endurance itself is a sign of strength which is highly commendable and is the 'raison d'etre' of our present optimistic outlook. But the sight of the misery of the toiling millions who live on the land is a different story. It is not due to the present emergency but rather to the accumulation of evil effects resulting from various socio-politico-economic forces. This misery existed long before the war broke out, and it is likely to continue after the cessation of hostilities unless the pathological conditions which have been described are removed or ameliorated.

The pathological conditions are divergent in nature, but they are all interrelated and mutually become causes and effects. What has been described in the foregoing pages is derived from the actual needs of rural people. These needs are treated under four categories, namely: economic, educational, socio-political, and religious.

1. The Economic Condition

First, the peasantry class, which constitutes the majority of the entire population, is poor in the sense that its small family income does not permit it to have purchasing power sufficient for a decent measure of security. Not only is the farm too small, but it often consists of tiny patches of land not adjacent to one another. This situation is aggravated by the steady increase of population which tends to intensify the competition of making a living on the already too crowded farm land, and by the growing tendency to shift the ownership of land into the hands of absentee landlords.

The methods of agriculture are still what they were centuries ago. All farming processes from the tilling of the land through fertilizing, seeding, weeding, harvesting, to transportation are performed by human labour. The machine is conspicuous by its absence. The farmer himself can hardly

have any surplus with which to make new ventures, and the credit which he can get from local lenders is too costly.

All forms of village industries which used to supplement the income of farm families have shown a decline. New kinds have yet to develop. Because of many conditioning factors, such as the lack of capital, the lack of better means of transportation, the frequent occurrence of famines, and the sharp competition of imported goods from industrialized countries, there seems to be very little possibility that new village industries can be developed under existing conditions.

Again, the farmer is confronted with handicaps inherent in agricultural industry itself. The uncertainties of the weather, the law of diminishing returns, the slow turnover of the farming business, and the problem of marginal land are not unique to the Chinese farmer, but they are different from those in other countries in degree of seriousness. In addition, the Chinese farmer has to bear a burden of taxation far out of proportion to his meagre income, which has been recklessly imposed upon him by greedy political authorities.

3. The Educational Condition

Second, the Chinese farmer is ignorant, and his ignorance is taken for granted by many of his fellow countrymen.

There are few schools available for rural children. Less than one-half of the total farm operators ever attended schools. Nearly three-fourths of the tenant farmers have no formal education at all.

This inadequacy of education can be attributed to various causes. Aside from the fact that there is a definite correlation between rural education and the financial status of the farmer, the traditional view of education is one of the major causes. Since the abolition of the old type examination system, the one most essential incentive of learning--to be an official with social prestige--has been lost. At the same time, the modern school system failed to arouse new incentives for education among the masses. This is due partly to the inadequate provisions for rural schools, and partly to the fact that the curricula of modern schools have not been able to meet the needs of the common people. The position of modern educated men is still detached from the practical life of the masses. The political disorder is another important reason that should be taken into consideration. During the last quarter of a century the resources which should have been spent on education and other welfare work in rural districts have been largely absorbed and wasted on account of political disturbances.

3. The Socio-Political Condition

Third, the equilibrium of the social and political life of Chinese rural people is disturbed and needs to be restored. The old social structure, such as the family system and the status of women, has disintegrated; but a new form of social life is still in the making. The former type of village government, based on custom and usage, and governed by elders and the gentry, has been gradually supplanted by a kind of local government organically related to the whole system of government structure with regulations promulgated by the National Government. During this stage of change disturbances seem to be inevitable, and the process of adjustment often breeds inconsistencies.

General causes have contributed to this chaotic life. The disintegration of the family system and the lack of wholesome recreation are important causes. The people in the rural areas have very few facilities for amusement; neither have they a common conception of regular intervals of leisure. Their ability to create a group morale for a vigorous and progressive community has therefore been greatly handicapped.

The departure from their home towns of many rural people, especially the young, because of the collapse of village industries, the pressure of population, and the deplorable poverty of the rural communities, has contributed to the present

chaotic life. This migration of population has released the pressure of population, but at the same time it has created problems for the community such as the flight of capital to the urban areas, the shortage of agricultural labour, and the disruption of the ratio between male and female and that between the able-bodied and the aged.

The confused condition of national politics is another factor contributing to the chaotic condition. This factor has contributed directly to the confused condition of rural life because of the many sins of commission deliberately committed by politicians and militarists, and because of the many sins of omission perpetrated by government officials. But aside from these reasons, there are still several points which ought not to be ignored. These are: insincerity; inefficiency; and a third, which has to do with the fundamental principle of rendering governmental service to the people. The Chinese Government has adopted many policies in regard to the agrarian reform, but they are lip-services only. Lack of a sincere purpose to carry out its professed policies seems to be the underlying trouble. Because of the practice of nepotism, public offices of the government are apt to be over-staffed. Lack of coordination and efficiency seem to be the points commonly attacked by all critics of the government. And lastly, perhaps because of the fact that the government is in a hurry, it tries to cultivate

The above account gives us some idea of the spirit of democracy by doing the very thing that would kill it. The government has ordered the people to do this and that in the name of helping the people to organize the local self-government. What has been done by the government is what Mencius once described thus: "There was a man of Sung, who was grieved that his growing corn was not longer, and so he pulled it up."

4. The Religious Condition

The fourth and last problem we have briefly dealt with is religious disintegration. On account of the poverty-stricken plight of the rural people, the political disorders in general, and the other factors which have resulted from the impact of the western world, old religious faiths in the country have appeared to be on the decline. As to the other factors, science, western scepticism, and Christianity, they pertain chiefly to sentiments and attitudes of the rural people.

While it is hard to judge the merits and demerits of these disintegrating forces, one thing is certain, the vacuum thus created in the religious life of the people must be refilled, not with fear, nor with superstition, but with a genuine religious faith which will lead people to a habitual vision of greatness beyond and above their own small entities.

* * * * *

The above résumé gives us some idea of the needs of rural people in China to-day. It is, however, to be admitted that for so huge a mass of mankind as the rural population in China any statement in the form of a generalization is bound to prove to be untrue to particular localities, and that we must reckon with the variations existing in different parts of the country. However, these aspects form the four major problems that any social engineer who aims to improve the Chinese rural life must take into account.

If no remedies are sought for the solution of these problems, then not only will the rural people, who have contributed so much to the defence of the Chinese nation as fighters at the front and as producers at the rear, continue to bear the misfortunes from which they are impotent to escape, and the enormous sacrifices suffered by the whole nation in these panic-stricken war years will have been in vain. The potential glories of China's position in the post-war world must not be used to lull us into an expectation that her future will automatically be proportionately as great. Greatness as a leading member in the family of nations can come only if, and when, the level of moral, intellectual economic and religious life of the entire nation is lifted to a high and righteous standard. With the history of her long cultural past, with her numerical strength

in human power, and with the vast and rich resources within her boundaries, China has an obligation as well as an opportunity to serve the world in making a more perfect adjustment to human relations, and in improving the welfare of mankind. But in order to realize this noble responsibility toward other nations, China herself must find the means to create a new rural life for the teeming millions who are toiling on the land.

In looking for such a means, we must realize that the agrarian problem is not merely economic. It is a complex. Even in such a country as the United States of America where industries are highly developed where wealth is abundant, and where the general standard of living is the highest among all nations, there are still rural slums. The people who live in the Appalachian Mountain regions of Kentucky, for example, are still out of touch with their surrounding civilization.¹ There are still the problems of sharecroppers and of migrant labourers. There are signs of maladjustment as a result of the highly developed capitalization and industrialization. There is still poverty in the midst of plenty. The living conditions of those who live on the fertile lands of the Missouri Lowland give us another

1. Borah, Leo A., Home Folk around Historic Cumberland Gap, The National Geographic Magazine, vol. LXXXIV, no. Six, pp. 741-768, 1944.

example of how the American myth that a region of rich agricultural lands will always be populated by healthy, happy, farm people living in security and enjoying the benefits of a rich community life, is being refuted. The soil of the Lowlands of Southeast Missouri are mostly of moderate to high productivity, and are adapted to the growing of a wide variety of crops. The growing season is long, averaging 188 days, and the rainfall is generous and distributed throughout the year. But if we look at the great mass of the farmers who toil on the land, we find that low and insecure levels of living, illiteracy, superstition, resentment, malnutrition, and disease are the rule.¹

Moreover, the city of Rome was not built in a day, and the task of the industrialization or economic reconstruction of China cannot be expected to grow into fruition over night. As a matter of fact, the success of all the projects to develop industries or to improve the economic life of the people requires at least the understanding and cooperation of the farmers who form the bulk of the entire Chinese nation. Therefore any planning or execution of gigantic reconstruction programs to which the little fellow in the country seems to have nothing to add,

1. White, Ensminger, Gregory. Rich Land--Poor People, Research Report No. I. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, Region III, Indianapolis.

should go hand in hand with the program that aims at the enlightenment or awakening of the rural masses. In other words, national reconstruction is an indivisible whole, of which the development of industries including agriculture is an integral part, as is also the building of a system of railways throughout the country, and the construction of ports along the coast. So, too, is the improvement of the social and cultural life of the rural masses. In regard to the latter, there are certain methods and techniques which are peculiar thereto, and it is these methods and techniques we shall discuss in Part Two.

PART TWO

AN INQUIRY OF SUCCESSFUL METHODS OF RECONSTRUCTION
IN RURAL AREAS OUTSIDE OF CHINA

As indicated in PART TWO we know that the family income of peasant farmers in China is incredibly low, that their education is so low that many of them are ignorant of the social forces and changing political ideologies, and that there is a tendency among the rural population to lack any religious anchors.

Among the contributing factors, some are inherent either in the occupation of the farmers or in their heritages, some are imposed upon them by others, some may be eradicated entirely if properly handled, some can be dealt with by the individuals concerned, others have to be attacked by group effort, some are local, while others are related to nation-wide conditions, and some are remediable whereas others persist but can be minimized.

These factors do not always in separate compartments they are interwoven. The removal of one may mitigate the effect of another, but it may also aggravate that of a third, if not carefully checked by some other element or element. For instance, if primitive methods of agriculture are supplanted by modern machinery, it will certainly improve the efficiency of

PART TWO

AN INQUIRY OF SUCCESSFUL METHODS OF RECONSTRUCTION
IN RURAL AREAS OUTSIDE OF CHINA

As indicated in Part One, we know that the family income of peasant farmers in China is incredibly low, that their education is exceedingly inadequate, that many of them are caught in the turmoil of changing social mores and changing political ideologies, and that there is a tendency among the rural population to lack any religious anchors.

Among the contributing factors, some are inherent either in the occupation of the farmers or in their heritage, some are imposed upon them by others, some may be eradicated entirely if properly handled, some can be dealt with by the individuals concerned, others have to be attacked by group effort, some are local, while others are related to nation-or world-wide conditions, and some are remediable whereas others persist but can be minimized.

These factors do not emerge in separate compartments; they are interwoven. The removal of one may mitigate the effect of another, but it may also aggravate that of a third, if not carefully checked by some other element or elements. For instance, if primitive methods of agriculture are supplanted by modern machinery, it will certainly improve the efficiency of

farming, but it might create a panic on account of unemployment or cause abuse in the use of the soil. Labor saving machines must be introduced, but precaution should be taken that they will not be introduced too hastily or too excessively.

In making this inquiry into successful methods of rural reconstruction, we must remind ourselves constantly of the following points: First, methods, at least in the beginning, must be so simple that any individual or organization of moderate means or resources can afford to use them. Second, they must be so practical that they can be applied immediately upon the cessation of the war. Third, they must be so flexible that they can be adapted to particular localities without confronting unnecessary difficulties. Fourth, they must be compatible with the reconstruction measures that have already been developed in China. Fifth, they must help rural people realize the significance of building global peace in the postwar era.

Section A

Adult Education, & Basic Method

As a result of the scientific investigation made by Thorndike, the great psychologist, and his collaborators, it is now evident that adults as well as young people possess the ability to learn.¹ But adults are not only capable of learning; they are also actually in need of education. Not only should those

1. See footnote on page 212.

who are illiterate be given an opportunity to acquire functional literacy, which means reading, writing and speaking ability that are essential for intelligent participation in community life; but those who are already able to read and write should have an opportunity for further education in order to meet the increasing demands of a progressive and changing society. During the last two decades the importance of adult education has been increasingly stressed, and various techniques and methods have been developed. For example, radio talks, moving pictures, press conferences, mass meetings, group discussions, newspapers, periodicals, drama, music and the like are being used as tools of adult education.

The general aims of adult education are: helping people to acquire "functioning literacy"; imparting information and providing knowledge whereby adults will be able to attain vocational success and efficiency; stimulating a desire for a higher standard of living; developing abilities to think clearly, plan wisely and act harmoniously among their fellowmen; cultivating in them the spirit of self-confidence, thus enabling them to shoulder their own responsibilities and to meet their own problems with hope and intelligence. And finally, adult educa-

1. National Association of Adult Education, Seventh Yearbook, pp. 478-9; see also Thorndike, E.L., et al., Adult Learning, pp. 177-180, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1928.

tion aims at furthering the ideal of democracy among the rank and file. In a democratic country, every individual citizen should be conscious of his or her right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. He or she should also be willing to perform his or her duty by respecting this same right in all others, and by joining with others in a whole-hearted endeavor to secure for all the blessings that can be secured only by co-operative effort. Adult education helps in this process.

There are at least five types of adult education which have proved successful among underprivileged rural masses. These are the Study Clubs of Nova Scotia, the Movable School among the Negroes, the Folk Schools in Denmark, the Cultural Missions in Mexico, and the Cooperative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics in the United States of America.

CHAPTER VIII

1. STUDY-CLUBS IN NOVA SCOTIA

The term "study club" means an association of persons, meeting periodically to secure some knowledge relevant to their common interest. The study-club is, therefore, a means to an end. It first seeks to know where we are and whither we are tending, and then it intends to decide what to do and how to do it. It is for both knowledge and action.

The program of the study-club has been tried out in Nova Scotia by the educational leaders connected with St. Francis Xavier University. As a result, marvelous success has been

achieved; and it is now known as the Antigonish Movement, because the University is located in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. This movement is spreading to all parts of Canada. Many fishermen, farmers and miners in the maritime provinces, who used to live in shacks and were chronically in debt to merchants, are now invigorated with hopes and dreams which they are sure will become realities in due time. Because of the study-clubs, many people who were virtually peons like the Chinese peasants are now becoming masters of their own destinies. The technique of the study-club has been recognized in the United States by many government and other agencies as a very effective educational process. But before we analyze the techniques for organizing these clubs, let us outline some of the objectives that were in the minds of the leaders of this Antigonish Movement.

a. Objectives of Study-Clubs

The objectives conceived by the leaders of this Antigonish Movement can be classified as immediate and remote, and as explicit and implicit.

(1) Immediate Objectives

The idea of study-clubs was first conceived as a remedy for the pathological social phenomenon described as follows by Carl Sandburg in his book, 'The People, Yes':

"I came to a country,"
 said a wind-bitten vagabond,
 "where I saw shoemakers barefoot
 saying they had made too many shoes.
 I met carpenters living outdoors
 saying they had built too many houses.

.....

And I talked with farmers, yeomanry,
 the backbone of the country,
 so they were told,
 saying they were in debt and near starvation
 because they had gone ahead like always
 and raised too much wheat and corn
 too many hogs, sheep, cattle.
 When I said, 'You live in a strange country,'
 they answered slow, like men
 who wouldn't waste anything, not even language:
 'you ain't far wrong there, young feller.
 WE're going to do something, we don't know what.'¹

This was the social phenomenon which existed in Nova Scotia before the launching of the Antigonish movement. Most of the fishers' boats, as well as the gear they used in fishing, were covered by their indebtedness to the merchant. And they had to sell their catch to the merchant at his own price. The farms of most of the farmers were blanketed with mortgages. Their land, symbol of ownership, was no more than a vague and meaningless symbol. "The miners lived in a state of sullen rebellion. Periodically the rebellion flared out in open strife. Strikes and demonstrations did win for them some small gains in wages and working conditions, but the wages were always swallowed by living costs, which were manipulated by the same merchants who were strangling fishermen and farmers."² The first immediate ob-

1. Quoted by Fowler, Bertram B., in The Lord Helps Those...
 pp. 8-9.
 2. Ibid., pp. 9-11.

jective in the minds of educational leaders in Antigonish was, therefore, to mobilize the people of Eastern Canada for fighting their economic battle.¹

Another pathetic situation which existed there was the fact that although the University devoted its whole force to the education of the selected few, as soon as these young men were educated, they "went out either to join the army of petty exploiters or to use their education in farther fields."² By this it is not meant that the University should not educate the selected few. But we must recognize the fact that if this policy is carried too far, the result will be that the students thus educated will leave their home community poorer and more ignorant than before because the best youth will leave it. Hence, the next immediate objective in the mind of the leaders of this movement was to take the university to the people.³ "They saw that the people were helpless because of their ignorance. Therefore education was of paramount importance. But this education must be something more than the mere dissemination of the theories taught in dry textbooks. To be realistic and practical, education must prepare the people for

1. See Coady, M.M., Masters of Their Own Destiny, p. 38.

2. Fowler, op. cit., p. 11.

3. Coady, op. cit., p. 8.

action."¹ The doors of the university must be open not only to the favored few.

(2) Remote Objectives

If the immediate objectives of the Antigonish movement were to mobilize the people to fight their economic battle and to mediate the teachings of the social sciences to the laymen, it goes without saying that its remote objectives would be to have the people themselves control their economic institutions and bring to pass a renaissance not only in the realm of economics, but also in political, social and religious fields. Only when it is the people, and not the ranking officials of the economic hierarchy, who do the controlling, can the welfare of the people be vouchsafed. And only when the energies and ideals of the people are released, will the day of an abundant life dawn for all. It should not be inferred that we expect every individual, or any group of individuals, to do the job of the expert. For example, to operate an airplane on the beam is the job that only the experienced pilot can do. But the collective will of the common people should be able to dictate the direction in which they wish to go. An experienced

1. Fowler, op. cit., p. 12.

pilot can operate a plane in a wrong direction just as swiftly and adroitly as in the right direction. Unless the people can have their wish expressed, and make their voices heard, the pilot of the ship of state will always be tempted through selfish interests to misdirect the plane for the benefit of the favored few rather than for the people at large.

(3) Explicit Objectives

The objectives of the Antigonish movement can also be described as explicit and implicit. The explicit ones are those which can be explained and demonstrated. They resulted in the formation of consumers' cooperative stores, the establishment of credit unions, the betterment of living quarters, the erection of lobster factories, and the organization of women's clubs for the study of handicrafts.

(4) Implicit Objectives

By implicit objectives is meant those objectives which are not tangible but which are nevertheless very real. These are the awakening of the people to the fact that through self-reliance and faith in themselves they will be able to overthrow their defeatist attitudes, and to elevate the educational level of the common people. The explicit deals with things material, the implicit with things spiritual. The

explicit, with actions; and the implicit, with attitudes. But on top of all these, there is one more objective which derives its origin from the religion to which these leaders devoted themselves. This is visionary and ever outreaching. This objective involves a measure of social architecture, a remaking of society. Dr. Coady has said: "Man must build him more stately mansions if his soul is to expand. The ultimate problem, then, is to change and improve society, after man has changed and improved himself, to fulfill his maximum possibilities in society as it is."¹ The realization of this objective means the building up of a world fellowship based on the firm conviction that men are children of God, and that as such, men should treat one another with equality and respect regardless of superficial and traditional differences.

b. Techniques of Study-Clubs

The study-club itself is a technique of adult education. But in order to be workable, there are other techniques which have proved recommendable. They can be classified into three groups according to the different stages of the process: 1) techniques of organization; 2) techniques for effectiveness; and 3) techniques for continuing the life of study-clubs after they have resulted in action.

1. Coady: op. cit., pp. 40-41.

(1) Techniques of Organization

The first requirement for organizing a study-club is vision, a vision that will enable the leader or the worker to "vindicate his faith in the ability and integrity of the common man."¹ The Antigonish movement had a prophet in the person of Dr. J.J. Tompkins. He first saw from the ivy-walled university the slow decay of an old order and the gradual decline in the economic conditions of the Province and its people. He talked about it within the university. But talking only resulted in arousing antagonistic reactions among his fellow theorists and did not do any real good for the people. So he moved to a small parish where he lived among the people and rubbed elbows with them. His vision enabled him to lead the awakening sleepers and point the way to progress.

Educators of Nova Scotia, armed with their vision, went to work among the people. "They made no secret of the fact that they were out to change the thinking of the men and women on the farms, to wipe out the stigma of ignorance and hopelessness that had marked Nova Scotian agriculture for so long. It was a big job. The educators had the vision to tell the people so and thus got them lined up for the battle ahead."²

1. Fowler: op. cit., p. 21.

2. Ibid., p. 95.

The second important technique at this stage was making a social survey in order to define their goal. For instance, the men of Antigonish were convinced that in order to attain economic rehabilitation, the people must have real and substantial ownership of property. "For without ownership, there would never be self-reliance, self-respect, or freedom."¹ So they made attempts to form study-clubs with this aim in view.

The third technique was that from the very beginning the worker must realize that social reform is teamwork. It differs from writing a book, which one can do by burying himself in a library and writing what he thinks should be in his book. For teamwork the worker must have contacts with people, talking to them in their own language, and enlisting their support. Furthermore, he should discover the natural leaders among the people and cultivate the young people so that they will be able to catch his vision. This was exactly what was done by Tompkins in Nova Scotia. Dr. Coady, the Director of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University, is one of the discoveries of Dr. Tompkins. Thus, teamwork and comradeship are the two watchwords pertinent to this third technique.

1. Fowler, op. cit., p. 127.

The fourth technique is to point out to the people their own difficulties and help them to see that they can work out their salvation by themselves if they wish to do so. This was done by telling stories of successful projects that had worked in other communities, by giving facts and figures relevant to their own problems, and by diffusing knowledge that would help them to solve problems, and by showing the power of ideas. "Ideas are more powerful than bullets. They will wreck or build great empires, economic and political, more effectively than the best war material yet invented."¹

Dr. Tompkins used to carry with him leaflets, news clippings, and books on sociology and economics, leaving them with his people in their kitchens or their shops. The following story indicates the character and shrewd force of this man, Tompkins.

He was driving with a lecturer toward a village where he had arranged a mass meeting. On the way he passed a group of his parishioners working on the road. Father Jimmy (as he was affectionately called by the people) could not let such an opportunity pass. He stopped his car and got out with the lecturer. By the roadside was a big rock which formed a natural platform over the heads of the men. The lecturer climbed to the rock platform and talked while the men shoveled dirt. When they moved farther down the road Dr. Tompkins and his lecturer followed, stood in the midst of the men to finish the talk, and then went on to repeat the lecture in the village beyond.²

1. Coady: op. cit., p. 52.

2. Fowler, op. cit., p. 23-24.

This story shows how alert the prophet was and how difficult it was to introduce new ideas to the people.

The last technique that we need to mention, is mass meetings. The purpose of mass meetings is to break existing mind-sets and help people make up their minds to rebuild both themselves and society. During these meetings, special speakers or lecturers were invited to tell stories of economic achievements of the Scandinavian and British co-operators. For such mass meetings, preliminary work was done through key men or local leaders of the community who aroused the interest of their fellows and insured a good attendance.¹ The newspaper is a very useful instrument for passing on information to the people. It was properly utilized both before and after the mass meeting was held. Out of these meetings, came the small study-clubs.

(2) Techniques for Making the Study-Clubs Effective

After the study-clubs have been organized, the next job is to make these clubs active and effective. The technique for doing this are seven in number. First, to have a "bread and butter" problem that the whole group is interested in solving. We must realize that "every large and general problem is a combination of small and particular ones to be solved one by one and that instead of stating the ultimate objective as the thing to be done, we should incite the people

1. Coady: op. cit., Chapter III, Starting with Mass Meetings.

to do these definite and homely tasks that tend toward it."¹

Second, to choose club leaders from their own group. It is pointed out by the Director of the Antigonish movement that "the collaboration among the leaders was the very life blood of the movement when it got under way."² For these leaders, short extension courses were given. Dr. Coady says: "Nothing in our whole technique ever turned out more successfully than this leadership training school under the department of University Extension. Above all it was intended to be inspirational After a month's exposure to the ideas and activities of the school, the people went forth with a flare for work that rivals the best zeal of the Communists."³

Third, to furnish study materials and reference literature. Pamphlets such as "How we came to be what we are" were distributed to the members. Regarding the Extension Bulletin Dr. Coady says: "At no time did it try to give dry, formal lesson-plans, but resorted rather to the topical method of discussion."⁴ The study material dealt with things appealing to human interest. It was said that the first study-clubs organized by the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier

1. Coady: op. cit., p. 39.
2. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
3. Ibid., pp. 61-62.
4. Ibid., p. 63.

University were directed to a study of money and credit. "In the hundreds of kitchen schools and tiny halls men and women followed a course of education that reduced to understandable simplicity the hitherto mysterious field of finance. Night after night through that winter they delved into prepared lessons and emerged in the spring ready to do something about surmounting the first barrier that confronted them."¹

To supplement the study material there were also travelling libraries and open-shelf libraries in local co-operative stores.

Fourth, to cooperate with all the agencies that organized society placed at the disposal of the people. These are agricultural colleges, farm bureaus, and various organizations of national or international scope. Experts from these institutions were invited to come to these classes whenever such arrangement was feasible. Young people of the local communities were also sent to these institutions either to study or investigate.

Fifth, to meet at a regular hour once or twice a week. Regular meetings are very important because of the fact that this gives members a sort of discipline. "The study-clubs must teach the people self-discipline, must teach them to

1. Fowler: op. cit., pp. 75-76.

tighten their belts and steel their muscles of their own accord."¹ "The belief in the painless method of economic reform has bred more parasites and chiselers than perhaps any other single belief in our times."²

Sixth, to avoid being so hasty about results. Let the people think for themselves and take the initiative in any action. If the people have a problem and know how to solve it, education becomes dynamic.

Seventh, to help the people only when they have made their own decision. This principle was proved to be sound time and again by Dr. Tompkins and his co-workers in Nova Scotia. The members of a study-club are led to think, to plan, and to make decisions for themselves. Thus, and thus only will the study-club be effective.

(3) Techniques for Continuing the Life of Study-Clubs

As we have said in the previous pages, the study-club itself is a technique of adult education. It is a technique of reform. So the best method for continuing its life is to keep the people looking forward. It is like climbing a mountain, the higher one climbs, the better view he gets, the wider outlook he perceives, and the more he desires to go on.

1. Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

There are several techniques by which to do this. First, create new problems by leading the people to see new visions. Second, choose new leaders to form new groups or to emphasize some new interest. Third, aim at a fuller accomplishment of the job that the members are undertaking. All three methods will give the people a vision of new possibilities and thus set a new pace for the future.

One thing we must constantly bear in mind is that the study-club is only a technique. It functions only when we have some vision to be realized. It is futile to preserve the study-club for its own sake. This vision comes from the philosophy which will be dealt with briefly in the following paragraphs.

c. The Philosophy of Study-Clubs

There are two kinds of philosophy. One is called the "torch philosophy", the other is called the "seed philosophy". The former has to do with any situation in which the people are ready for action but do not know how to act. The word of the philosopher is like a torch enlightening the burning hearts of the people, and action will immediately take place. The latter refers to a situation where the majority of the people are ignorant of what has been happening to them and are unconscious of their needs. The message of the philosopher

is like a seed planted in the field of the human mind. He has to wait for its growth with patience and prudence. No immediate success is to be expected. Both of these philosophies are found in the Antigonish movement. When Dr. Tompkins left the university to live in a small parish, rubbing elbows with those who were out at the elbows, he was planting the seed of group action. When Dr. Coady was made the director of the Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University and proceeded vigorously to expound his theories of economic cooperation, he was like a burning torch.

However, aside from the philosophy, this movement of study-clubs has revealed to us certain specific ideas which must be briefly stated in order to understand its background or its cultural setting.

(1) Faith in the common people

While we study the development of this movement, the first idea that strikes our mind is the faith, marvelously exhibited by the leaders, in the potential power of the common people. The men of Antigonish knew that if there should be a practical and workable rule to regenerate the rural slums, the people would have to seek the regeneration on their own accord. Dr. Tompkins "saw that if he could awaken the people, they would develop their own leaders. For the leaders were already

there, buried in the debris of a collapsed system."¹ The responsibility to change the society into a better one lies with the ordinary adult population.² Hence they must be enlightened through the study-clubs.

(2) Education for action

People are not educated for the sake of education itself. A real education must be the mobilization of the minds of the people to attack and solve their own problems. Otherwise education is only an ornament, a waste of time and energy. "The old idea of supercilious and dictatorial regimentation in a fixed plan was absent in Judique and Mabou, Little Dover and Port Felix and the rest."³

Why should people be educated? To answer this question, we may quote Dr. Coady's own words which express clearly this philosophy of education for action:

Society expects that each individual shall, as much as possible, carry his economic load, and in addition perform intelligently the duties of citizenship, formal and informal. People cannot be forced to do these things. They must be brought, through education, to the attitude whereby they take on such responsibilities willingly and carry them on efficiently.⁴

1. Fowler, op. cit., p. 21.

2. Coady, op. cit., p. 41.

3. Fowler, op. cit., p. 133.

4. Coady, op. cit., p. 39.

(3) Cooperation As a Powerful Weapon

The third idea that is very obvious to any observer of this movement is that cooperation is a powerful weapon with which to solve problems. If people could stand together and face common personal problems as a cohesive group and as an awakened and energized community, these problems would become smaller and more soluble. Effective community life is the result of the combined action of the individuals of the community. In reference to the work of the Extension Department, Dr. Coady says, "It presupposes the sociological doctrine that man is essentially a social being, that he finds his best expression in the group and that cooperative study paves the way for cooperative living."¹

(4) The Enlightenment of the Common People Is the Firm Foundation of Democracy

Democracy is for all. If it is not for all, it may be called aristocracy or bureaucracy; it is certainly not democracy. Communists shout, "Arise, workers, we have nothing to lose but chains!" The men in Antigonish cry, "Workers of the world, arise, you need not be proletarians."² When facing the problem of the miners' rebellion, Dr. Coady said again and again, "You can't fight Communism or Fascism. You can only

1. Coady, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

wipe them out by removing the causes that breed them."¹ What other method do we have to consolidate the foundation of democracy other than the enlightenment of the common people?

d. Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the Antigonish movement is not an entirely new thing. Its leaders have drawn their inspiration from many sources, especially from the Cooperative study circles in Sweden and the Folk Schools founded by Bishop Grundtvig in Denmark. Nor is it an isolated movement; it has its contemporary counterparts all over the world, such as the New Schools of Action in Mexico, the Rural Reconstruction Movement in India, the Jeanes Project for village education in Africa, and the Mass Education Movement in China. Nor is this movement of study-clubs confined to Nova Scotia or even to Canada. This technique has been extensively adapted to the local needs in many communities of rural America. It has been enthusiastically promoted by men and women who love humanity and who believe in building up a real democracy for all the people. Here we may quote a few lines written by a county agricultural agent in appreciation of the work done by a rural minister who has devoted his life

1. Fowler, op. cit., p. 82.

to the service of rural people:

Through the study club, Big Lick families are learning by searching out information on their problems from the best sources. They send committees out to study and report on problems, then action is taken by the group. This is truly democracy at work. . . Big Lick is setting a pattern for surrounding communities....¹

The results of study-club techniques are of course cumulative. When people are able to solve a simple problem, they are encouraged to cope with a more complex kind. In other words, the study club is a means to an end, and the end is not limited; it should be a growing one. In this connection, Dr. Coady has written:

We have no desire to remain at the beginning, to create a nation of mere shop-keepers, whose thoughts run only from groceries to dividends. We want our men to look into the sun and into the depths of the sea. We want them to explore the hearts of flowers and the hearts of fellow-men. We want them to live, to love, to play and pray with all their being. We want them to be men, whole men, eager to explore all the avenues of life and to attain perfection in all their faculties. . . We desire above all that they will discover and develop their own capacities for creation. It is good to appreciate; it is Godlike to create.²

1. Smathers, Eugene, I Work in the Cumberlands, pp. 13-14.
2. Coady, op. cit., p. 153.

CHAPTER IX

THE MOVABLE SCHOOL IN ALABAMA

The idea of the Movable School was originated by Dr. Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. It was subsequently modified and promoted by one of the graduates of the Institute, named Thomas Monroe Campbell. It is now being amplified by government and private agencies.

Since the day of the Emancipation Proclamation, the plight of countless unschooled Negroes who had to live upon their own resources prompted in Dr. Washington the desire to help the rural people. After he started the Institute he paid regular visits to the rural homes and churches near Tuskegee. During his visits, he was doing two things: first, he persuaded poverty stricken families to send their children to the Institute; second, he gathered first hand information as to their needs in order that these needs could be taken into consideration in planning courses of study beneficial not alone to the students but to the families and communities from whence they came.

Later, he induced the late Dr. George W. Carver to come to Tuskegee as an instructor of practical farming on a higher level. With the help of Dr. Carver, he created the Tuskegee Agricultural Experiment Station for educating and training colored students in scientific agriculture. Then a

stage coach or "carry-all" was provided, whereby lecturers could travel over the county on week-ends and assist the farm folk.

Dr. Washington also started the annual Negro Farmers Conference. The objective of these conferences was twofold: first, to find out from the people themselves about their condition and to get their ideas regarding remedies for the present evils; second, to find out how the young men and women now being educated can best use their education in helping the masses. His personality and pleas inspired many Negroes to be successful. He advised the Negroes to:

Live at home; take a load of produce to town to exchange for those items that you cannot raise; keep a year-round garden, a pig, a cow and raise some fruit; start a bank account; put aside a little money each year until you get enough to buy a piece of land, even if it is but one acre.¹

But these more or less academic forms of extension services still could not reach the poorer farmers. Many farmers remained away from the meetings "because of self-consciousness and the imaginary discomforts they experienced in being obliged to mingle with 'educated people.'"² Hence, he conceived the idea of itinerant demonstrators, or the 'Movable School of Agriculture', and with a donation given by a friend

1. Campbell, Thomas M., The Movable School Goes to The Negro Farmer, p. 90.

2. Ibid., p. 91.

of his named Jesap, an "agricultural wagon", the first "Movable School", was fitted up and set in operation in June, 1906.

It was in that year that Mr. Campbell graduated from Tuskegee, and was subsequently asked to undertake the new program which Dr. Washington characterized as 'A Farmers' College on Wheels.' This program put emphasis upon showing the farmer how to do as well as telling him what to do. In other words, a demonstration at the place where the farmers are is the prominent feature of the Movable School.

At first, the wagon was fitted up with improved implements such as might be used on up-to-date farms. But later it was found that some of them were greatly beyond the agricultural status of the people, so the demonstration program became very practical. Mr. Campbell said: "The people were always interested in the demonstration when we used the crate to carry a "razor back" type of hog in one end and a pure bred pig in the other, with placards attached giving their respective ages and weights. Invariably farmers would inquire where animals of the purebred type could be purchased and this led to the improvement of many herds."

The equipment of the wagon varied according to the season of the year. For instance, just before garden-planting

time, the wagon was equipped with a portable garden with growing vegetables therein. During the plowing season, field demonstrations were given in the use of increased horsepower and better machinery. The work of Mr. Campbell with the outfit was so successful that in 1918 the wagon was replaced by an automobile truck with a complete outfit. The truck was named the "Knapp Agricultural Truck" in honor of the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, founder of farm demonstration work in America. The staff was enlarged from one man working alone with the outfit to three persons: a man to instruct the men and boys, a woman to teach the women and girls, and a trained nurse to work for better health.

The work of the Movable School was carried on in cooperation with agencies already on the grounds. Demonstrations were given on farms or in homes selected after a study of the community. Only those processes that could be repeated by the average country individual were demonstrated. Thus said Mr. Campbell, "We decided that if the average Negro farmer and his wife and children could not repeat, reproduce, or re-enact the things done by the Movable School instructors, it was doubtful whether the subject introduced was practical or timely."¹

Now the idea of the Movable School has long passed the experimental stage, and is an established factor in bringing the

1. Campbell, op. cit., p. 119.

results of agricultural research to the men on farms and in influencing the rural community with concrete and wholesome ideas.

CHAPTER X

III. FOLK SCHOOLS IN DENMARK

Denmark has been called a cooperative commonwealth because the Danish farmers have carried cooperation through to a greater extent than the farmers in any other country. Why have the Danish farmers been able to cooperate so well? Most of the social scientists would probably agree with what Sir Horace Plunkett, the Irish land reformer has said. After studying Danish agriculture Plunkett discovered that it was the Folk School which taught general culture to the farmer which was the secret of their success rather than the technical training in agricultural schools. It was said that "by trying to make the young country people better men and women they eventually made them better farmers."¹

1. The History of Danish Folk Schools

The history of the folk school goes back a hundred years ago to the time when the Danes as a people were politically and economically ruined. It was said that in the first quarter of the 19th century the Danish nation was enshrouded in a deep

1. Manniche, Peter, The Cooperative Movement in Denmark, The Rural Institute for Religious Workers, Barnes Hall, Ithaca, N.Y., Mimeograph Series 5, p. 2.

gloom, the people sighed and longed for nothing but a little assured means of subsistence. As one of its writers described it:

All property sank down in price and all activity stopped as dead as if the last day were expected tomorrow; the bookworm ceased gnawing and the thief no longer cared to steal. A plague of cholera, like our Black Death of earlier years, was going about Europe. It did not actually come near us but internally we had it in highest degree. Outwardly we were dead, literally by thousands, from sleeping sickness.¹

But out of this stagnant situation there arose the voices of Danish patriotic heroes who called upon the people to awake. Among them was Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig. He first attended the Latin School which he later called the "dead school" because of its antiquated methods of education. He then went up to the University of Copenhagen at eighteen; during his university life, he was a "narrow-minded, conceited snob" as he later described himself. But his research study of the mythology of the North made him keenly alive to the sharp contrast between the vigor of ancient Denmark on the one hand and the deathlike apathy of his time on the other. His further study of folk life and folk ideals led him to the belief that what was strong and good in the early Danes must still exist. "Slowly he began to have confidence in the essential soundness of the mass of the people--a confidence which was, later in his develop-

1. Hollman, A.H., Grundtvig in Den Danske Folkehøjskole, I, 18.
Quoted by Olive D. Campbell in The Danish Folk School, p. 32.

ment, to become an abiding faith in the soundness of humanity itself."¹ At the same time, he realized that in order to awaken the potential power of the people, his message to them must be carried in living words and through living personalities. Thus the idea of the folk school began to emerge in his mind and became so contagious that others like Grundtvig had faith in the people, not as they were but as they might be.

It was the conviction of Grundtvig that if popular government were to be a success, the citizens must be educated--educated without being separated from the work of life. "It is just this we lack," said Grundtvig. "Professors and learned folk can and obviously must be few, but Danish citizens--educated and useful citizens--we must all be."² This theory of education has been shared by many others. George Russell, for example, who was Ireland's great economist, painter, and poet, once said:

A nation is cultivated only so far as the average man, not the exceptional person, is cultivated and has knowledge of the thought, imagination, and intellectual history of his nation. . . Governments do not build up civilizations. That is done by the citizens using the creative imagination about life, trying to make the external correspond to something in the spirit.³

Grundtvig was, however, a philosopher and a prophet of the Folk School movement, rather than an organizer of the

1. Campbell, The Danish Folk School, p. 52.

2. Campbell, Olive D., op. cit., p. 56.

3. Ibid., pp. 5-6. Quoted from "AE" - "Exceptions and Averages," Irish Statesman, August 30, 1924.

school. The first school in the spirit of Grundtvig was started by a man by the name of Kristen Kold. He was the son of a poor shoemaker but was so determined to be a teacher that he could not rest until he started to make Denmark what it had once been. He came in touch with Grundtvig's writings through reading the latter's World History, which impressed him with an assurance that "mankind in the end shall triumph over death, sorrow, weariness, sluggishness, emptiness, waste." This book impressed him so much that he thought people should know about it. He then interested Grundtvig in securing a fund amounting to about \$550. As a result, the first folk school was opened on November 1, 1851, at Ryslinge, with fifteen pupils.

"The school was housed in the simplest fashion in a small cottage. The schoolroom was below and, in a loft above, all slept together, Kold and his fellow teacher from opposite ends of the room conversing with and across their pupils until all at last slept. Meal times were likewise used for discussion. Kold's sister did all the work for the household down to scrubbing the floors and preparing the very frugal meals. It is said that the first winter she used in all only two pounds of sugar."¹

In such a simple family-like school, Kold had succeeded in applying the ideas of Grundtvig to country conditions. His

1. Campbell, op. cit., p. 75.

methods thus developed were soon used by the other followers of Grundtvig. In 1864 the Austrian and Prussian troops crossed the Eider and defeated the Danish army. Denmark was forced to cede Schleswig and Holstein to the conquerors.¹ At this time the real folk school movement sprang into being. Within six years, from 1865 to 1870, "thirty Folkehojskoler answered the call which sought to leave no acre of Denmark's little remnant of soil idle--no citizen of her shrunken population uncultivated. From 1870 to 1900, sixty-five more folk schools were opened of which forty-two had ceased activities by the end of the thirty-year period, leaving a total of fifty-three. In the same thirty-year period the students had risen from 1691 in 1870 to about 5344 in 1900."² Now, between one-third and one-fourth of all Danish farmers have at least once in their life time attended the folk school.³ These folk schools are to be found in Norway, Sweden, Finland, France, Germany, England, and in many other countries, including the U. S. A.

2. The Objective of the Folk School

The main object of the folk school can be expressed very briefly: It is to free, in the highest sense of the word, the mass of the common people. This has been clearly pointed

1. Curtis, Lionel, World Order, p. 493.
2. Campbell, op. cit., p. 83.
3. Manniche, op. cit., p. 2.

out by Jakob Lange, the principal of the Smallholders School at Odense, Denmark:

The truly great minds of the age clearly perceived that spiritual activity in the fields of learning and amongst the 'educated classes' would not suffice. They fully realized that the field of Denmark had become too small to allow any part of it to lie fallow, bearing weeds, that Danes were too few to permit ignorance and baseness to thrive in the dark. In its happy meeting with awakening spiritual cravings amongst the peasantry, this desire to elevate, regain and regenerate kindled a flame for enlightenment and true education which enlarged the horizon and broadened the mind of the foremost of the peasantry. In this way they were rendered fit to lead; and the whole emancipation-movement got a wider scope, became a true movement of the people, aiming at making the common man feel that he too had a stake in his country, and helping to transform him into a living stone of our national house, thus effacing not only outward but inward class-distinctions.¹

The folk school, therefore, is not merely an institution, where the students are taught to acquire technical or practical knowledge whereby they will be able to earn a better livelihood. It is rather a cultural fellowship in which both students and teachers meet on equal ground, so that through the daily contact of living personalities, the students are led to develop themselves into a higher and nobler lives. In other words, it is the awakening of the spirit to elevate the value of life rather than the amassing of a body of knowledge to swell

1. Lange, Jakob, The Danish Peasant of Today, pp. 7, 9. Chr. Milo, Odense Denmark, 1905. Quoted by Campbell, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

the material wealth, that constitutes the main purpose of the folk school. Once the spirit is awakened, the students will be eager to learn how to improve their condition, if such improvement is necessary, for the expression of a nobler and higher life.

The following is a free translation of a favorite Danish folk-school song which expresses the philosophy of those who developed this type of rural education:

Set your feet in the common soil. There are the roots of life. There you must learn to stand. Begin on the plane of every day--not in the blue of the heavens--and grow upward. Must you not plough the field before you gather in the harvest? Love life. Hate no one. With joy and sorrow, hope and faith, you shall build here on earth a bridge up to the stars.¹

3. The Curriculum of the Folk School

After knowing the objective of the folk school, it goes without saying that its curriculum deals with the intangible rather than the tangible. It is true that in the folk school, pupils are taught how to plant the fields, how to improve the forests, how to make harness from country-cured hides, or even how to carve little animals out of blocks of wood; but these practical and useful lessons are not designed to be merely a

1. Quoted from Bulletin No. 25 of John C. Campbell Folk School, Brasstown, North Carolina, May 1941.

vocational training, they are rather the means to an end. And this end is the development of the latent creative power within each of the pupils, whether it be in the realm of pure arts, or of practical sciences. The main emphasis of the curriculum always points to the value of culture rather than to the materialistic practicalities. The awakening of the spirit rather than the imparting of exact information is the important principle that underlies the lectures given by teachers in folk schools.

Practically all folk schools in Denmark have the same term, November first to April first for the men, and May first to August first for the women. During this period, cultural courses, such as history, geography, languages; practical courses such as agriculture, mechanical drawing, or carpentry; and recreational courses such as music and gymnastics are given in regular morning and afternoon sessions. Evenings are generally used for discussions, special lectures, or singing games. The students are free to select their courses according to individual appetite, and are allowed to set their own pace, be it fast or slow. No examinations are required.

As to the teachers, no specific qualifications are set; they are free to select their teaching material so as to express their own personalities. Many of these teachers come from the ranks and know the needs of the pupils who come to school of their own free will. But the selection of material requires

4. The Techniques of the Folk School

scholarship, and the delivery of the lecture demands an insight into the subject about which the lecture is given. Otherwise the teachers are not able to command the attention of the pupils, and they will be eliminated through the natural process of selective survival.

Furthermore, the teaching in the folk school requires experience and tactfulness. For instance, in a typical folk school in Vestbirk, Denmark, a woman teacher was to give a talk on sex. Before she did this, she gave lectures on botany. She was only a country girl without university training, but while she was lecturing, she held up different specimens of plants and trees, chosen at random about the grounds, called attention to the differences and then to the reason for such differences, illustrating the various methods of fertilization and distribution of seeds. Her talk was so natural and human that even visitors much better educated than herself sat spellbound in her presence.¹ With such an introduction she would have no difficulty in talking to her students on the problem of sex.

So it is clear that the details of the curricula of folk schools should be worked out by the respective teachers concerned, that every teacher should be a law unto himself. But, whatever is being taught should express in one way or another the inner life of the teacher himself.

1. See Campbell, op. cit., p. 147.

4. The Techniques of the Folk School

While there is no set rule for conducting a folk school, there are some techniques which have proved valuable. These need to be briefly mentioned.

(1) It is found that folk schools are for those who have already had some education or some kind of experience in practical life. They are not to be regarded as substitutes for primary or secondary schools. The best age for students is between eighteen and twenty-five years. At this age, the mind is ripe and questioning. It is the duty of the folk school to help the young adults answer their questions.

(2) The folk school is individualistic in principle. It does not work for any examination or degree. The curricula of folk schools are not to be standardized. Grundtvig maintained that the method of a true Folk School is to help the young to get an answer to their questions.

(3) The folk school is to educate for life not for a position in life. For this reason, history is the main subject. "But history taught not as a meaningless mass of details, but history as a living continuity, an organic development, the career of mankind. The young should be taught in such a way that they don't become passive spectators, but active participants in the making of history. With this teaching of history in which the religious was spoken of as the deepest current, through a practical approach to sociology and an idealistic interpretation of life,

the Folk Schools have created a national fellowship which did not end in militarism, but aimed at creating a country that should become rich in the true sense of the word--'with few rich people and still fewer poor.'¹

(4) While the main object of the folk school is to awaken the spirit of its pupils, what is taught must find a practical application. The school must see to it that the ambitions aroused by history for example, can be realized in the common every day work on the farm. As a matter of fact, this linking of knowledge with the common necessary tasks of life, as has been much emphasized by Kristen Kold in the first folk school in the spirit of Grundtvig at Ryslinge, has become an outstanding characteristic of all folk-school teaching.²

(5) The fifth technique of the folk school lies in its home atmosphere. The folk school should be a place where any farmer, middle-class or low, might come and feel at home. The teachers, no matter how well educated, should strive to efface any signs of superficial polish which might make the countryman uncomfortable or suspicious. The teacher should realize the value of living together on equal terms, with the students, take them where he finds their interest, and speak to them in their own language. It is no use to induce students to acquire

1. Manniche, op. cit., p. 3.

2. Campbell, op. cit., p. 78.

new ways--ways difficult to continue under conditions existing at home. "Let change in ways of living come through natural development."¹

(6) The next technique that is now being developed is providing better opportunities for the teachers to develop a broad outlook, thus widening the horizon of the folk school. It must be recognized that in addition to the genuine desire to help the country people, the teacher must keep up his studies, and be able to march on abreast of the zeitgeist.

(7) The last technique which should be mentioned has to do with the whole movement. This is the creation of a fellowship which all folk-school teachers may join on payment of a small membership fee. In Denmark, this fellowship is called the Folk-School Association. It has no authority over its members, yet it serves as a center of information. It publishes books such as a song book and reading book that are used in practically all folk schools. This Association also consults with the government in matters related to the folk school, and advises on how much should be paid in the way of subsidies.² In short, such an association stands as a symbol of unity, although it may not be an active unifying agency; and as such, it greatly facilitates the furtherance of the folk school movement.

1. Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

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CHAPTER XI

THE CULTURAL MISSIONS IN MEXICO

The three types of adult education we have thus far mentioned originated through individuals who saw the needs of the people, and devised ways and means to help them meet their needs. The Cultural Missions, however, were inaugurated by the Federal Government of Mexico. In order to explain the *raison d'être* of these missions, a brief review of the history and characteristics of Mexican rural education seems to be necessary.

1. The Origin and History of Cultural Missions

It is estimated that approximately 80 percent of the total population of Mexico is predominantly rural. A great majority of these rural people are said to be Indian, or mestizos with a strong mixture of Indian blood. These people live a very simple life in villages whose population averages 300 to 500. And there are more than 62,000 such villages.¹ After the revolution of 1910 which overthrew the Diaz regime, the Mexican Federal Government took over the responsibility for educating these rural Indian people. The revolutionary government was eager not only to elevate the economic level of its people, but also to uplift the entire nation from a state of illiterate, ignorant stagnation

1. Tannenbaum, Frank, The Mexican Agrarian Revolution. The Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C. Also see Katherine M. Cook, The House of the People, p. 4.

to a position where every person would respect himself as an enlightened citizen of a progressive nation. But the financial resources of the government were limited. It was practically impossible to establish public schools with paid teachers and equipment supplied by the Federal Government. Therefore a special school system devoted to the education of its rural people was evolved.

One of the most important principles of this system was the principle of self-help. It has been and still is the policy of the Federal Government to establish schools only in those communities where the people themselves desire to have a school and are willing to share the responsibility of its support as a cooperative enterprise of the community. At first, the Secretary of Public Education sent out 'missionaries' to travel from village to village throughout the country "to preach the gospel of the new school, to invigorate the people, and to tell them about the new day."¹ But no school was established until the community had become aroused to the need. When the school was established, its teacher was to be selected from the community, but he was to be paid by the Federal Government. "No equipment was sent; no city teachers. Thus the new school came into existence, a school which has no pedagogy, a school with a

1. Saenz, Moises. Newer Aspects of Education in Mexico. Bulletin of the Pan American Union, 63:861-77, September 1929. Quoted by Cook, op. cit., p. 7.

strong social sense; with no normal training; without a tradition."¹

The teachers of such rural schools, therefore, have very little professional training. Their academic education need not extend beyond completion of 8 years of the elementary school. They were selected chiefly for personal qualities, such as a fundamental belief in the educational program, an understanding of the people among whom they worked, and consecration to the service in which they were engaged. It is said that "the teachers are men and women of good will. Most of them have finished their primary education, but quite a few have not fulfilled any other requisite on the academic side than ability to read and write."² But their responsibility is unusually heavy. They not only have to teach children in the day time, but they must also conduct night classes for adults. The enrollment in these night classes sometimes exceeds that in the day school. Mrs. Katherine M. Cook, who has studied first hand these new schools of action in Mexico, said that "In a very real sense the teacher is the school in Mexico,"³ And the school is charged with the task of transforming the community, as has been expressed

1. Saenz, Moises. Newer Aspects of Education in Mexico. Bulletin of the Pan American Union, 63:861-77, September 1929. Quoted by Cook, op. cit., p. 7.
2. Saenz, Moises. Bulletin of the Pan American Union, 63:864-65. Quoted by Cook, op. cit., p. 15.
3. Cook, op. cit., p. 15.

by the director of rural schools in the Secretariat with characteristic fervor as follows:

We have gone into this task with body and soul, with the twofold purpose of first making life more comfortable and right for the people who live and have their being in this time, and then to make for the generations of the future a world of better weal and greater justice. One day we shall succeed in the making of our rural life in Mexico, a life informed in beauty as a garden, or a clear sky pulsating with stars.¹

In attempting such a comprehensive task, it goes without saying that some sort of systematic in-service training of teachers is an absolute necessity, especially for those teachers who have had little preparation. In order to provide this training, the Mexican government established the Cultural Missions in addition to Federal Supervision of the rural education. To these two organizations the rural normal schools were added later. Among these three organizations, the cultural missions constituted a unique feature of the Mexican school system. "They were the result of the necessity of giving some professional guidance to the teachers in service whom the Federal department had to obtain in the great desire for multiplying the rural schools throughout the nation."² But later, their functions were enlarged, through their accumulated experience, to include important community work. In 1931, there

1. Cook, op. cit., p. 16.

2. Las Misiones Culturales en 1927. Mexico, La Secretaria de Education Publica, 1928, p. 4. Quoted by Cook, op. cit., p. 22.

were 12 traveling and 2 permanent missions covering the country at large.¹ In 1939, the number of missions was increased to 30, working in all parts of the country.²

These missions, however, have ceased to function because their services have been absorbed by the programs of rural, vocational and agricultural normal schools. But since these missions rendered a unique and nation-wide service in Mexico while her rural education system was in its embryonic state, they are still worth our consideration as an interesting type of adult education.

2. The Organization and Training of the Staff of Cultural Missions

The Cultural Missions are organized under the direction of a directorship or bureau of cultural missions in the Secretariat of Public Education. Each mission is a group of traveling specialists, an itinerant normal school faculty devoted to in-service training of teachers and of communities. "Each mission is assigned to a certain territory which is divided into zones or regions, in each of which a certain base or center is selected in which the institute--a series of intensive short courses--is held."³ An institute lasts 30 days. Since the teachers of the

1. Cook, op. cit., p. 24.

2. Original material obtained by Dr. Felton in Mexico.

3. Cook, op. cit., p. 22.

Federal rural schools are employed throughout the year, attendance at the institute is required of all teachers in the region in which the institute is being held.

As to the selection of a center in which to hold the institute, the general principle is explained by the Federal Secretariat as follows:

Should we wish to deal with problems in the abstract and give general instruction, it would be better to hold the meetings in the cities or centers of greater population, making the teachers come to the institute instead of the institute to the teachers. However, this has not been the purpose. We wish the institute to go to the teachers and to develop under the same conditions under which the rural teacher has to work, as well as to study in the location itself the problems that may present themselves. Based on this theory, there is no reason to talk about the ideal rural condition nor abstract scientific principles. They have there a rural school with a house, equipment, and children just as they are, and they will have to study with the teachers the way to make this a more noble and more efficient educational agency. For this reason the school becomes the laboratory of the institute.¹

The rural school is a community project; so when the institute is being held, it is attended not only by teachers of its surrounding villages, but also by the people of the village where the school is located. Actually the whole village becomes a laboratory and the school is the central meeting place.

As the cultural missions gained experience, development has taken place in the number of itinerant faculties in

1. Quoted by Cook, op. cit., p. 26.

the scope of service, and in methods of work. The staff of each mission has also been enlarged since the inception of the first mission group in 1923. Up to 1939, each mission consisted of two groups of persons, viz. the professional group and the artisan group. The first group is composed of the following persons:

- 2 teachers, one an expert in pedagogy, the other in sociology
- 1 agricultural engineer, or agronomist
- 1 physician
- 1 nurse
- 1 musician
- 1 physical education director
- 1 social worker - a woman
- 1 master painter

The second group consists of artisans, such as pot tets, masons, carpenters, weavers, mechanics, and a movie operator with his electric plant.¹ The personnel of both groups is of course flexible and varies according to the needs of individual communities and to the resources available.

The members of the professional group are enlisted and trained by the government officials in charge of the mission activities. However, their qualifications are not standardized. They are generally men and women with a training superior to that of the teachers they instruct. "Like the teachers, they are selected in part because of personal leadership qualities,

1. Original material obtained by Dr. Felton in Mexico.

Spirit, enthusiasm, and devotion to and belief in the worthiness of educational work as a national service are believed to be of major importance in the selection of the mission and of the teaching staff."¹

As members of missions went out to the field to conduct the institutes, instructions were issued by the Federal Secretariat from time to time regarding the work to be covered. By the nature of the work, these instructions were not stereotyped. They were to serve as guides and to be adapted to the local situations by the mission staffs. The following outline is an example of the type of these instructions:

Instructions for social workers:

- I. For work with the teachers -
 - a. The development of a simple course of hygiene, including first aid and prevention of the common diseases.
 - b. Development of a course in dietetics, embracing the basis of balanced feeding, recipes, and the preparation of a certain number of menus.
 - c. Development of a simple course of child care.
 - d. Development of a simple and practical course of sewing and women's work.
 - e. Series of lessons to teach teachers how to work within the community, instructing them in social organization, how to obtain collective profits, and demonstrations in home improvement.

- II. For work in the community -
 - a. Talks on hygiene, prevention of disease, first aid, vaccination, etc.
 - b. Domestic science, including cooking and women's work.
 - c. Feeding and care of children.

1. Cook, op. cit., p. 23.

- d. Home visiting and suggestions for home betterment.
- e. Social meetings and entertainments.
- f. Organization of the neighborhood into associations or clubs of domestic science, entertainment, or recreation.

III. For work with the children of the schools near the institute -

- a. Vaccination.
- b. Classes in hygiene and domestic science to demonstrate improved methods.

Instructions to the teachers of small industries:

- I. For work with the teachers and community -
 - a. Classes in tanning and preservation of hides, preservation of fruits and vegetables, soap making, school industries, and dairying.
 - b. In the school near the institute hold industrial classes serving as demonstration classes.
 - c. Organize courses for small industries at different hours for the communities. Help neighbors with their problems.

Instructions to the teachers of agriculture:

Work must be of a practical nature, including breeding of animals, bee raising, providing a vegetable garden, and if possible, an orchard. You will be attended by the teachers of the institute as well as the students, particularly when trying to use them in demonstration classes for teachers in the community. You must leave something in the community, i.e., a garden and instruction; all instructions and suggestions must be practical, such as cooperative production, etc.

Instructions to teachers of physical education:

- I. For work with the teachers -
 - a. Games and sports.
 - b. Classes in games, gymnasium, and sports to introduce them into the schools.
 - c. Organization of athletic contests.

- II. For work with children -
 - a. Gymnasium classes, games, and sports with educational aims.
 - b. Demonstration classes for teachers.
- III. For work with the neighborhood -
 - a. With men.
 - When mission leaves there must be left behind an athletic association and a field for games and sports.¹

3. The Purposes of the Cultural Missions

The purposes of the cultural missions can perhaps be best explained by Catherine Vesta Sturgis, social worker, who has worked with the cultural missions practically from the initiation of the rural-school program. The following is the substance of excerpts from an address she made before a seminar in Mexico:

First, as to the community, the people are dis-integrated due to racial and language differences, and the mission aims to help the school to form communities with an organic life and to help the people to build a whole life. In the past the church has been the one unifying cultural influence, and such cultural and psychological unity as there is to lay hold of is this inheritance. The missions work with the adults and the community as a whole, especially in directing popular arts, music, and drama. They help the community to feel the school as a cultural social influence, and to feel the teacher as a leader in many aspects of their life.

For the teachers the mission integrates a philosophy of rural education which concerns itself with the control of environment (economic), with health and child welfare, with home life and domestic relationships, and with recreation, spiritual and physical.

1. Quoted, by Cook, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

They train teachers in the essentials of the school program, bring them a sense of being a part in a strong, unified program, and take back to the central base their findings of original resources among the diverse peoples and their discoveries of the achievements of teachers, all of which are worked into a program constantly in the making.¹

4. The Techniques of the Cultural Missions

The techniques that have been used and developed by these cultural missions may be grouped under five categories: 1) techniques in enlisting staff members; 2) techniques in regard to the general approach; 3) techniques in uplifting the educational level of the people; 4) techniques in introducing new knowledge to the people; 5) techniques in unifying the programs or work of missions in different localities. While we realize that all these techniques are interlocking and inter-related, we feel that a word may be said about each of them.

a. Techniques in enlisting staff members

Under this category, there are two techniques which seem to be very conspicuous and successful, if not unique. The first is the emphasis on the importance of personal traits in the selection of staff members. Professional training is required, of course, but this is considered of secondary importance.

1. Quoted by Cook, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

The members of the staff are often, but not necessarily, normal school or college trained. Sometimes they are merely successful tradesmen. This technique has two advantages: it keeps the mission free from any snobbish and superficial arrogance ~~with~~ which holders of academic diplomas and degrees at times may have. It also makes it possible to enlist the support of men and women who possess an apostolic devotion, but who do not have academic preparation. In carrying out the work of the cultural missions, the staff members must first be filled with the spirit of crusaders, devoted, quenchless and confident in the worthiness of the work. The compensation for the lack of adequate schooling can be secured through in-service training, and through the actual experience of learning by doing.

The second technique is the emphasis on the indispensability of female members on the faculty. In Mexico's cultural missions, "At least one of the teachers was always a woman. She, with the nurse and the social worker, gathered the young women together to teach them first aid. They visited the homes to improve them, making beds out of whatever sort of sticks were available in the region; they made cradles, got the charcoal stoves and the laundry apparatus up off the floor. They exchanged the 'metates' for hand or electric mills where the corn could be ground without such heavy work for the women."¹

The reason for including women on the staff is as obvious as it is important. The women can bring the work of the missions right

1. Quoted from original typed material obtained by Dr. Felton in Mexico.

into homes, the cells of any given community. This is perhaps the most significant point.

b. Techniques in regard to the general approach

In regard to the general problem as to how to approach the community, three techniques have been developed: to meet the needs of the people, to create a desire for social improvement, and to cultivate a unity between the interests and activities of the school and the community.

In order to meet the needs of the people, the program of the missions is neither imposed nor prescribed by a central authority. Opportunity for self-expression is offered both to the members of the individual missions and to the people with whom and for whom the missions are to work. In Mexico, the rural schools are called Schools of Action (Escuelas de Accion). They are free from formality. People are encouraged to exercise their initiative, particularly when the program is concerned with community activities. Similarly, before the institute is to be opened, the staff of the cultural mission is expected to arrive at the concentration center early enough to make a preliminary survey of the particular needs of the section and to establish contacts with the people and the local teachers, so that their ideas can be incorporated into the proposed programs of the institute.

The creation of a desire to improve the social situation requires awakening the spirit of the people from sleeping in dark complacency. This technique has been successfully applied, as demonstrated in the persistent policy of establishing schools only as cooperative enterprises requested by the people themselves.

The third technique is a corollary of the second, i.e., to plan the program of the school with the idea of meeting the specific needs of the community. The school is not only a place where children are being educated, but it is the 'House of the People' (Casa del Pueblo), which is a meeting place for the men and women of the village, "a place where they can talk to each other, can sing together, and where they can hear a little of the outside world, which in this case is our own country, and the story of the social change under way in Mexico."¹ The whole community is the laboratory where the cultural mission works through the school, which is a community agency. Whenever an institute is held by the cultural mission, it is attended not only by teachers, but by the people as well. Thus bringing the school and community together in a unity of spirit, interests, and activities, has been considered as a unique feature of the work of the cultural missions.

1. Quoted by Cook, op. cit., p. 17.

c. Techniques in uplifting the educational level

Illiteracy of the rural population of Mexico is bound to be very high because there are at least 50 different native dialects in use, even though Spanish is accepted as the common language. But it is interesting to observers from outside that "neither among Federal education officials nor teachers does one see or hear much about efforts to eliminate illiteracy."¹ It seems that instruction in fundamentals, although important in the schools for children, is more or less incidental to the main object of rural education. As to the techniques used by the education officials in uplifting the educational level, at least three can be mentioned. They believe that as communities progress toward a higher social level, the need for knowing how to read and write will be recognized without great effort.

Second, they teach the common language--Spanish--"through songs--and Mexican children are especially fond of music; through dramatization, in which they are graceful, original, and adept, especially dramatization of simple village and farm activities through programs of plays, dances, and the like."²

Third, use books in rural schools that are written especially for them. They are inexpensive but adequate in binding, the coloring, and illustrations of the content. The

1. Cook, op. cit., p. 11.

2. Ibid., p. 12.

reasons for these techniques are obvious and need no elaboration.

d. Techniques in introducing new knowledge

To introduce new knowledge and the results of scientific research to the usually conservative, suspicious, timid, and poverty-stricken rural people is a difficult task. In order to overcome this difficulty, the cultural missions have developed or used certain techniques. The first of these is to leave a permanent contribution for the community in which the institute has been held, or where demonstrations of new methods of agriculture or social improvement have been made. This contribution may be a garden, a playground, an open-air theater, improved sanitation, or what not.

A second technique is to make the closing day of each institute a fiesta for the immediate community as well as for the surrounding region whose schools are represented in the attendance, so as to create a deep impression in the minds of the people. On this day the spirit and the atmosphere of a typical Mexican fiesta are present. Buildings are decorated with flags, and streets are filled with men, women, and children coming from surrounding villages to be entertained by all kinds of exhibits, games, athletic stunts, native dances, and a

performance at the theater, consisting chiefly of short one-act plays, music, and the like. All these demonstrate the activities which teachers would be expected to promote through their schools in local communities.

The third technique is to work through the local agencies in related fields. For example, the physician and the nurse in a cultural mission tried at first to combat the witch doctors, but they found that the villagers had more confidence in them than in the physicians from the cities. So they changed their tactics. Instead of combating them, they found ways to win the confidence of the herb doctors and the witches and taught them hygiene and related subjects, especially for maternity cases. Thus they found that to work through these local doctors was more effective than to work directly with the people.¹

In Mexico, "even the smallest schools have workshops, either an extra room or a corner in the school room."² A few schools have demonstration farms and a model cottage on the school ground. These are available to the staff members of the cultural missions. Thus to work through the rural schools by using the already existing facilities is another well developed technique.

1. From original typed material obtained by Dr. Felton in Mexico.
2. Cook, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

e. Techniques for unifying the work of the cultural missions.

As has been said above, the rural schools in Mexico are characterized by freedom from formality and by flexibility in curriculum to suit the individual needs of the community. The organization of the cultural missions is itself a unifying agency which gives to the local teachers the sense of belonging to a nation-wide movement, and gathers the findings of individual teachers, for the central authority so that further promotion may be planned in the light of these findings. But the work of the individual missions also differ from one another due to the varied condition of localities. In attempting to create a unity among all the cultural missions, at least three techniques have been developed, viz., attacking the problems that are common to many communities; aiming at reflecting the national ideals in conducting the institutes, such as revival of indigenous culture, preservation of self-respect, and the use of hereditary talents; and supplementing the experimental work of the missions with research studies. The first two techniques are self-evident; the last has been worked out by two commissions, namely, the commission on Indian Studies, and the commission on rural life studies.

The function of the commission on Indian studies is to study the fundamental characteristics of the different racial

groups, their life and their customs, their language, their temperment and their habits. The function of the commission and rural life studies is to explore the possibilities of those communities which are considered socially backward. It has been expected that through the efforts of these commissions, the future development of Mexican rural education will be shaped along genuinely scientific lines.

At present, the Mexican Federal government has substituted the rural normal schools for the cultural missions. The cultural missions, however, have performed strategic functions at a time when many of the basic purposes of the Federal rural-school system in Mexico were being crystallized.

CHAPTER XII

THE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE
IN THE UNITED STATES

The Agricultural Extension Service of the United States is perhaps the best financed and most successful work that has ever been carried on by either private or public agencies in the field of adult rural education. This service was inaugurated in its present pattern in 1914 when the Smith-Lever Act was passed. According to this act, an annual appropriation was provided for the land-grant colleges by the Federal Government in order to aid in diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics, and to encourage the application of the same through field demonstrations, publications, and otherwise. This system is known as the Cooperative Extension Service in agriculture and home economics, because the act obligates cooperation between the federal Department of Agriculture and the land-grant colleges. In fact, the service is jointly administered and financed by the federal, state, and county governments, and in some states, also by local farmers' organizations.

At present, the cooperative Extension Service "has a trained agricultural agent in every rural county, home demonstration agents in two-thirds of the counties, a number of 4-H Club agents and assistant agents, 1,600 State extension special-

ists to assist the agents, a few States supervisors, and a small supervisory and specialist staff in Washington.

"More than 3,841,000 farmers, 2,595,000 rural women, and 1,500,000 rural youth actively take part in carrying out extension recommendations. Thousands of others are reached indirectly through seeing improvement in their neighbors' practices, through news, radio, and other mass education means. Nearly 60,000,000 people annually attend Extension-sponsored demonstrations, achievement days, leader-training educational tours, and miscellaneous meetings."¹

During the fiscal year 1941-42 alone, a total of over 34 millions of dollars was allotted from all sources for cooperative extension work. Of this amount, about 55.6 percent came from Federal appropriations, 20.9 percent from state and college funds, and 20.4 percent from county appropriations. Other local sources accounted for 3.1 percent.²

The work of this cooperative extension service covers a great variety of subjects, ranging from technical instruction in farm management to cultural training for a better rural life, from the control of plant diseases to the educational campaign as a war measure to explain to rural people the seven-point national program to control the cost of living and prevent in-

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home-Economics, 1941-42, p.5.
2. Ibid., p. 33.

flation, and from the development of home industries to a program for parent education and family life. As a rule, the extension service is being carried on with three groups of people, namely, the farmers, the farm women, and boys and girls 10 to 20 years of age in 4-H Clubs. The members of 4-H clubs are supposed to carry on a piece of work on the farm, or in the home, or in the community. "This system of teaching has been found increasingly effective during the past 30 years in getting better agricultural and home practices established and training rural youth to enjoy doing worth-while work that counts on the home farm and in the rural community."¹

It is to be realized that this system of extension service is something that grows out of the soil of American social and economic conditions. It takes an accumulated experience of scores of years and a joint effort on the part of numerous trained leaders to accomplish what has been successfully done. To an observer from outside the country, the accomplishments of the Extension Service are marvelous, and its educational influence on the rural people is excelled only by the public school system. But to those who are the leaders of this service, the job is only partly done. They think that "for every problem on which the farmer has been given some assistance there remain 10 on which he needs far greater help."² Thus the Extension

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home-Economics, 1941-42, p. 28.

2. Ibid., p. 7.

Service is a challenge both to the outsiders who wish to launch a similar movement for the betterment of rural life in other countries, and to the workers within the system who aim at rendering a deeper and broader assistance to the farmers in a changing world.

It seems absurd for any one to expect that similar results will be obtained should such a system of extension service be inaugurated in a country like China where no land-grant colleges have been extensively established, where the means of communications are inadequate, where urban or heavy industries have not yet been developed, and where the percentage of illiteracy is still high. Yet it would be equally absurd to assume that this system of cooperative extension service has little to contribute toward the betterment or improvement of rural life in other countries, simply because the social and economic backgrounds of the farmers in America are unlike those in other lands. The fact that no two countries are alike does not mean that there are no similarities.

It may be reasonable to say that this cooperative extension service in agriculture and home-economics would not have materialized if there had been no persistent effort exerted by those who were awake to the needs and envisioned the potentialities of the rural people. To show how difficult it was for this system to come into being, we may take the enactment of the

Smith-Lever Act as an example. It was this Act that made possible the establishment of the Cooperative Extension Service. The general outline of this law was first conceived by the Committee on Extension of the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations in 1908. Then a bill for this purpose was introduced in Congress in 1909. But it "failed of passage at that session of Congress. In the following election, party control in Congress changed and the extension bill, in modified form, was re-introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Asbury F. Lever of South Carolina in 1911, and in the Senate by Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia. With various changes, it was kept before the House and Senate until its final enactment into law May 8, 1914."¹ From this enactment, it can be seen that even in the United States, with its democratic ideals and efficient political machinery, it took time and patience to have such an act passed.

From the establishment of this system of cooperative extension service, we can also see there is at least one thing which is common or similar to all nations. This is the needs of the farmer and the fact that these needs must be satisfied, or eliminated, or minimized before the nation as a whole can REALLY enjoy the four freedoms for which the Allied Nations are

1. Smith, C.B. and Wilson, M.C., The Agricultural Extension System of the United States, p. 42.

now fighting. Thus, regardless of the fact that no other nation can afford to launch a movement similar in scope and volume, it will still be helpful and suggestive to make a brief survey of the objectives and techniques evolved from the Cooperative Extension Service.

1. The Objectives of the Cooperative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home-Economics.

The objective of the Cooperative Extension Service was perhaps best expressed in a statement which follows, made by Senator Verdaman in regard to the Smith-Lever Act.

Now, the purpose of this bill (Smith-Lever) is to help the tillers of the land to discover the hidden riches of the soil, to devise methods of cultivation which will lessen the burden of farm life by shortening the hours of drudgery, and render more productive the land. Its splendid purpose is to improve the man, enlarge his mental horizon, and give intelligent direction to his efforts. The effect also will be to add comforts to the country home, lighten the burdens of woman, afford greater opportunities to the boys and girls upon whose shoulders soon must fall the responsibility of home and the burdens of government.¹

From this general objective there arose more definite objectives referring specifically to three groups of persons, the farmers, the farm women, and the boys and girls. The aim of the Extension Service is to educate farmers in all phases of their occupation in order to help them increase their efficiency

1. Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p.v.

and therefore their net income. This type of education is practical as well as technical. It is being carried out through agricultural agents in every county who are in immediate contact with a host of specialists devoted to specialized subjects, such as agronomy, dairying, poultry, horticulture, animal husbandry, marketing and the like.

The extension work for the farm women is being done by technically and practically trained rural-minded women, commonly called home demonstration agents. The following are some of the important functions or objectives of their work:

1. Help the farm woman see the challenge of the job of home making.
2. Help her with her poultry, dairy, garden, and marketing problems so that the farm woman may have more money with which to buy the things she needs--things for the house, things for the children, things for herself.
3. Bring to her attention labor-saving devices and short-cut methods in doing housework so that the farm woman may have more leisure to read, enjoy her children, work with her flowers, visit her neighbors, go to town or do similar things.
4. Bring to her attention the blending of colors, harmony in design, the use and making of patterns, the quality of textiles and fabrics, so that the farm woman may clothe herself becomingly and in accordance with the fashions of the time.
5. Help her with the problems of child training to a knowledge of the child mind at various stages of development, child habits at different ages, the nutrition and growth of the child, so that it may be normal in mind and body.
6. Help her to find the time and to have the desire to join her neighbors in the upbuilding of community affairs and to do her full share. The mind and heart expand with worthwhile and altruistic enterprises.

7. Teach her the need and value of play and social life. She is a better wife and better mother who gets outside the home occasionally to see how other folks live and do, and who retains her youth with play and social life.

8. Help her to a better knowledge of nutrition. It is said a third of our rural people are suffering from preventable ailments like constipation, anemia, rheumatism, goiter, headaches, indigestion, and pellagra, because of the improper selection, preparation, and use of the foods which are so abundant on the farm.

9. Help her to a knowledge of home decoration, the beauty of pictures, the choice and arrangement of furnishings, painting of china, the making of rugs and baskets, the landscaping of the home grounds, the arrangement of flowers, and like matters.

10. Encourage her and show her how she may attend the women's extension camp, take a short course of a week or more at the agricultural college where the mind is freed and the vision expanded, as a result of which she becomes increasingly interesting and companionable to her husband and children.¹

The work among the boys and girls is carried on in 4-H Clubs. "The clubs average about 12 to 15 members. Each club is sponsored by an adult leader, who may be a farmer, a farmer's wife, older youth, resident teacher, or someone else who knows something about agriculture, homemaking, and rural life, who likes young people, and has an aptitude for leadership among them."²

The aims and objectives of 4-H club work approved by the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, reads

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1. Smith & Wilson, op. cit., pp. 62-64.
 2. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home-Economics, 1941-42, p. 28.

as follows:

1. To help rural boys and girls to develop desirable ideals and standards for farming and homemaking, community life, and citizenship, and a sense of responsibility for their attainment.
2. To afford rural boys and girls technical instruction in farming and homemaking, that they may acquire skill and understanding in these fields and a clearer vision of agriculture as a basic industry, and of homemaking as a worthy occupation.
3. To provide rural boys and girls an opportunity to 'learn by doing' through conducting certain farm or home enterprises and demonstrating to others what they have learned.
4. To instill in the minds of rural boys and girls an intelligent understanding and an appreciation of nature and of the environment in which they live.
5. To teach rural boys and girls the value of research, and to develop in them a scientific attitude toward the problems of the farm and the home.
6. To train rural boys and girls in cooperative action to the end that they may increase their accomplishments and, through associated efforts, better assist in solving rural problems.
7. To develop in rural boys and girls habits of healthful living, to provide them with information and direction in the intelligent use of leisure, and to arouse in them worthy ambitions and a desire to continue to learn, in order that they may live fuller and richer lives.
8. To teach and to demonstrate to rural boys and girls methods designed to improve practices in agriculture and homemaking, to the end that farm incomes may be increased, standards of living improved, and the satisfactions of farm life enhanced.¹

1. Quoted by Sanderson, Dwight, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization, p. 403.

The cooperative extension service, however, is not something composed of three different compartments serving three different sets of persons. Its main aim is to build a better rural life, and what is done in the name of the cooperative extension service is a means to this end. This end is not only better agriculture, nor better homes, nor even better men and women. It is a better community, composed of better men and better women who enjoy a better home with a better agricultural income. In order to coordinate the work of the three branches of extension service, a definite need has been felt for extension rural sociologists on the staffs of Land-Grant Colleges. These new teachers devote themselves largely to community organization and community relationships.

The addition of rural sociologists to the extension service force is a very significant development. Since then "not only is cooperative extension work concerned with production on the farm and better practices in the home, but also with community activities such as pageants and plays, community club-houses, community singing, promotion of bands and choruses, recreation, development of work centers, improvement of school and church grounds, conducting local fairs, social get-togethers, citizenship ceremonies, and discussion groups."¹ In short, the

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Report of Cooperative Extension Work, 1941-42, p. 17.

objective of rural sociological extension is "to stimulate specific activities contributing to the development of human values and rural talent, and to assist rural people in developing and co-ordinating their various groups and institutions in relation to their priority and emphasis in community building."¹

There is still one more point regarding this extension service which should be emphasized. That is that Extension Service should hold closely to its educational objective and avoid performing regulatory functions particularly in wartime when so many county agents are asked to help promote the programs of 'action agencies' of the Federal Government. It seems that from the very beginning of the establishment of this cooperative extension service, the county agents have always been considered teachers or educators, and not administrators or executives. If the county agent assumes the responsibility of a teacher, he is likely to be welcomed by the people because of his genuine interest in them and because of the new knowledge which he brings to them. But, if the county agent acts as a regulator of the government program, he may be disliked by those who are not in sympathy with the government policy. Or "he may be suspected of favoritism and, gradually, enough op-

1. Kolb, J.H. & Brunner, Ed. de S., A Study of Rural Society, Revised and enlarged edition, p. 477.

position will develop to discredit the agent and finally the entire extension system."¹ As a teacher, the county agent is one of the people, and he may voice public opinion as to what should be done either by the government or by the people themselves. As an official, the county agent ceases to stand on the same ground with the people and is consequently thought of merely as a part of the long arm of a certain political party.

2. The Techniques of Cooperative Extension.

As early as 1909, a statement was made by the Committee on Extension Work of the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, in which the Committee recommended the following:

Finally, and most important of all, we would urge upon the director of extension work and the administration of the institution the prime necessity of getting into the public mind a thorough understanding of what extension work is. It is not a scheme to advertise the college. It is not a plan to trap students for the college, or even to get boys and girls interested in agricultural schools and colleges generally. It is fundamentally a means of teaching the people out of school about agriculture and country life in all its phases. It is an educational proposition. Its aim should be to reach every farmer and his family.²

1. Works, George A., & Morgan, Barton, The Land-Grant Colleges, p.82.
 2. Quoted by Smith and Wilson, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

In other words, extension work as conceived by the pioneers is a technique of adult education in rural areas. But in order to make this education effective and workable, several techniques have been developed which may be examined briefly under two general categories.

a. Techniques in regard to Extension Work in general.

The term 'extension service' of the Land-Grant Colleges means the extending of the service usually provided on the college campus to those who are not attending college but are resident within the boundaries of the entire state. So, one of the tasks of this service is to assimilate and to disseminate to the farmers and their wives the findings of research of the colleges and experiment stations. But how to approach these rugged individualistic farmers is a task in itself. This task is being fulfilled through the application of at least six techniques:

1. Living among the people. Inasmuch as the extension agents are the carriers and the teachers of technical information, they should also be students of local conditions. By living among the people, the agents are able to identify their own interests with those of the people, and acquire first-hand knowledge as to the local needs. Also, they are available for assistance to the people at all times, and can help solve problems on the ground.

Furthermore, in every community there are good and poor farmers. And "it is the county extension agent's task to learn the methods and practices of the better farmers of the community who have made a success of their work and use the information thus acquired to improve the practices and standards of the less competent ones."¹

2. Appealing to the fundamental wants. To introduce new knowledge or new methods of farming, or new practices of daily living, is something like selling a new brand of soap. It must be so advertised that it will appeal to the needs of the general public, such as economy, efficiency, cleanliness, and the like. The accompanying list of fundamental appeals has been agreed upon by authorities in salesmanship as common to all persons. No attempt, however, has been made to arrange the list in order of their strength, because the strength of each motive depends upon the individual's own instinctive and habitual ways of acting. Furthermore, all these appeals are like ingredients of a certain kind of soup, they should be used in the right proportions. Too much or too little of any one will ruin the new enterprise, just as too much or too little of a certain ingredient will spoil the flavour of the soup.

1. Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p. 12.

These Fundamental appeals¹ are: Appetite - hunger; Love of offspring; Health; Self preservation - fear - caution; Sex attraction; Pleasure - play; Comfort; Possession - hoarding; Ambition; Approval by others - social esteem; Pride in appearance - ornamentation; Gregariousness; Cleanliness; Economy; Imitation; Curiosity; Construction; Efficiency; Competition - conquest; Sympathy & help for weaker; Adventure - travel; Humor; Cooperation.

It is said that "desire to stand well with one's neighbors, and an interest in greater economic returns are unquestionably two of the most powerful motives which prompt farmers and farm women to make changes in practices."² But in order to satisfy this desire and to sustain this interest, the farmers and their wives must be led to do things for themselves. Otherwise, they will become the victims of paternalism which will smother initiative and blot out interest.

3. Building programs from the bottom up. This policy of building a program from the bottom up, rather than from the top down, has evolved after years of experience in agricultural extension work. At first, demonstration work was planned by persons in the offices of the United States Department of Agri-

1. Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p. 252. See also Principles of Advertising, by Daniel Starch.

2. Ibid., p. 253.

culture. The Federal agents formulated the program and carried it to the individual farmer. Later on, it was found "that farm people were more receptive if they had a share in determining the program, and so they were called together in their respective counties to formulate it."¹

Furthermore, in every community there are successful farmers who have discovered successful methods. They have gained their knowledge through experimentation at home; their experience should be as valuable as demonstrations staged by government agents. Local knowledge may be "as significant for the up-building of the community as anything the government may bring in from the outside."² It is therefore quite desirable that the farmers, their wives and other rural people should be encouraged to take part in planning local programs.

4. Working in collaboration with existing agencies. It has become almost a set policy that the Cooperative Extension System "cooperates willingly with all agencies, so far as such cooperation contributes to the furtherance of the purposes of extension as a public agency, promoting the public welfare."³

1. Work & Morgan, The Land-Grant Colleges, p. 80.

2. Smith & Wilson, The Agricultural Extension System of the United States, p. 80.

3. Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p. 188.

To begin with, the Cooperative Extension System is a cooperative enterprise of the Federal Department of Agriculture, the Land-Grant Colleges, and the county governments throughout the country. It is supported financially in part by Farm Bureaus, Home Bureaus, and similar farmers' organizations. Cooperative extension forces promote many farmers' marketing and purchasing associations, farmers' and farm women's clubs, seed associations, and rural loan associations, but they do not assume responsibility for them. Each group must have its own officers, handle its own funds, promote its own membership. The role played by the cooperative extension forces is always one of counsel, of service in helping outline programs of work, in organizing meetings, and in teaching.

The Cooperative Extension System cooperates with the vocational schools of agriculture and home economics in rural districts under the provisions of the federal Smith-Hughes Vocational Act. An agreement was made by these two agencies, in which it was stated that "Each group, while attending to its own task first, should lose no opportunity to promote, in all practical ways, the work of the other. With this spirit animating both forces, good feeling is likely to prevail everywhere and the maximum accomplished in both lines of work."¹

1. Quoted in Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p. 185.

Cooperative Extension work is also in entire sympathy with Boy Scout work in rural districts lending its influence in every legitimate way to promote that work.¹

During war or emergency, the Extension Service becomes the agency through which many federal agencies are able to organize their work. "In many states the county agricultural agents were chiefly responsible for setting up the program of the federal Agricultural Adjustment Administration in their counties, and gave invaluable aid to other federal agencies, such as the Farm Credit Administration, the Resettlement Administration (now the Farm Security Administration), the Soil Conservation Service, and the work of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act."²

An excellent example of the war time activities of the extension service was exhibited in the way it conducted an educational campaign to prevent inflation in collaboration with the Office of Price Administration. On April 27, 1942, President Roosevelt announced the seven-point cost-of-living program as follows:

1. Tax heavily and hold profits down.
2. Fix ceilings on prices and rents.
3. Stabilize wages paid to workers.
4. Stabilize prices received by farmers.
5. Encourage the purchase of war bonds.
6. Ration essential commodities that are scarce.
7. Discourage credit and installment buying and encourage the paying off of debts.

1. Quoted in Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p. 186.

2. Sanderson, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization, p.406.

The day after this announcement, a group of state extension workers met with Federal extension workers and OPA representatives in Washington. Plans were quickly worked out for carrying a widespread educational campaign to rural people, explaining the program and reasons for it and pointing out how they could cooperate to the fullest extent. In record time this seven-point program was explained to neighborhood leaders in rural communities throughout the entire country, and they in turn talked it over with the families in their neighborhoods.¹

5. Working through local leaders. According to the latest report of the Cooperative Extension Work, "There are still fewer than two and one-half technically trained extension workers on the average per county to assist an average of 2,000 farmers, 2,000 farm women, and 4,000 farm young people."² Therefore, of necessity, extension work must be done through the use of volunteer local leaders.

Moreover, as has been pointed out by Prof. Sanderson in his book, Leadership for Rural Life, "the function of the professional leader is to act as stimulator and educator of the group that employs him, but it is not his function to attempt to act as a group leader, and in so far as he does so, he prevents the best

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, 1941-42, p. 21.

2. Ibid., p. 7.

social organization of the group with which he is entrusted."¹
 So, even from the standpoint of his function, the county agent should work through local leaders.

Leaders of local groups may be selected by the county agent or chosen by members of the respective groups. In either case, the following principles in regard to the qualifications of leaders are considered helpful in making the selection:

- a. Choose someone who has made a success along the line of the work intended.
- b. Choose someone who stands well in the community and in whom the people as a whole have confidence.
- c. Choose someone willing to show others the work and how it is done.
- d. Choose someone willing to keep records and make a report on the work.
- e. Choose someone who can explain the work, who has optimism and enthusiasm.
- f. If the work is club work, choose someone who likes children and who makes favorable contacts with them.²

As to the functions of local leaders, the following suggestions made by a county agent in Vermont are helpful:

Help in planning extension work.
 Set dates and places for meetings.
 Notify neighbors of meetings by word and telephone.
 Put up posters of meetings, campaigns, etc.
 Open and close halls.
 Locate demonstrators.
 Distribute seed.

1. Sanderson, Dwight, Leadership for Rural Life, p. 103.
 2. Smith and Wilson, op. cit., p. 122.

Locate cooperators in different projects.
 Lead in boys' and girls' club work.
 Act as agent in cooperative buying and selling.
 Make surveys.
 Transport visitors and speakers.
 Canvass for members in different associations.
 Assist in measuring and weighing yields from
 demonstration plots.
 Distribute literature, etc.¹

From the above we can see that local leaders have carried practically all the routine, time-consuming work. But by assuming such responsibility, they also learn by doing. For instance, in order to locate a demonstrator, they themselves must be good demonstrators. Furthermore, by having the local people take an active part in the extension work, the county agent leads the people to do things for themselves and by themselves, thus strengthening the foundation of a real democracy.

6. Working as a United Force. As has been pointed out, the extension service consists of three main branches, agriculture for men, home-economics for women, and 4-H Club work for boys and girls. These three arms of the service are extended to the community through three agents. While the three agents are attacking the problems that lie in their respective fields, they are conscious of the fact that they are like a team of foot-ball players. Similarly, an agricultural extension agent cannot attain his goal of better agriculture for better rural life, if his work is not properly coordinated with homemaking for

¹. Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p. 124.

women, and vice versa. This technique of attacking the problems of a rural community as a team by the extension workers has been increasingly emphasized, as community organization has been more and more recognized as a key to the building of a better rural life.

b. Methods of Extension Teaching

Extension teaching differs from school teaching in that it has neither prescribed curricula nor examinations. Its subject-matter is determined by the needs of the people, and the accomplishment of the student is measured not by examinations but by improved practices of living and of doing. However, the following three principles which educators have considered as fundamental to successful teaching in school are also of utmost importance in extension. Briefly, these principles may be stated in the following phrases: from the known to the related unknown, from the concrete to the abstract, and from the simple to the complex. Guided by these three simple yet basic principles, the Extension Service has carried on its work with varied methods.

(1) Objective Methods of Extension Teaching.

Objective methods are these that appeal to the mind through the eye. Their use helps build up the confidence of the people in that which has been recommended by the extension service and increases the effectiveness of the spoken and written word.

(a) Demonstrations

Demonstration as a method of teaching was first conceived and practised by Dr. Seaman A. Knapp. Dr. Knapp, being an employee of the Bureau of Plant Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture, had demonstrated on a farm in Texas that, in spite of the weevil, a profitable crop of cotton could be grown if right cultivation practices were followed. In 1904, he was given the responsibility of teaching farmers in the southern states how to grow a crop of cotton under boll weevil conditions. At first, there were twenty-two men working under his direction in Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana. But this work grew so rapidly that two years later it was extended to other states, and the first county agent was appointed to work within the confines of a single county. In 1914, demonstration as a method of diffusing new ideas to the farmers was definitely written into the Smith-Lever Act, and is the backbone of the cooperative extension service in its present pattern.

A demonstration, as officially defined by the land-grant colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture, is an example designed to show the practical application of an established fact. There are two general types of demonstrations, method demonstration and result demonstration. "A method demonstration is a demonstration given by an extension worker or

other trained leader to a group for the purpose of showing them how to carry out a practice," such as pruning, canning, or poultry culling. "A result demonstration is a demonstration carried on by a farmer, farm woman, boy, or girl, under the direction of the extension service, involving a substantial period of time, records of results, and comparisons."¹ The result demonstration is usually done by local people under local conditions in order to show the people in the neighborhood that the new way of doing things is applicable locally and is actually better than the old traditional method. When Dr. Knapp, the pioneer of the demonstration method, first encouraged the southern farmers to plant cotton despite the weevil, he was using the result demonstration as the method of teaching.

The method demonstration which is sometimes called ocular demonstration, should always be supplemented by an oral description by the one who demonstrates. Wherever possible, those who attend the demonstration should be given opportunity to take part in the operations, thus enabling the demonstrator to catch the interest of the observers. And the observers, in turn, will be able to ask for more detailed and accurate explanations, thus insuring a better chance for success.

1. Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p. 275.

As to the result demonstration, it is very time-consuming. And it is hard to evaluate the result, as many factors are involved, especially if several practices are included in a single result demonstration. Therefore, in order to save time and to avoid other complicated problems, the county agent usually makes use of the results obtained by progressive farmers and farm women in the county who have already been practicing up-to-date methods. He conducts a limited number of result demonstrations under careful supervision.

(b) Exhibits

The second objective method of teaching is to display the results of new practices in agriculture or in home economics at community, county and state fairs. It takes a substantial sum of money and a great deal of time to promote such exhibits. Furthermore, studies have shown that the ability of exhibits to change the practices in farming or home-making is very slight. Relatively few people return home and make use of the information presented at the exhibit. It was revealed in a study made in 12 states that of all the practices changed on account of extension work, not more than one per cent trace back to extension exhibits.¹

1. Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p. 284.

However, exhibits have their usefulness, in that they stimulate interest, offer opportunity to cultivate good-will between the extension workers and the public, and pave the way for making future contacts with farm people.

(c) Photographs, lantern slides, and motion pictures.

Photographs in connection with written materials, such as pamphlets, bulletins, and other publications, tell a graphic story. Lantern slides are essentially enlarged photographs and are generally used in connection with lectures and talks given by extension workers. The slides, however, are being rapidly replaced by film strips which are less cumbersome and less expensive. Motion pictures are entertaining as well as instructive. But both slides and films require considerable equipment. In country places where there are no electric lights, a small dynamotor is necessary to take the place of modern lighting facilities. With the advancement of rural electrification, and with the development of the 16-millimeter film and suitable projectors, extension workers are making increasing use of motion pictures as a means of enabling rural people to visualize the processes and results of new practices.

(d) Posters and charts.

Posters and charts constitute two more means through which the extension service calls attention to better practices.

Posters are usually illustrated and not infrequently carry a slogan such as "Better bulls, bigger bank balances" or "Milk flows where alfalfa grows".

It is found that the best charts in use by extension workers "are those which are sufficiently large to be easily read by persons at the rear of the audience, emphasize a single idea, are simple in design, and contain a limited amount of information."¹

(2) Oral Methods of Extension Teaching.

Oral methods are the oldest and most frequently used in the extension service. They enable the workers to make personal contacts with farmers and farm women. If the worker is tactful and sincere the spoken word is perhaps the best means of introducing better practices in farm life.

(a) Farm and home visits

In order to render effective service, the extension worker must know the people and establish himself in their confidence. Farm and home visits are therefore becoming the necessary procedure for getting acquainted with the people in the place where they are located. While it is almost impossible for one agent to visit all the farms or all the homes within the county entrusted to him, he must use his discretion in locating those who need him most, or are eager to see him, or are capable of being local leaders.

1. Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p. 289.

(b) Office calls

As the work of the county agent becomes familiar to the farm people, there will be some who wish to call on the agent for personal consultation. In order to facilitate such calls, the office of the agent is located in a place easily accessible to the farmers and their wives. If the office callers are cordially received and their desired information furnished satisfactorily, these people will repeat their calls for further information. The goodwill thus transferred by word of mouth by them to their neighbors is invaluable to the work being undertaken by the agent.

(c) Meetings

Another method of oral transmission of knowledge is through meetings and discussions. According to Burritt, this personal contact between the county agent and the farmers of the county "is one of the strongest influences toward better farm practices in the whole system."¹ The data from extension studies conducted in 12 states and involving more than 8,700 farms and 27,000 instances of better practices adopted, indicate that "where the farm men and women have been brought into contact with extension workers through attendance at meetings and in other ways, there is a much greater likelihood that changes in practices will be made."² Therefore, it is of primary importance

1. Burritt, M.C., The County and the Farm Bureau, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1922.

2. Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p. 295.

for the extension worker to be available at meetings where farm men and women are gathered. In the United States, this kind of meeting happens rather frequently.

Field or barn meetings, community meetings and Farmers' Institutes organized by the farmers themselves, and the 'Farm and Home Week', conducted by the agricultural college, also offer opportunity to the county agents for making contacts with rural people.

(d) Radio

The radio is an agency which is growing rapidly both in its usefulness for extension work and in the influence which it exerts. Many state extension services are giving systematic courses over their local radio stations. And the United States Department of Agriculture is conducting radio programs six days each week, broadcasting information on agriculture and home economics of interest to the farmer and his family, over coast to coast networks.

(5) Written Methods of Extension Teaching.

Demonstrations may create a sensation, and lectures may stimulate the audience to action. But both the sensation thus created and the action thus stimulated need to be sustained by accurate and detailed information in written form which may be carefully studied and kept for reference purposes. This is why

demonstrations are generally supplemented by descriptive literature, and radio talks are often followed by printed lectures.

It is reported that in 1941-42, "county extension agents alone distributed over 14 million State and Federal bulletins in furtherance of the education work, sent out 811,000 news and farm-advice stories, and wrote 8,297,000 individual letters as a part of their job."¹

(a) Bulletins and Circulars

The fact that the United States Department of Agriculture and the State Agricultural Colleges are spending over a million dollars a year in the printing and distribution of bulletins, circulars and reports on agriculture and home economics, shows the importance and the usefulness of such printed matter. In preparing bulletins and circulars, the following points are usually emphasized:

- i. The content must be of helpful nature.
- ii. Short bulletins are preferred.
- iii. Cover pages should be artistic and attractive.
- iv. Appropriate illustrations should be used between pages.
- v. Language should be simple rather than technical.

(b) News Stories

News stories are written by editorial groups employed by the agricultural colleges, or by the county agents themselves.

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Report of Cooperative Extension Work, 1941-42, p. 6.

or by experienced local leaders. They are informative in style but interesting and stimulating in content. The chief reasons for using this method are the low cost and the wide circulation. According to studies made by the Department of Agriculture and the state extension services "the extension news story has been credited with the adoption of 12 per cent of the agricultural practices and 5 percent of the home economics practices, or with 10 percent of all practices. Probably through no other agency in extension work is so much accomplished with so little effort at such low cost as through publicity in the way of news stories."¹

News stories must be based upon facts given at a local demonstration, at a field meeting, or on the accomplishments of local farmers, farm women, or boys and girls. According to the opinion of modern rural sociologists, there are two principles of improving welfare among the rural people: namely, constantly telling them how other people under similar conditions have succeeded in adopting better practices, and repeatedly praising them for what they have done thus far.

(c) Correspondence and Circular Letters.

As a rule, farmers and farm women are not accustomed to writing many letters. But if they do write for information,

1. Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p. 308.

it may be concluded that they have more than a passing interest in the matter and will be willing to try what is recommended. It is therefore extremely important that prompt attention be given to their letters.

Circular letters are employed as a rule to announce meetings, spread information, or arouse interest in a particular program. Such letters should not be more than one page, printed if possible, otherwise neatly mimeographed or multigraphed. Sometimes cartoons, photographs, or artistic drawings are used in these letters so as to increase their attractiveness and carrying power.

(4) "High Pressure" Method of Extension Teaching.

Aside from the three methods we have thus far related, there are two more methods which have distinct features of their own, and therefore deserve to be briefly stated.

The first may be called the "high pressure" method. This method attempts to secure an immediate objective by a short intensive drive, which is similar to the selling campaigns of the commercial world. The idea of the drive is to keep a certain better practice before the public continuously for a definite period, and to interest all the people in the community in cooperating with the extension service to see that this practice is adopted. Before and during this drive, "all the devices of salesmanship are employed,--surveys, analyses, committees, contests,

slogans, publicity, pledges, reports, banquets, prizes, envelope stuffers, and like matters."¹

While such an intensive drive may result in the mass adoption of the improved practice, there is a definite danger of relying upon emotional reactions rather than upon logical reasoning. If the farmers adopt the new practice without really understanding it, very likely they will become prejudiced against it if it does not turn out as successfully as desired. In view of this danger the philosophy of the extension workers is now moving away from these short, quick, forceful campaigns towards long-time slow campaigns. This latter may be named the "Nurture" method.

(5) "Nurture" Method of Extension Teaching.

By "nurture" method, we mean the "discussion group" project which was initiated in 1934-35 by nine state-extension services in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture.² The discussion group is conducted more or less after the pattern of the study-club successfully employed by the Extension Service of St. Francis Xavier University of Nova Scotia. The objectives of such discussion groups have been described by

1. Smith & Wilson, op. cit., p. 327.

2. Baker, Gladys, The County Agent, p. 83.

Henry A. Wallace before a conference of ten land-grant colleges, when he was Secretary of Agriculture:

I do not conceive this as in any sense a propaganda movement or a mere handing down of a fact which someone has discovered. I hold with the new method of teaching which has grown up in the last few years ... that the object is not to impart facts but to get students to think. If this movement toward wider discussion of great public issues is to be worth anything, then, possibly public agencies must supply machinery for discussion, to help it to move along expeditiously. But when it comes to the end that is to be reached, the decisions that are to be made, the discussion leaders should not suggest any particular end or decision It seems to me that we are in a bit of a race to get certain decisions made that we have needed to make ever since World War (1)¹

In promoting this movement of discussion groups, the importance of spontaneity and initiative on the part of the members cannot be overstressed. Guides for forming neighborhood discussion groups and materials for study have been prepared by the Division of Program Study and Discussion, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Since the beginning of this discussion-group method, which puts emphasis upon the nurture of the mind rather than on cramming of facts into the mind, the methods of the Cooperative Extension Service have been changing. These extension workers who have been accustomed to parceling out a continuous supply of "right answers" to the urgent problems of the farming community, are now reorientating their task, so as

¹. Baker, Gladys, The County Agent, p. 84.

to see the value of this newly developed method of teaching. Instead of monopolizing the discussion and insisting that their viewpoint and judgment be accepted by the groups concerned, they are beginning to learn to wait with tolerance, for the people to burst into action of their own accord.

3. University Extension and Rural Adult Education

Such a system of adult education as has been described can be established largely due to the existence of the Land-Grant Colleges. Without the educational facilities of agricultural colleges with their extension and research staffs, the difficulties of setting up such an educational system for rural masses would be enormous, if not insurmountable.

However, agricultural colleges are not the only institutions carrying on a program of extension work. Ever since the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching was established in Philadelphia, on November 3, 1890,¹ University Extension as a method of adult education has been adopted by universities and colleges in nearly every State of the Union.

According to a study made by the Federal Office of Education, regarding the growth of the enlargement of college campus boundaries and the progress made by institutions of higher learning to adapt their offerings to the needs of special students,

1. The Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the National Conference on University Extension, 1891, p. 3.

it was found that even as early as 1929, there were already 443 institutions which reported having offered some type of extension work.¹ The list of courses offered includes such subjects as commercial knowledge, economics, education, engineering, agriculture, languages, history, political science, music, religion and sociology. A few institutions, in order to meet the needs of the public, have even inaugurated extension work along lines outside of the usual framework of college curricula. For example, the University of Kansas sponsored a short course for members of fire departments; the University of Kentucky gave a noncredit course by correspondence for miners; Bucknell University (Pennsylvania) gave a course in sanitation for barbers.²

That it is incumbent upon institutions of higher learning to reach all classes of society has been clearly voiced by the Director of Extension of one of the leading Universities, who says: "No educational institution is doing its full duty if it fails to give the public every opportunity for education. The public is determined to drink at the springs of learning and it should be given pure water. Columbia takes pride in being a university that does not hesitate to undertake this task with all the energy and resources at its disposal."³

1. Alderman, L.R., College and University Extension Helps in Adult Education, 1928-29. See Letter of Transmittal, by the Commissioner of Office of Education.
2. Ibid., p. 62.
3. Quoted from The University Afield by Alfred Lawrence Hall-Quest, pp. 33-34.

However, University Extension, with the exception of the extension work of the agricultural colleges, does not reach the farmer to an appreciable degree. "In only rare instances are farmers enrolled in extension classes or in correspondence courses. . . . The reasons are not difficult to find. Lack of sufficient extension instructors, inconvenience of traveling facilities, lack of time on the part of the farmer, especially during the fall and spring, and the lack of courses properly popularized are among the reasons."¹

Without losing sight of the potential value of University Extension as an effective method of rural adult education, it would seem wise if we could reexamine the existent program of the Cooperative Extension Service in Agriculture and in Home Economics, with a view to enlarging it so as to include non-vocational as well as vocational subjects. And this is what is being done since the launching of the nation-wide movement, known as neighborhood discussion groups.

1. Quoted from The University Afield by Alfred Lawrence Hall-Quest, pp.185.

CHAPTER XIII

A REVIEW OF THE METHODS OF ADULT EDUCATION

having studied these five types of adult education, the Study Clubs, the Movable School, the Folk School, the Cultural Missions, and the Cooperative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics--we are inclined to ask "what things have they in common?"

1. The Objective

In regard to the objective we may say that all five types of adult education were motivated by the idea that if the people are awakened, they do not have to linger out their existence as underprivileged classes, to be pitied, controlled, and exploited by other people. They can be their own masters. The pioneers in these experiments all perceived that if these so-called underprivileged classes were not respected as equals by their fellowmen, there would always be class struggles and discriminations, iniquities and unrighteousness. Coady says: "Man must build him more stately mansions, if his soul is to expand." Booker T. Washington passionately urged his people to "Live at home, ... put aside a little money each year until you get enough to buy a piece of land, even if it is but one acre." The Danish Folk-school song reads: "Hate no one, with joy and sorrow, hope and faith, you shall build here on earth a bridge up to the stars."

The director of rural schools in the Secretariat of Mexico's Education Board expressed confidently the future of their task by saying: "One day we shall succeed in the making of our rural life in Mexico a life informed in beauty as a garden or a clear sky pulsating with stars." In referring to the Smith-Lever Act, one of the American senators said: "Its splendid purpose is to improve man, enlarge his mental horizon, .. lighten the burdens of women, afford greater opportunities to the boys and girls upon whose shoulders soon must fall the responsibility of home and the burdens of government." All these are expressions of different aspects of the same idea, that the future of the world depends upon the destiny of the common man. It is for the elevation of the common man that all these forms of adult education have been inaugurated and promoted.

2. The Way People are Approached

While the ultimate aims of adult education are far-reaching, the way people are approached is simple and practical. All seem to agree that adult education should be brought where the people are found, and start where the people are. All work through or in collaboration with the existing agencies in the local communities. The leaders of the Antigonish movement, the directors of the Cultural Missions in Mexico, and the responsible officers of the Extension Service in the United States, seem to agree with Bishop Grundtvig that students should be helped to get answers

to their own questions instead of giving them questions to be answered. In other words, initiative should always be reserved for the students. Actions initiated by the people are rooted in the soil of their enthusiasm and understanding, whereas those imposed upon them from outside or from above will be retarded as soon as the outside pressure is halted. This way of approaching the people is slow; it is hard, but it achieves lasting results.

3. The Workers

All these movements for adult education among the rural people would wane if there were no consecrated workers and teachers. In all five movements workers, whether they be county agents, teachers in local schools, directors in branch offices, or research experts, not only act as a unified force, but also seem to share the visions of the pioneers. They themselves are believers in the power of the common man. They feel at home in the company of rural people. Many of them came from the country, and assume their task with the zeal of devoted missionaries.

4. Programs

With reference to the programs for adult education, it seems that all programs should be preceded by a social survey, that they should be formulated from needs of the local communities, and they should be built from the bottom up rather than from the top downward. It is also unanimously recognized that

the problems of a given community are more or less interrelated; therefore, whenever possible, the programs should be designed to attack the problems as such. However, in many cases the comparatively easy and more urgent problems should be tackled first with definite projects. In all cases, the people themselves are expected to work out the solutions under their own local leaders with the help of either oral or written technical advice and through concrete demonstrations.

5. Organizations

Of the five types of adult education mentioned, the first three were originated by private agencies. The Cultural Missions was a government project undertaken by the Secretariat of Public Education, the Agricultural Extension program was launched as a cooperative enterprise of Federal, state and local governments.

However, the common factor is that all are affiliated with educational institutions. The Folk Schools are owned by private citizens and sometimes supported by public funds. The Movable School is intimately linked to Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. The Study-Clubs are a part of the extension work of St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia. The Cultural Missions were first conceived as an agency for in-service training of rural school teachers. The Cooperative Extension Service forms

an integral part of the extension departments of Land-Grant Colleges.

6. Conclusion

So far, we have discussed five types of adult education mainly from the standpoint of a basic method of rural rebuilding. We have considered the methods and techniques applied in four different countries. As to what has been taught by this method, we have only stated in rather general terms, such items as farming and home-making, vocational and non-vocational subjects, but no concrete subject-matter has yet been systematically mentioned. This shall be dealt with in the next chapter.

SECTION B

SOME ROADS TO RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

It is true that the programs for rural adult education should be worked out only after a social survey has been made and the needs of the local community have been discovered. It is also true that if one could master the method, the problem as to what should be included in the program is a matter of secondary concern. Again it is to be realized that the subject matter for the program of work for a given community should be evolved naturally from the exigencies of an actual situation rather than a hypothetical problem.

Rural social workers or teachers of rural adults, are in many respects like a physician. If a physician has learned the methods of diagnosing, the art of healing, and the way to treat a sick person, but lacks a knowledge of modern drugs, he is still incompetent as an efficient practitioner. Even though he does not need to be a pharmacist, nevertheless, it is his job to point out what medicine is available for a certain complaint. Furthermore, there are many diseases which are causing the same trouble in many places. So the treatment of the same disease in one place may be used in another with little variation. It is for this reason that we are now making this attempt to point out some definite roads to rural reconstruction.

CHAPTER XIV

COOPERATIVES

Many people have been handicapped because they do not have enough economic strength to do what they are capable of doing. Consequently, the status of these people has been dwarfed both socially and politically. But since the organization of the Equitable Society of Rochdale Pioneers, a technique to overcome this economic handicap has been discovered. The application of this technique has since become a growing movement whose purpose is said "to cure the ills of the old economic order without resorting to new and uncertain experiments in changing the form of government."¹ Beginning with humble, sporadic and isolated enterprises, it is now becoming a united, federated, wide-spread and penetrative force that commands the attention of every one who is concerned with unsatisfactory conditions in the present social and economic system. Nearly all the exponents of the five types of adult education which have been discussed in the previous pages, advocate the inclusion of the teaching of 'cooperation' in their programs.

1. Definition of Cooperation.

Cooperation in the economic sense is "a term applied to any union of persons for the purpose of either production, consumption, or distribution, on principles of equality and of common

1. Report of the Inquiry on Cooperative Enterprise in Europe, p.1.

benefit."¹ The cooperative enterprise, however, has its distinctive features which coincide with the three essential principles of a democratic form of government, namely, 'of the people, by the people and for the people.' In the Report of the Inquiry on Cooperative Enterprise in Europe, a very simple but pertinent definition is found, which reads:

A cooperative enterprise is one which belongs to the people who use its services, the control of which rests equally with all the members, and the gains of which are distributed to the members in proportion to the use they make of its services.²

In other words, a cooperative enterprise is of the people (who use its service), by the people (under whose control it is managed), and for the people (to whom the gains go).

2. Classification of Cooperatives

Cooperative associations may be roughly divided into two classes: consumer organizations and producer organizations.

(1) The consumer organizations are those operated for the benefit of the members in their individual consumer capacity; i.e., providing goods such as food, clothing, household supplies, fuel, or milk, or providing services such as shelter, automobile repair, credit, laundry service, insurance, telephone service, medical care, burial, recreation, etc. These may be provided singly, by an association specializing in one line, or in combination, by a general-service association whose aim is to fill the needs of the members in as many lines as it is practicable to do so.

1. Rappoport, Angelo. S., Dictionary of Socialism, p. 33.
 2. Report of the Inquiry on Cooperative Enterprise in Europe, p.19.

(2) The producer organizations are those operated for the benefit of the members in their producer capacity. Their function may be either (a) the marketing or processing of goods produced individually (as in the fishermen's marketing associations; the farmers' associations marketing grain, livestock, milk, etc.; or the associations making butter, cheese, etc., from farm products received from farmer members, to be sold on the open market) or (b) the marketing of goods processed or produced collectively (as in the so-called workers' productive associations operating shingle mills, clothing factories, shoe factories, etc.)¹

The cooperatives to which farmers belong are called agricultural cooperatives because their business consists predominantly of farm products marketed, farm supplies purchased, or farm business services performed. They are usually producer organizations. However, in recent years there has been a tendency to include the whole field of cooperative buying regardless of whether goods are bought for production or for consumption. And the consumer point of view has gradually been adopted by farm organizations. Typical of this consumer-minded leadership is Murray D. Lincoln, President of the Ohio Farm Bureau and also President of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. He said:

Farmers are inclined to think of themselves as producers first. When you mention the word consumer they think you are talking about the man in town. My purpose is to show how the farmer is a consumer first and a producer second, how the farmers' interests as a consumer are identical with the consumer interests of industrial and white-collar workers and of professional people, but often in conflict with the producer interests of these groups, and why consumer action is more effective than producer action.²

1. Parker, Florence E., Consumers' Cooperation in the United States, 1936, p. 17-18.

2. Rural America, April, 1939.

As to the future expansion of the cooperative effort, thoughtful leaders are more and more inclined to minimize the distinction between consumer and producer organizations and to consider these two kinds of cooperation as two sides of the same thing. The position of this group has been reiterated by A. G. Black, the governor of the Farm Credit Administration:

In any future expansion of cooperative effort, the difference in producers' and consumers' point of view must not be permitted to develop into the three-sided fight involving private business, and producers' and consumers' cooperatives. Such a conflict would be urged by private business which would surely capitalize on any rift between the two types of cooperatives. It thus becomes imperative for cooperatives to think in terms of two-sided cooperative movement and, at the same time, to improve their efficiency so as to be in a position to meet the competition of private enterprise. (1) Consumers' and farm supply wholesales not only buy in large quantities but are constantly getting closer to supply of raw materials. For example, in Scotland, the consumer cooperative wholesales are the largest manufacturers of many items, including such things as shoes, clothes, cigarettes, and soaps. (2) In the post-war period it is entirely possible that farmers' purchasing cooperatives will extend their activities even farther back toward the sources of supply of their raw materials. And (3) we may expect to see producers marketing and processing cooperatives going further and further toward more complete processing of their products.¹

Knowing the general trend of the cooperative movement, we may now proceed to acquaint ourselves with the various types of cooperatives that concern the farmers. These cooperatives are organized by and for farmers, and most of them are located in rural areas. They may be classified into six groups as follows:

1. Black, A.G., Cooperatives can also help 'win the peace', News for Farmers' Cooperatives, Jan., 1943, p. 4.

1. Production: such as mutual irrigation companies, soil conservation associations, dairy herd improvement associations, bull ownership associations, livestock registration associations, and veterinary service associations.
2. Marketing: such as dairy products, poultry products, fruits and vegetables, grain, livestock, wool, cotton, and others.
3. Purchasing: such as farm supplies and consumers' goods.
4. Financing: such as national farm loan associations, production credit associations, banks for cooperatives, federally chartered credit unions, and state chartered credit unions.
5. Insurance: such as farmers' mutual fire insurance companies.
6. Public service: such as farmers' mutual fire telephone companies, electric power and light associations.

Among these different types of cooperatives, marketing and purchasing are the most common and numerous, while the financing type is the most needed by those less fortunate in the community and contributes to the development of the other two types. These three supplement each other and form the main body of cooperation in agriculture. The rest are more or less ramifications of these three and are to be found only in areas where cooperation has already passed its embryonic stage.

To sell members' products more efficiently and to get higher prices are the chief functions of farmers' marketing societies. "As a means to this end they usually grade and standardize the products, and often do their own processing and

sometimes even their own retailing. Sometimes, as in Denmark, they improve quality and get higher prices by laying down production standards for their members."¹

The chief function of farmers' purchasing societies is to buy supplies needed by members to operate their farms, such as fertilizer, feed, seed and machinery. Some are simply informal groups which get together to buy a carload of fertilizer at wholesale prices. Others may build warehouses so that supplies are always available to members.

Both marketing and purchasing societies often federate for more efficient service. Sometimes marketing societies also buy farm supplies for their members. Some of the purchasing societies may handle the marketing of all or part of the products of their members' farms.

In regard to the financing societies, the best known is the credit union. "A credit union is simply a group of people maintaining a sort of joint savings account from which any member can borrow at a surprisingly low rate of interest."² Hence, the two chief functions of the credit union are to make it possible for members to borrow money reasonably and safely when they need it, and to encourage thrift.

The mechanics of joining or borrowing from a credit

1. Report of the Inquiry on Cooperative Enterprise in Europe, Chapter II, p. 6.
2. McDermott, W.F. & Crissey, F., Three Million Amateur Bankers, Rotarian, Vol. 60, p. 34, May 1942.

union are very simple. If one wants to join a credit union, he buys at least one share which costs \$5, or sometimes \$10. But he does not have to pay the cost all at once. He can make a down payment of only 50 cents or a dollar on his share. If his application for membership is approved by the board of directors, he may apply for a loan immediately, he does not have to wait till his share has been paid in full. The loans thus made by the credit unions are commonly described as 'character loans', that is, loans made without security. In the United States, the size of such loans, however, is limited by federal law to a maximum amount of \$100.

The credit union in its present pattern was first started by Alphonse Desjardins in 1900 in Levis, Quebec, as a remedy for the plight of the farmers and small wage earners who were victims of usury. It was introduced into New England in 1908, and the first general credit union act was passed by the legislature of Massachusetts in May 1909. Since then it has become a growing movement. In 1934, this movement received further impetus by the passage of the Federal Credit Union Act. Through credit unions, millions of people are able to help each other meet emergencies, to clear worrisome debts, or even to do economical purchasing with the borrowed cash.

3. Principles and Methods of Cooperation.

Since the discovery of the technique of cooperation by the Rochdale Pioneers, they have also built a set of sound prin-

principles and methods for us to follow. They did this because they had the ability to profit by the mistakes of others, particularly of the Union Shop movement,¹ and because they had the foresight to see "that an intelligent membership is essential to the proper functioning of democratic group effort."² During the last century, men learned through the hard school of experience that the Rochdale principles and methods are sound and that strict adherence to these principles and practices is necessary.

a. The Rochdale principles³

1. Open membership, without restriction as to race, sex, religion, or political or other affiliation.
2. Democratic control. One vote only for each member, regardless of the number of shares held.
3. Limited return on share capital (if any is paid), at not more than the current rate in the territory where the association is located. Share capital should never rise above par.
4. Net surplus savings returned to members as patronage refunds in proportion to the patronage of each member, or retained in the association's treasury as share or loan capital credited to the members' accounts, or to be used collectively for the general or social good of the members, or to be credited to the reserves or surplus, or to remain temporarily undivided.
5. Neutrality, on the part of the association, on political, religious and other extraneous matters on which individual members may entertain different opinions.

1. "A Union Shop was a society of workers organized as consumers." See Cowling, Ellis, Co-operatives in America, p. 41.

2. Cowling, op. cit., p. 45.

3. United States Department of Labour, Organization and Management of Consumers' Cooperatives and Buying Clubs, pp. 16-17.

b. Rochdale practices

1. Business done for cash, and continuous educational work carried on in favor of this practice.
2. Ample depreciation. Reserves appropriated from net savings, before declaring patronage refund.
3. Goods distributed at current market price--not at cost.
4. Continuous education in history, economics, and practices of cooperation.
5. Efficient bookkeeping and accounting, outside audits, and regular, understandable, and complete reports to members.
6. Bonding of manager, treasurer, or anyone else handling money.
7. Continuous expansion of existing services and addition of new services as fast as feasible.
8. Honest and full information to members about merchandise, maintenance of quality standards, and purchase of supplies (as far as possible) made under good labor conditions.
9. Affiliation as soon as possible with the nearest cooperative wholesale.

c. Fundamentals of Cooperative Credit

As has been pointed out, credit unions are cooperative associations. Therefore, the principles upon which they operate resemble the Rochdale principles with a few necessary modifications. The fundamentals of cooperative credit are as follows:

1. Membership open to persons of good character who have a community of interest with the credit-union group.
2. Low membership fees, and shares of low denomination which may be paid for in installments.

3. Democracy in government, with directors and committees elected by and responsible to the members.
4. One vote per member, irrespective of the number of shares held. No voting by proxy.
5. Loans to members only.
6. Loans to directors, officers, and committee members prohibited, except in amounts held in shares by them.
7. Loans made only for productive purposes and urgent needs.
8. Loans at low rates of interest, and interest generally payable only on unpaid balances.
9. Net earnings returned, as dividends on all fully paid shares of stock.¹

4. The Future of the Cooperative Movement

Cooperation is a world-wide movement. Its furtherance depends upon the intelligent understanding of its philosophy by the members of cooperatives and their willingness to support the cause. Therefore, like any other worthwhile movement, its process is bound to be slow but steady. In America, it has been endorsed by both labor and farm organizations. In 1941, the convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a report of the resolutions committee directing the Executive Council to "give consideration to the subject of consumers' cooperative activities and to production and consumers' cooperative organiza-

1. Parker, Florence E., Consumers' Cooperation in the United States, 1936, p. 117.

tions." The convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations also passed a unanimous resolution calling upon the officers to "undertake a careful analysis of ways and means whereby the C.I.O. and its affiliated organizations may participate in the development of the consumers' cooperative movement and stimulate the interests and activities of union members along such lines."¹ In the same year, the Ohio Farmers' Union at its convention went on record as favoring a State-wide program of education in cooperation.²

One of the prevailing methods for promoting the cooperative movement is education. Courses on cooperation are being offered in colleges and high schools. Maryland University, for instance, has started a 4-year course in consumers' cooperation, and Antioch College has installed a course designed particularly for students wishing to go into the cooperative movement for a livelihood.³

But for the rank and file, the study club is regarded by cooperative leaders as one of the most important factors in the entire educational program. Adaptations of this method have been worked out in many American cooperative societies.⁴

1. Parker, Florence E., Consumers' Cooperatives in 1941, p. 10.
2. Ibid., p. 8.
3. Parker, Consumers' Cooperatives in 1941, p. 7.
4. Sorenson, Helen, The Consumer Movement, p. 139.

Finally, we may say that if cooperation is adopted by people in rural communities, not only will it enable small-scale farmers to enjoy the advantages of large-scale business enterprise, but it will also help raise the ethical standards of the rural people. As Dr. Peter Manniche, director of the People's International College at Elsinore, Denmark, once said, "When the farmer is cooperating, the failure of his neighbor cannot be the stepping-stone for his own success. His progress depends on the progress of his neighbor as well." And it is only in the soil of sound morality that the idea of democracy can flourish. When people get together on equal footing, learn how to help each other, discuss ways and means for achieving the same goals, the spirit of democracy is at work.

CHAPTER XV

PROGRESSIVE AGRICULTURE

In order to discover the needs of a farmer, we must consider the following questions and see how these needs are being met:

1. Who owns the land?
2. Can the condition of tenancy be improved?
3. Is the soil deteriorating?
4. How is the farm being managed and cultivated?
5. What implements are used?
6. Are there good seeds and breeds, or should better kinds be secured?
7. How does the farmer cope with animal and plant diseases?
8. Does the condition of irrigation call for new projects?

1. Ownership of Land

An old adage says: "The essential bond of blood and soil is the indispensable condition to the sound life of a nation." Dr. Sun Yat-sen repeatedly asserted that the tiller of the land should own the land. Booker T. Washington strongly exhorted his people: "put aside a little money each year until you get enough to buy a piece of land, even if it is but one acre." All these sayings point to the one fact that ownership of land is of paramount importance to the farmer. If a farmer owns the land he tills he is "rooted in the soil" which he cultivates. He knows that his children will depend upon the productivity of this land for the necessities of life. He is influenced by a powerful

motive which usually impels him to preserve and improve the land. Furthermore, if the farmer owns the land he operates, he is at liberty to practice general farming instead of being compelled to raise one cash crop. Ownership, therefore, implies security, and security is that for which many farmers are striving.

But the task of achieving ownership does not rest on the shoulders of farmers alone. It is true that the farmer can always try to climb the agricultural ladder from laborer, through tenantry, to full ownership. And many succeed. But we must know there are others who struggle for a lifetime, trying to climb to the position of owner and still remain laborers or tenants. There are many factors which are accountable for their setbacks. One of these is that they lack the assistance which can only be secured through a good government or a social organization which is conscious of its responsibility to help farmers become established on the land.

Since the problem of land ownership is vital to the welfare of the rural population, and since the solution of this problem will directly contribute to the stability of the entire nation, it is perhaps worth our while to make a brief survey of how some of the American and European countries have dealt with this problem as a result of a reform or revolutionary movement.

a. The Irish Free State

First, let us consider the land problem in the Irish Free State. It was said that during the nineteenth century the land in Ireland was owned by a few thousand landlords who were alien for the most part in race and religion from the bulk of their tenants. These landlords let land on yearly or short term leases to tenants who competed eagerly for it because they had no other way of living. These Irish landlords not only did not provide permanent equipment on their farms, but they also had the power to confiscate the rent.¹ Because of this situation, a movement to reform the land system was started in the seventies of the 19th century with a view to giving sanction to the 'equity' which generations of Irish tenants had created for themselves by their work. In 1923, "the Free State government passed a sweeping agrarian law abolishing dual ownership and compelling landlords to sell their estates and compelling tenants to purchase their holdings." Thus landlordism was abolished and "Ireland today is a land of peasant proprietors."²

Under the new system, a Land Commission was created which enables the tenant "to acquire a clear indefeasible freehold ownership of his farm, easily transferable, after it has been improved in extent, layout, fencing, drainage, access, equipped with buildings, water and fuel supplies. This is ac-

1. See Johnston, Joseph, The Anglo-Irish Economic Conflict, An Irish View. Nineteenth Century, 119: 187-200. 1936.

2. Cf. Pomfret, J.E., The Struggle for Land in Ireland, 1900-1923, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1930. Ch. XI.

completed by the payment of an unchanging terminable annuity, less relatively than the old rent."¹

Moreover, for those poverty-stricken farmers who lived on barren lands, the Irish government sponsored a program assisting needy families to migrate to "the rich tillage land of Meath where they are supplied with four-roomed houses, 4 cows, 10 sheep, a sow, poultry, a horse and cart, and necessary implements."²

b. Denmark

"Approximately one-half of all the agricultural holdings of Denmark cover less than 25 acres each, and 43,000 of these small farms are less than 8 acres in extent... Farms of more than 640 acres each cover less than 10 percent of the total area of the country."³ These miniature farms represent the result of a long period of struggle on the part of the tenants from tenantry to ownership. They stand in sharp contrast to the large grain-producing estates which characterized Danish agriculture before the last quarter of the nineteenth century. However, these small landholders could not have achieved their goal had the Danish government not stood by them. The sympathetic attitude of the Danish government towards the peasant was exalted by an English

1. Blair, A.F., The Ownership of Land, in Irish Free State, Official Handbook, pp. 109-114. London, E. Benn. Ltd. 1932.
2. Free State Opens Farming Areas to Families in Need. Christian Science Monitor, July 11, 1935.
3. Bergmark, D.R., Agricultural Land Utilization in Denmark, Econ. Geog. 11: 206-214. 1935.

observer as follows:

The Danish King, being as anxious to keep the peasant as the English oligarchy was to get rid of him. ...took all the measures that were recommended to the English Parliament ... Ordinances were passed to defend the small peasant from the landlord, and the cottagers who lost their right of common were given enough land to keep a cow and pigs. Thus provision that according to Lord Ernle was not made in 5 per cent of the English enclosures was made in all enclosures in Denmark.¹

The small holdings of Denmark are usually of two general types, one of free simple ownership of land and buildings, and the other of ownership of house and improvements, and leasehold relationship of land with the state as landlord.² The Danish legislation in regard to small-holdings culminated in the act which was passed on May 14, 1934, and put into effect on April 1, 1935. This law contains detailed provisions for both small holdings purchased with state loans and small holdings on state land. It also prescribed requirements and methods of procedure.³ For instance, according to this law, loans are to be provided each year for the use of land-settlement associations or individuals, at 4 percent, and liberal terms are granted for repayment. And it is prescribed that, except in the case of market gardens, no holding be less than the equivalent of 7 1/2

1. Hammond, J.L., The Land and the People, Nation and Athenaeum 36: 464-465. 1924.
2. Howe, F.C., Land Policies in Europe Undergoing Fundamental Changes. 4 pp. U.S. Resettlement Administration, Information for the Press, December 9, 1935.
3. Hooker, E.R., Recent Policies Designed to Promote Farm Ownership in Denmark. U.S.D.A. Resettlement Administration, pp. 23. March 1937.

acres, or more than 37 acres.¹

c. Sweden

Sweden is also a country whose land legislation encourages farmers to own their farms. "The Own Homes Movement" is one of the characteristic features of Swedish agricultural policy. One of the laws concerning landed property prohibits companies or economic corporations from purchasing land outside urban localities except for certain industrial requirements.² The State grants loans for the purchase of small holdings and has set aside Crown land so as to enable the growing population to acquire land for settlement and cultivation. According to the law which was enacted on June 4, 1926, providing for the granting of Crown land under right of occupation, the Crown retains the ownership of the land but the farmer is granted the right to use it for an unlimited time. This right is hereditary and transferable.

It may also be interesting to note that Swedish laws concerning tenancy "impose on the contracting parties stringent conditions as to a minimum tenancy period of 15 years ... (and) as to the right of the tenant to bring new land under cultivation and receive compensation for this or other improvements to the land."³

1. See Dunbar, J.S., Small-holdings in Denmark, A New Act. Scot. Jour. Agr. 18: 249-254, 1935.
2. Rothlieb, Curt., Tenure of Agricultural Land in Sweden. C.L.A. Jour. 11 (2): 139-144, 1930.
3. Sweden Socialstyrelsen, Social Work and Legislation in Sweden, Survey published by order of the Swedish Government, 1928.

An extensive plan of colonization in the Norrland region has been adopted by the Swedish Government, which grants two kinds of homesteads. Homesteads for settlers who are expected to be employed in the forests are 15 acres in extent, whereas those for farmers consist of about 37 acres. The Government supplies the framework and lumber for the houses at cost. The land may be purchased at the end of 10 years. "Payment for the homestead is in the form of a government loan which is amortized in thirty-one years with an interest of 3.6 per cent."¹ This plan has been effective since 1918, and thus contributed towards the furtherance of the small-holdings movement.

d. Finland

In the nineteenth century, the agriculture of Finland was characterized by two principal types of rented farms: the crofts and cottage farms. The crofts were real agricultural farms in the sense that they had considerable areas of arable land, while cottage farms were dwellings with very little or no agricultural land. Both of them, however, were entitled to obtain timber from the forests and to use the pastureland of the main farm itself. But, at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the use of machinery became prevalent the landowners were no

1. Janson, F.E., The Background of Swedish Immigration 1840-1930. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931.

longer ready to renew leases, and began to join the leased areas to the main farm. Consequently, the number of those without farms grew to alarming proportions.

In order to remedy this situation, attempts were made by the State to keep the farmers who were without estates on the land by means of settlement schemes. In 1918, a definite policy of transferring the ownership of farms to the tenants was adopted. On November 25, 1922, the Lex Kallio was signed by the President of Finland. The object of this law is to extend the ownership of agricultural land, to increase agricultural production, and to provide building lots for homes.¹ "Up to the end of 1934 a total of 31,000 settled estates had been founded and additional land added to 12,500 farms of insufficient size. Some 810,000 hectares (over 2,000,000 acres) of land were used for these purposes."²

e. Czechoslovakia

The land reform of Czechoslovakia was chiefly necessitated by the fact that before the last World War a large proportion of the available cultivable surface was concentrated in the hands of a minority of the population. After the establish-

1. See Davis, L.A., Land Reform in Finland, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bur. Foreign and Dom. Com. April 9, 1923.

2. Jutila, K.T., Finland's Agricultural Activities. Remarkable Development in Recent Years. Times Trade & Engin. (n.s.) 59 (868): viii. June 1936.

ment of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, an extensive land-reform program was inaugurated and a series of laws were successively promulgated. "The first land reform measure, dated November 9, 1918, is of only a limitative character as regards the sale and mortgaging of land, and it applies to that category of large estates which are inscribed in the land register, a record going back to the thirteenth century."¹ The promulgation of this measure was followed by the Law of April 16, 1919, which established the principle of expropriation; the Law of June 11, 1919, which set up the Land Office as executive organ of the reform; the Law of 30 January, 1920, which defined the manner in which the expropriated lands should be divided; and finally, the Law of 8 April, 1920, which settled the much vexed question of the compensation to be paid to the former owners.²

While the major enactments relating to agrarian reform received legislative sanction within less than a year, their application to the actual situation was destined to take very much longer. The Land Office which had been set up under the provision of the Law of 11 June, 1919, concluded its task of the distribution of lands, and the other functions of this Office were taken over by the Ministry of Agriculture as from 1 May 1935. Up to

1. Macek, Joseph, Land Reform in Czechoslovakia, Slavonic Rev. 1 (1): 144-150. 1922.
2. See Evans, I.L., Agrarian Reform in the Danubian Countries. II. Czechoslovakia. Slavonic and East European Rev. 8:601-611. 1930.

that time, it was estimated that "the reform affected 1,913 estates, each comprising more than 150 hectares of agricultural land, or more than 250 hectares of land in general. The total affected by the reform was 4,000,000 hectares, or 23.6 percent of the total area of Czechoslovakia. The agricultural lands affected amounted to 1,232,000 hectares, or 27 per cent of all agricultural lands in the country."¹

f. Mexico

Ever since the revolution of 1910, Mexican people as well as their Government have been struggling to destroy feudalism, whose chief symptom was the latifundia. The first law designed to remedy this situation was the Law of January 6, 1915, which restored land to the villages without compensation if proof could be produced that the lands had been taken from the villages, but with compensation to individual owners. This principle was embodied in Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917. Since then numerous laws, decrees and other legal dispositions affecting the redistribution of land have been promulgated by the federal government. Among these, the most important legislative action was a Constitutional Amendment of December 30, 1933, modifying article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, and published in

1. International Labour Office, Agrarian Reform in Czechoslovakia. Internatl. Labour Off. Indus. and Labour Inform. 54: 450-451. 1935.

the Diario Oficial of January 10, 1934. This Amendment created a Federal office to enforce agrarian legislation and empowered the Congress and the State legislatures to promulgate laws fixing the maximum amount of rural property which can be held by an individual or company and providing for the parcelling of the excess.¹ According to the policy formulated in this Amendment, farmers in Mexico are not only to be given land but taught how to use it and supplied with the means of obtaining credit.²

On September 1, 1936, Cardenas, President of Mexico, read before the Mexican Congress his annual report, in which attention was called to the progress of the agrarian reform. He said:

In June 1936, 877 engineers and 320 officials were engaged in the task of applying the provisions of the Agrarian Code of 1934; 3,876 claims on behalf of the landless rural population had been studied and acted upon, but there were still 30,154 pending adjudication. During the year, 3.2 million hectares of arable land and pasture had been conveyed to 206,065 peasants, organised into communal village groups . . .³

Since 1915 Mexico has experienced many ups and downs in her attempts to restore lands to the rural masses, but the firm belief of her government leaders in the cause of the common

1. See Ramirez, M.H., Mexico--The Six Year Plan. An Outline of Legislation Enacted Since its Announcement. U.S. Dept. Com., Bur. Foreign and Dom. Com., Div. Com. Laws, Gen. Legal Bull. Spec. Cir. 456, 16 pp. 1934.
2. See Suro, G.A., Mexico's Six Year Plan. Pan Amer. Union Bull. 68: 295-303. 1934.
3. Cardenas, Social Policy in Mexico. Internatl. Labour Off. Indus. and Labour Inform. 60: 291-292. 1936.

man has kept the fire burning through the last three decades. From the presidential report just quoted, we can see that this gigantic task of agrarian reform not only takes long years to develop, but it also requires the concerted action of the talents of different government offices.

g. The United States of America

Once Colonel J. C. Breckinridge of the U. S. Marine Corps, made a world tour and suggested to the U. S. Government, as a result, his belief that the land should be divided and populated. From what he had observed in Russia, Finland, Santo Domingo and Mexico, this marine officer realized that there was a very close relation between peasant landownership and national stability. He concluded his observation by saying: "... any nation is as strong socially and economically as its land-owning population is numerous. Pyramided wealth, that we consider an evidence of social stability, is, in reality, an evidence of approaching instability."¹

This conclusion seems to coincide with the agrarian policies of those countries we have thus far reviewed. In all these countries, it seems that enlightened government leaders were aware of the fact that peasant ownership of land is a great stabilizing factor in national unity and independence. They all

1. Breckinridge, J.C., Landownership in its relation to National Stability, Amer. Acad. Polit. and Social Sci. Ann. 134: 207-219. 1927.

sought to help the peasant own the land he tilled. While the detailed methods of carrying out their policies are bound to be different in order to fit their individual national conditions, they all seemed to agree with Simonde de Sismondi who favored the increase of small farms at the expense of large estates and felt that legislation concerning agricultural reforms should be enacted so as to make more farmers owners of their property.¹

After the close of the western frontier in the United States, new homesteads were no longer available to farmers of pioneering spirit. As a result of widespread soil erosion the amount of farm land available has been shrinking rapidly, and because of the mechanization of agricultural industry and the saturation of the labour market in the urban districts, many families of the growing farm population have sometimes become unemployed or underemployed. Moreover, since 1930, "a considerable amount of land has fallen into the hands of banks, insurance companies, and other corporate agencies through mortgage foreclosures."² On account of these and other reasons, the difficulties for a farm labourer or a tenant to become an owner have been increasing, while those who are owners have been facing

1. See Tuan, Mao-Lan, Simonde de Sismondi as an Economist. 179 pp. (Thesis 'Ph. D', Columbia University.) 1929.
2. Sims, Newell LeRoy, Elements of Rural Sociology, 3rd. Ed. p. 420.

the recurrent danger of losing their farms. In response to this situation, the Federal Government has launched various programs and projects which finally evolved into the creation of the Farm Security Administration in the Department of Agriculture.

As its name indicates, the purpose of the FSA, as it is called, is to lead farmers on the road to security. "Its chief job has been to get needy farm families out of the shadow of the relief rolls and back on their own feet, through a program of rehabilitation."¹ The important technique, developed through this program, is that of helping farmers to help themselves by granting them 'loans-plus-supervision', or 'credit-plus-education'.

The function of making land owners out of farm tenants, however, is carried out also through another program, known as the "Bankhead-Jones farm-tenant-loan program." This farm-tenant-loan program is in line with similar programs instituted by other nations and designed to increase the number of independent, family-type farms. But it differs from those of other nations in that the U. S. Federal Government does not have the power to expropriate privately owned estates, nor is it given authority to purchase lands with a view to reselling them to eligible applicants. Under the tenant-loan program, the Farm Security Administration is authorized to make tenant-purchase loans available

1. Baldwin, C.B., Report of the Administrator of the Farm Security Administration, 1940, p.3.

to capable and selected sharecropper or farm labourer. The Farm Security supervisor is expected to help the farmer locate a suitable farm and work out the farm and home plan, but he is not supposed to go into the land business.

"Tenant-purchase loans are repayable over a period of 40 years at 3 percent interest. The loan may be amortized in equal amounts each year, or, if the borrower chooses, he may use a variable-payment plan. Under this plan, payments are smaller in years of poor crops or low prices, and are proportionately larger in good years."¹

It is estimated that during the first three years during which the program has been in operation in approximately 1,300 counties, 12,254 families have received loans averaging \$5,721.² "Nearly 25 applications have been received for every loan that can be made with available funds."³ So we can see that this Government-financed land-buying program not only calls for a considerable sum of capital funds, (U.S. Congress provided \$50,000,000 in loan funds to be advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for the fiscal year of 1940-41), but also is limited in the extent of its service. But if the Government can afford to appropriate the needed funds, and can manage to continue this program for a period of years without unduly stimulating land

1. Baldwin, Report of the Administrator of the FSA, p. 13.

2. Ibid., pp. 12-13.

3. U.S. Department of Agriculture, The Farm Security Administration, May 1, 1941, p. 25.

prices, this U. S. program may prove to be more democratic and less drastic than the programs adopted by some of the other nations discussed above.

h. Land Settlement or Homestead Project
Sponsored by Religious Agencies.

To help the farmer own the land he tills can also be done by private social or religious agencies. The Big Lick Presbyterian church in Cumberland County, Tennessee, for instance, has inaugurated a homestead plan with considerable success. This plan seeks to contribute to the solution of the problem of youth migration and community stability. It also aids in the establishment of Christian homes. Its purpose is to make some of the undeveloped lands adjacent to the present community into farm-sized tracts of land available to young men through purchasing, subdividing and reselling them on a long-term payment plan and at a low rate of interest. This plan has provided an opportunity for land and home ownership for 22 youths in 3 years and has therefore helped conserve their abilities and energies for the future development of the community.¹ Other Presbyterian churches are increasingly inaugurating similar plans.

Recently the Church of the Brethren in America has formulated a project due to an apprehension that rural churches are being weakened owing to the fact that many farms owned by

1. Smathers, Eugene, The Characteristics of a Christian Rural Community. The Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin, No. 61, April 1941, p. 4.

Brethren for several generations are passing out of Brethren control. This is a farm purchase project which aims to help young Brethren farmers buy farms in church communities. As an experiment, the General Mission Board of this Church has set aside a sum of \$50,000 for this purpose. Because this is a new type of work for religious bodies, and because it may intimate new frontiers for social service agencies, we quote its high points as follows:

1. Both the young man and the farm to be bought are to be approved by the local church; the young man to be approved as a reliable and promising young farmer, and the farm as being a good farm, well located, and priced right.
2. The farm is to be bought out-right by the General Mission Board, and resold to the young farmer on a contract, 20-year amortization basis.
3. It is our purpose to have set up within the local church, where the young man holds his membership, a dependable and reliable committee, who will give careful supervision to the young man on the farm, and take over definite supervision in case of accident, sickness, or death of the purchaser.
4. When the young man has paid at least 50% of the purchase price of the farm, if he so desires the deed will be surrendered to him, and a first mortgage placed on his property for the remaining amount due.
5. The rate of interest charged is 3%.
6. The farm should be sufficiently large to make a real home for the young man. He ought to be able to make his living on it, and to make his yearly payment on the farm. We are not interested in purchasing farms which would provide more acreage than a young man ordinarily would buy if he were financing it himself. We want it, however, to be sufficiently large that he will have no reason to move to a larger farm when he has finished paying for this one.

7. We recognize that the \$50,000 set aside at this time for this experiment is a very small sum, therefore, we feel that it should be well spread over our brotherhood, and we are, at the present time, not contemplating making more than one loan in any one church district.¹

2. Improved Tenure

That farm ownership gives the farmer a sense of security does not necessarily mean that there is no other means by which the farmer can achieve security. In the first place, we must realize that not all farmers can start as owners. Any government program that aims to help farmers become owners is destined to be a slow process. Unless the land is nationalized, and unless the government is authorized to convert the agricultural land into peasant holdings, as has been done in the Irish Free State, in Mexico, and in Russia, there is no method by which all tenants can be made owners in a short time. It is true that in Mexico any citizen eighteen years of age or over may obtain a parcel of land from the government.² But the water that can float a boat can also capsize it. An easy entry into land ownership might do more harm than good to the farmer. By this we do not mean that Mexico's Government should not give land to the landless farmer. What we mean is that the act of giving should be followed by education; and education requires

1. Brubaker, Leland S., A Church Fund for Farmers. Town & Country Church, January 1944, p. 3.

2. International Labour Office, Land Settlement in Mexico. Internatl. Labour Off. Indus. and Labour Inform. 51:279. 1934.

time. A real, efficient, self-respectable farmer cannot be made out of any person who cares to be a land-holder. Hence, it is obvious that tenants cannot be turned into owners all at once, and that security for the farmer must be sought despite tenancy.

In the second place, tenancy and security are not incompatible. Many tenants have explicitly expressed their desire to maintain their status as such. There are advantages in being a tenant. Economically, it does not require as much capital as being an owner. If a tenant has capital of his own, he can use it for buying better implements or better fertilizers. His money will not be invested in real estate, but will be in constant use, thus accumulating more wealth. Psychologically, if a person becomes a farm owner by struggling up from tenancy, he is likely to get more satisfaction than if he is given a farm and immediately becomes an owner. Even if he does not become an owner, he still can enjoy satisfaction and security. It was reported that in April, 1938, announcements were made in Rome, Italy, of the recognition of 79 families:

Two families had a tenure of over 800 years; three families over 700; one over 600; two over 500; fifteen over 400; thirteen over 300; seventeen over 200; and twenty-six for more than a century.¹

In England, a comparative study of the financial returns of owner-occupier and tenant farmers was made about a decade ago.

1. Stewart, Charles L., Millennium at Montale. One Family farms Land for Twenty-six generations. Rural America, 17 (7): 3-6/ 1939.

This study was based on a survey in the Eastern Counties in England, which provided a sample of 995 holdings, of which roughly two-thirds were tenancies and one-third were owner occupation. It was concluded that "while the data available do not warrant any definite conclusions, it seems probable that type of occupation is not a major factor affecting farming profits."¹

If this author's opinion is correct, we might say that there are possibilities of security under the tenancy system just as there are possibilities of insecurity in the ownership of land. The thing that hinders the farmer from achieving security is not the tenancy system itself. A certain amount of tenancy may be a good way for the farmer to secure the use of land. What matters is how this system is being applied. It is a well-known fact that stability has been actually achieved in a country like England by giving the tenant farmer an equity in someone else's land which he works.

In America, an examination of the agricultural ladder was made by the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy after the inauguration of the New Deal. This examination revealed that movement from rung to rung had been predominately in the direction

1. Graves, P.E., A Comparison of the Financial Returns of Owner-occupier and Tenant Farmers. Farm Econ. (England) 1 (12) 246-247. 1935.

of descent rather than ascent, and that there had been an increasing tendency for the rungs of the ladder to become bars forcing imprisonment in a fixed social status from which it was increasingly difficult to escape. It was based upon the findings of this Special Committee that the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act to aid the tenant farmer to achieve ownership was enacted. This Committee did not only recommend measures to make owners out of tenants, but it also made recommendations for the improvement of lease contracts and landlord-tenant relationships.

This Committee said that "Much can be done to better the terms and conditions of leasing. Through regulation and education tenant-operators can be given greater security of tenure and opportunity to develop and improve their farms and participate in community activities."¹ The following are the remedial measures recommended to the state legislatures:

1. Agricultural leases shall be written.
2. All improvements made by the tenant and capable of removal shall be removable by him at the termination of the lease.
3. The landlord shall compensate the tenant for specified unexhausted improvements which he does not remove at the time of quitting the holding, provided that for certain types of improvements the prior consent of the landlord be obtained.

1. Farm Tenancy, Message from the President of the United States Transmitting the Report of the Special Committee on Farm Tenancy. House Document No. 149, 75th Congress, 1st Session, 1937, p. 20.

4. The tenant shall compensate the landlord for any deterioration or damage due to factors over which the tenant has control, and the landlord shall be empowered to prevent continuance of serious wastage.
5. Adequate records shall be kept of outlays for which either party will claim compensation.
6. Agricultural leases shall be terminable by either party only after due notice given at least 6 months in advance.
7. After the first year, payment shall be made for inconvenience or loss sustained by the other party by reason of termination of the lease without due cause.
8. The landlord's lien shall be limited during emergencies such as serious crop failure or sudden fall of prices where rental payments are not based upon a sliding scale.
9. Renting a farm on which the dwelling does not meet certain minimum housing and sanitary standards shall be a misdemeanor, though such requirements should be extremely moderate and limited to things primarily connected with health and sanitation, such as sanitary outside toilets, screens, tight roofs, and other reasonable stipulations.
10. Landlord and tenant difference shall be settled by local boards of arbitration, composed of reasonable representatives of both landlords and tenants, whose decisions shall be subject to court review when considerable sums of money or problems of legal interpretation are involved.¹

These then are the remedial measures proposed by men who were conversant with the conditions of land tenure not only in their own country, but also in other countries, particularly in Europe. In making these recommendations, they realized that

1. Farm Tenancy, Message from the President of the United States Transmitting the Report of the Special Committee on Farm Tenancy, House Document No. 149, 75th Congress, 1st Session, 1937, p. 20.

obstacles to improvement are in customs and attitudes. In order to change the deeply entrenched practices related to leasing, or to modify the proud attitude of landlords who are reluctant to have written contracts with poor tenants, legal provisions alone are not sufficient. To overcome these obstacles is a task of adult education. Both landlords and tenant farmers need to be intelligently informed why long-term written leases are beneficial to both parties; why compensations for improvement and disturbance are desirable; why the provision for arbitration is necessary, and so forth. Therefore, in recommending the above legal provisions for legislation, this Special Committee also stressed the importance of vigorous programs to be inaugurated by State agencies, particularly the agricultural extension service.

3. Soil Conservation.

The next thing that characterizes progressive agriculture is soil conservation. A social worker must see to it that the farmer is cultivating the land so that it will be good for generations to come, and that the farmer is not exploiting the soil in such a way that its fertility will be exhausted in the near future. The worker should also see that the land is being properly taken care of and is not being impoverished by the washing away of the topsoil.

The practices of soil-building must be worked out in cooperation with the farmers in a local community. They vary with the types of farming employed in different areas. They can be grouped under four general headings:

1. New seedings of soil-conserving crops such as grasses, legumes, and trees.
2. The application of limestone, superphosphate, or other chemical applications; mulching orchards, green manuring, etc.
3. Terracing.
4. A wide variety of erosion-control measures such as contour furrowing, protecting summer fallow, strip-cropping, damming, reducing the number of animal units feeding on range land, and restoring native grasses.¹

Recently, in America, the government as well as the people have gradually been made cognizant of the alarming fact that some 100 million of the 414 million acres of cropland in the United States have already been seriously impoverished as a result of wide-spread soil erosion, and approximately 100 millions acres more are losing their fertility at a rapid rate.² It was estimated that by June 15, 1942, 771 soil conservation districts, comprising 451,990,000 acres, had been organized.³ There was a total of 4,673 soil conservation demonstration farms in 46 States and Hawaii in 1941, having a total acreage of 3,301,722.⁴

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Planning for a Permanent Agriculture, p. 22.
2. Baldwin, op. cit., p. 2.
3. U.S.D.A., Report of Cooperative Extension work in Agriculture and Home Economics, 1941-42, p. 23.
4. Ibid., p. 22.

Various methods of decreasing run-off and erosion by means of vegetative and mechanical controls have been introduced and practiced. The principle of these methods, such as check dams, grassed waterways, forestation, strip cropping, contour tillage, and terraces, is simple: "To make running water walk or creep, to store a far greater part of it in that greatest of all reservoirs--the soil; and to do this by making the soil and its crops provide, as impediments to run-off, millions of natural little dams."¹

About four years ago, a society called 'Friends of the Land', was organized by a group of unselfish citizens who were alarmed by the terrible waste of the natural resources. Most of these men were aware that no remedial measures would be effective if imposed by the government. So they organized themselves into a society aiming to educate the American people to understand the gravity of the situation, and then to cooperate in demanding and carrying out reforms. This society continues to grow even in wartime, and now has over 5000 active members. It believes that "The civilization of this nation is founded upon about eight inches of topsoil, and when that goes civilization will go with it."²

1. U.S.D.A. Soil Conservation Service, Ten Billion Little Dams, 'Preface' by Henry A. Wallace.
2. Bromfield, Louis, Friends of the Land. Reader's Digest, January 1944, p. 63.

One of the methods advocated by this society is called disk plowing. This method was designed to supplant the mold-board plow which is familiar to every farmer in this country. While the latter leaves the soil naked and exposed to erosion by wind and water, to undue evaporation from the sun and wind, the former simply rips up and loosens the surface but does not turn the sod or rubbish under. By disk plowing, one has a seed bed that does not arrest the capillary attraction of moisture from beneath. A disk plow also leaves a mulch on the surface that prevents evaporation and thus preserves the precious moisture for the crops. "In addition, the rubbish mulch on the surface prevents rainfall from running off as it does from a bare surface, flooding the streams and carrying away tons of topsoil. The rubbish mulch on the surface also prevents the topsoil from blowing away as dust."¹ This method of plowing has been described by Edward J. Faulkner in his book entitled Plowman's Folly.

In line with this method of disk plowing, we may mention another method which is conducive to the fertilization of soil. This is called the Indore method of manufacturing compost. It has been developed by Sir Albert Howard and his associates at the Institute of Plant Industry in Indore, Central India. The

1. Bronfield, Louis, The Evangelist of "Plowman's Folly", Reader's Digest, December 1943, p. 57.

aim of this method is "by means of a simple process to unite the advantages of three very different things: (1) the results of scientific research on the transformation of plant residues; (2) the agricultural experience of the past, and (3) the ideal line of advance in the soil management of the future--in such a manner that all the by-products of agriculture can be systematically converted into humus."¹ If this method is adopted, all kinds of waste products, such as the bedding from the cattle-shed, all unconsumed crop residues, fallen leaves and other forest wastes, farmyard manure, green-manures and weeds, can be utilized.

Furthermore, it is claimed that "besides the valuable compost that will be obtained, a number of other advantages will follow. Rural hygiene will enter a new phase. The fly nuisance will disappear. Practically all the infection, which is now carried by these insects from filth to the food and water supply of the population, will be automatically destroyed by the combination of high temperature, high humidity and copious aeration of the compost heaps. In the tropics parasites like hookworm will tend to decrease in numbers. A rapid improvement in the general health and the amenities of the village will ensue."² By trans-

1. Howard, Albert, & Wad, Yeshwant D., The Waste Products of Agriculture, their Utilization as Humus, p. 60.

2. Ibid., p. 113.

forming the waste products of the population into valuable humus, it will be possible to avoid most of the existing difficulties connected with the general problem of sanitation such as the disposal of night soil, the use of disinfectants, the collection and destruction by burning of vegetable wastes including fallen leaves, the prevention of the fly nuisance, the purification and safeguarding of the water supply and the inoculation of the population against such diseases as enteric fever and cholera.

Soil conservation, however, is not merely a matter of adapting the use of modern methods to the physical conditions of the land, it is also closely related to economic and social exigencies. A farmer may be anxious and willing to conserve his soil by farming his land in complete accord with Nature's methods. But his holdings may be too small to attempt conservation practice; or under pressure of debt, he may be impelled to seek profits through exploitative farming in periods of high prices; or his neighbor may not be interested in building check dams by which he hopes to prevent storm water from flooding over his fields; or soil blown from adjoining land over which he has no control may be covering his fields; or there is no experiment station in which to test the validity of some new ideas of agri-

culture. Because of these and many other reasons, he may be unable to farm as he should in order to conserve soil. This leads us to consider the next aspect of progressive agriculture.

4. Farm Management

The national interest in the land can be secured only if the men who use it have the knowledge, intelligence and efficiency which modern farming demands.¹ Planning therefore is one way for the farmer to make the best use of his resources. When a man plans he has to see things in their perspective as well as in their mutual relationships. Planning for farm management is one of the characteristics of progressive agriculture. The following suggestions will help in successful farm management.

First, the farmer should be alert to the successful results obtained in the laboratories of the experiment stations and agricultural colleges, and to better methods used in local farm practice. As a progressive farmer, he should be ready to change his habits in farming, if such change is imperative for the increase of production or for the conservation of the soil.

Second, the farmer must plan his farming in such a way that he can produce food for his livestock and most of his family's food at home. This is sometimes called "live-at-home"

1. Rew, Sir Henry, The Use of Agricultural Land, Nineteenth Century, 87: 802-813. 1920.

farming. It requires a diversified program of garden and feed crops in addition to cash crops and not only cuts living expenses but brings a better diet to the children.

For example, in the cotton area in eastern Texas a certain farmer is making a better living than most of his neighbors--and on one-eighth the land. He has a 15-acre farm, but he doesn't grow cotton. Most of the land is in oats and vetch. Some is in potatoes, some in peas, some in other truck crops. An acre is in a big garden. There is a small permanent pasture and an orchard, and there are beehives and chickens. The farm keeps the farmer, his wife, and his son busy all the time. The oats, instead of being sold at \$150 on the market, are fed to six cows and their butter brings \$600 a year. A variety of products is taken to market--fruits, vegetables, butter, milk, chickens, eggs, honey, pork. By growing a number of things, these folk keep their market. Their labor is paid for because their products bring in money.¹

In countries other than the United States, not many farmers can have a farm as large as 15 acres. But this idea of live-at-home should be stressed just the same. The farmer should be taught "that his economic salvation depends upon abandoning his present preference for producing for the market; the engineer must be taught that his task in agriculture is to help the farmer to produce efficiently on a small scale."²

Third, in planning his farm management, the farmer must be helped to adjust his debts. If he is in debt, very frequently he will be driven to exploit his land or use the type

1. U.S.D.A., Getting Established on the Land, p. 27.

2. Baker, Borsodi, & Wilson, Agriculture in Modern Life, p.207-8.

of farming that has as its end not a way of life but simply a way of making a living. Such adjustment should be agreed to by all those concerned, and may involve:

- a. A scale-down of the debts.
- b. Reduction in interest rates.
- c. Extension of the time of payment.
- d. Liquidation of unneeded property.
- e. Refinancing.
- f. Reamortization.
- g. Various combinations of the above methods.¹

After the adjustment has been made, the farmer will be able to make a new start on a sound basis, or will be put in a position to get further financing from other sources.

Fourth, when a farmer is ready to start his farming he will find that there are many things which cannot be done efficiently or successfully if his neighbors do not stand by him. For example, if his neighbor is not interested in building check dams in water channels, then his desire to slow down the movement of water may not be accomplished.

A farmer, in planning his farm management, must therefore take into consideration the desires and wishes of his neighbors and explore the possibilities for community and co-operative services. Through cooperation, the farmer may share with others, the use of livestock and equipment which otherwise might stand idle most of the time, and thus reduce the cost of such facilities. Through joining the existing purchasing and marketing cooperatives, or by organizing such associations, the

1. U.S.D.A., Farm Security Administration, Supervisors' Guidebook, p. 30.

farmer may avail himself of many services such as assembling, grading, storing, processing, and transporting his products, with very little cost, if we consider what he would have spent if he had had to buy or sell by himself.

5. Agricultural Implements.

Cooperation not only helps the farmer to reduce the cost of operating the farm, or to earn more from his produce, but it also makes it possible for him to use better tools and implements. There is an old Chinese saying 'when a workman wishes to get his work well done, he must have his tools sharpened first.' This does not necessarily mean that we should advocate the process of large scale mechanization, thus transforming the diversified, family-farms into specialized, industrialized, commercial, agricultural enterprises. Rather we mean that by using labor-saving devices the farmer may enjoy his occupation. But the fact that many farmers nowadays do not use modern implements in China is because they do not know there are such tools. Or if they know, these modern agricultural tools are completely beyond the reach of their financial ability.

However, the farmer of progressive agriculture must be made to see that the drudgeries of his daily chores can be greatly reduced if he uses improved agricultural implements. This attitude, we believe, corresponds to that expressed by an

American agricultural leader who advocated technological progress in agriculture in the latter part of the last century:

Up to within twenty-five years the farmer's life has been but little removed from serfdom. His many hardships conspired to make the farmer feel his inferiority, and rank his calling in the lowest scale of the professions. He now finds himself emerging from this slough; iron and wood are made to perform wonders, and brain is of more account on the farm than muscle. We are on the threshold of grand results in agriculture.¹

6. Better Seeds and Breeds.

It is said that "a well-bred cow can produce as much milk in a year as three or four scrub cows, yet she consumes little more food than any one of them. Her bull calves will be ready for market months ahead of scrub stock and her heifers will be superior milk producers."² In the field of crop production, plant breeders have also developed superior varieties of crops adapted to local conditions and resistant to disease and insect pests. The hybrid corn, for example, "in the course of 7 years has replaced open-pollinated varieties on a major portion of the corn acreage in the Corn Belt and on about 25 percent of the national acreage. . . .It is estimated that,

1. Willard, K.A., Address. . . before the Illinois and Wisconsin Dairymen's Association, 1868. Prairie Farmer (n.s.21) 37: 115. Quoted by Paul H. Johnstone, in 1940 Yearbook of Agriculture, p. 127.
2. Bromfield, Louis, The World-wide Significance of Artificial Breeding, Reader's Digest, February 1944, p. 87.

because of the use of hybrid seed, corn production in 1938 was nearly 100,000,000 bushels greater than it would have been had open-pollinated seed been used on all the corn acreage; further increases when known hybrids are put into use may be twice as great."¹ These two facts show us that if the farmer uses better seed and better breeds of animals, he can have more returns for the same amount of time and energy that he spends on his cattle and plants of ordinary types.

Progress in breeding many plants such as potatoes, rice, wheat, and tomatoes, has been made, and has helped to increase or stabilize the food supplies. As to animal breeding, artificial insemination is feasible for all classes of livestock. Dairy Improvement Associations and Agricultural Extension men in the United States are now planning to serve remote countries with the air-mailed semen of exceptional, proved sires. In view of these important developments in agricultural science, it is the privilege as well as the obligation of the present-day farmer to secure better seeds and better breeds to be cultivated or raised on his farm.

7. Control of Plant and Animal Diseases

As a rule, better seeds tend to possess greater vigor

1. Kiefer, Hurt, & Thornbrough, The Influence of Technical Progress on Agricultural Production, 1940 Yearbook of Agriculture, p. 518.

with which the plant may resist disease and insects injurious to its development. Still, there are many kinds of plant diseases which will seriously reduce both the yield and the market value of the crops. "Diseases are of two general types, nonparasitic and parasitic. Nonparasitic diseases are caused by unfavorable environmental conditions, such as excessive moisture or drought, extremes of temperature, and lack or excess of certain mineral elements in the soil. Parasitic diseases are those caused by living organisms, chiefly bacteria and fungi, and by viruses."¹ Since diseased plants usually cannot be cured, control must be based on the prevention of the disease and of its spread. The most effective and economical method is, of course, to use resistant varieties. Ordinarily, however, varieties that are resistant to most diseases are not available, so the farmer must resort to other methods, such as crop rotation, use of clean seed, prevention of diseases in seedbed, soil sterilization, spraying and dusting with fungicides or insecticides.

Likewise, the farmer must acquire a knowledge, or should be informed of, animal diseases and insects injurious to animals; he should also be educated regarding improved methods that may

1. U.S.D.A., Tomato Diseases, Farmers' Bulletin No. 1934, p. 2.

help him prevent or control such diseases and insects. A group of farmers may start a cooperative veterinary service, so as to be able to engage an expert veterinarian to care for all their livestock at moderate cost. Sometimes community action may be called for, in order to promote a campaign such as those carried out in the United States against hog cholera, bovine tuberculosis, or tick fever. "The bovine-tuberculosis-eradication program has been extended to nearly all counties in the United States. As a result the disease has been practically eliminated."¹

8. Irrigation.

The next thing that needs to be mentioned as one of the characteristics of progressive agriculture is irrigation. Irrigation is the artificial application of water to land. In one respect, it can give better results than Nature herself produces, because the water is supplied when it is needed. The use of irrigation as an aid to the growth of vegetation is an art which was known to the ancient world. It is being extensively applied even in the newest farming countries as shown in the account concerning irrigation farms on Galloway Flat in New

1. Kiefer, Burt, & Thornabrough, op. cit., p. 525.

Zealand which says:

Prior to irrigation, Galloway Flat was practically unproductive....With the advent of irrigation the scene of Galloway Flat has changed completely from a semi-arid and barren region to a good dairy-farming district carrying splendid pastures and good lucerne stands.¹

The methods of irrigation vary from one region to another, depending upon conditions of the supply of water available, and of the land to be irrigated. Some use ground water, some surface water. Some lift water by continually renewed labour, some by permanent works such as canals and weirs or barges, and still others store water by building reservoirs. It is generally believed that the United States has built more concrete dams with which to control water for irrigation purposes than has any other country. She also ranks first in the efficiency of the mechanical equipment used to pump water for irrigation and in the effectiveness of the appliances used to distribute water on farms. It was estimated that up to 1919, there were over 19 million acres of land irrigated in the United States. About 70% of arid land reclamation was brought about by farmers, acting singly or in groups and organizations.²

The most common method in America of pumping water for irrigation is the installation of small irrigation pumping plants.

1. Calder, G.C., Survey of Production of Irrigation Farms on Galloway Flat, Central Otago, New Zealand Jour. Agr. 52(1): 44-47. 1936.
2. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th edition, Vol. 12, pp. 692-693.

operated by electric motors or by internal-combustion engines. Small plunger pumps are sometimes operated by windmills. "It is believed that under present conditions a well-designed plant operated so as to get the most economical service from the equipment should pump water at a total cost not to exceed 5 or 6 cents per acre-foot for each foot of lift."¹ One farmer in the State of New Jersey has drilled nineteen artesian wells which feed miles of portable overhead pipe lines to supply man-made rain over his 20,000 acre truck farm.² This, of course, is a very exceptional case, but it shows that irrigation is something that any progressive farmer cannot afford to neglect.

9. Conclusion.

From the discussion of agriculture, we know that as the environment of the farmer is changing, agriculture, either as a way of life or as an occupation for making a living, must also be progressive. And in order to make agriculture progressive, there are at least eight phases of agriculture, viz., ownership of land, improved tenure, soil conservation, farm management, agricultural implements, better seeds and breeds, control of plant and animal diseases, and irrigation, that should be considered. All of these aspects may not arise at the same time,

1. U.S.D.A., Small Irrigation Pumping Plants, Farmers' Bulletin No. 1857, 1940. p. 30.
2. Gardner, Mona, Assembly-line Farmer, condensed from Coronet, The Reader's Digest, January 1944, p. 95.

CHAPTER XVI

but they are interrelated. As to which one should be dealt with first, there is no set rule to be followed, although it is generally understood that if the farmer does not own the land he tills, or does not have a satisfactory written lease to use the land, he would not be enthusiastically concerned with the others.

may be promoted, and agriculture is limited by the law of diminishing return. Agriculture may be intensified or diversified to a certain extent; but as soon as it reaches the point of saturation, the employment capacity will diminish. Although agriculture is the main occupation of rural people, the enrichment of rural life depends upon many other things. Therefore, if economic life is considered, the importance of villages and home industries must not be neglected.

1. Reasons for Villages and Home Industries.

Although the reasons for promoting villages and home industries are many, the principal ones may be stated here. In the first place, if villages and home industries are properly organized, they will be able to utilize the surplus of rural products. In the second place, they will be able to utilize the surplus of rural products in their own way. In the third place, they will be able to utilize the surplus of rural products in their own way. In the fourth place, they will be able to utilize the surplus of rural products in their own way. In the fifth place, they will be able to utilize the surplus of rural products in their own way.

CHAPTER XVI

VILLAGE AND HOME INDUSTRIES

Hitherto we have mentioned two roads to rural reconstruction, namely, cooperatives and progressive agriculture. Cooperation is more or less a method by which a concrete undertaking may be promoted, and agriculture is limited by the law of diminishing return. Agriculture may be intensified or diversified to a certain extent; but as soon as it reaches the point of saturation, the employment capacity will diminish. Although agriculture is the main occupation of rural people, the enrichment of rural life depends upon many other things. Insofar as economic life is concerned, the importance of village and home industries ranks next to agriculture.

1. Reasons for Village and Home Industries.

Although the reasons for promoting village and home industries are many, the principal ones can be stated here. In the first place, if village industries are properly organized, many of the agricultural products may be utilized at home. Instead of exporting raw materials to urban areas or to foreign lands, rural people may be able to ship finished goods to the market with less cost in transportation. Furthermore they will be able to provide the local community with things that are

made from agricultural products, thus saving the cost of overhead in distribution, as well as transportation. We have noted earlier that transportation facilities in China are extremely limited.

We are told that in view of the Chemurgic movement which advocates the use of farm products for industrial purposes, the industrial outlet for farm products has been increasingly widened. In the United States for example, markets for farm products can be found in cellulose and proteins, in starch and sugar, in plastics, in insecticides,¹ and in other new fields that have been developed on account of the war. The demand for agricultural goods will likely be increased when the war is over. Of course it is understood that in response to all these demands, refined machinery and research laboratories manned by experts are necessary, and that this kind of machinery and laboratory cannot be established in isolated rural areas. But the village industrial plant can do somethings in the process of making agricultural products into industrial goods.

In the second place; the promotion of rural industries will help the farmer utilize his leisure time, thus increasing the employment capacity of the rural people. It is a well known fact that agriculture cannot offer the farmer employment

1. See, Proceedings of the Second Dearborn Conference of Agriculture, Industry and Science, Dearborn, Michigan, May 1936, p. 409.

for the entire year. Even in the United States, "despite the fact that agricultural production during the last two years has reached high records without increasing the number of farm workers, there is, at the present time, a considerable volume of agricultural underemployment."¹ It is true that to provide fuller employment for those who are now underemployed would call for a program as varied as the groups who are underemployed, but one has good reasons to agree with the author who says: "Suitable industries such as those which are closely connected with agriculture or forestry (canning, jam making, manufacture of agricultural implements, fertilizer production, furniture making, etc.) would revive country life and provide employment for the wives and daughters of rural workers, alternative avenues of future employment for young boys and girls, and seasonal work for agricultural workers in the winter."² The most feasible solution for this problem therefore can be found only by providing supplementary occupations by which the farmer may earn an income in addition to his farm income.³

Third, the promotion of rural industries will help bring about the decentralization of industry. In modern indus-

1. Tauber, Conrad, Agricultural Underemployment, Rural Sociology, Vol. VIII, No. 4, December 1943.
2. International Labour Review, pp. 202-203, 1943.
3. Cf. Brandt, Kart, The Employment Capacity of Agriculture, Social Research, 2 (1), 1-19, 1935.

of decentralization is presented in his book entitled Flight from the City.
 Cf. Henry, F.C., and Mason, W.C., Rural Industry, Industries, United States Dept. of Agri. Circular 312, 1934.

trialized society, industry tends to be concentrated in certain areas. With the centralization of industry comes the centralization of population, of management and control, of planning, and the centralization of government. Not only will the spread between the producer and the consumer be stretched, thus reducing the profit which belongs to the producer, or adding to the price paid by the consumer; but rural communities will be exploited as sources of cheap labour. The cure for the evils of concentration is decentralization through developing industries in rural areas owned and operated by the local people, either individually or cooperatively.¹

Fourth, rural industries also help stabilize community life. In 1932, a national survey of 121 successful rural factory industries was made in the United States. This survey reveals that in the communities where such industries are found, young people are kept at home and the earnings thus gained make possible radios, books, magazines, telephones, and household conveniences. Likewise, the community life is vitalized because of better roads, lower rate of electricity, improved schools, and augmented medical services.² All these advantages would be hard, if not impossible, to attain for rural communities without

1. One of the most ardent exponents of decentralization in America is Ralph Borsodi, the Founder of the School of Living, Suffern, N.Y. His philosophy of decentralization is presented in his book entitled Flight from the City.
2. Cf. Manny, T.G., and Nason, W.C., Rural Factory Industries, United States Dept. of Agri. Circular 312, 1934.

the presence of rural industries of some sort, or without a 'marriage of agriculture and industry.'¹

Lastly, if village and handicraft industries are so promoted and managed that they will utilize the assets of and contribute to community life, then they can also function as a method of preserving and developing indigenous arts and culture. Industries should not be settled in the rural area because of the prospect of cheap labour to be exploited in the interest of non-resident owners. Rather they should be encouraged because there is something that the rural people can accomplish. For instance, when the Tennessee Valley Authority was created, the development of small industries was one of the first things included in its planning. Here is what the chairman of the board of the Tennessee Valley Authority said:

The Southern highlander is not in a hurry. He has time to be hospitable. He is not trying "to keep up with the Joneses." He has dignity, independence and self-respect. Given the opportunity he will have time to create fine things in furniture, in clothing, in ceramics, in scientific instruments. He can be the individualist in American industrial life. With artistic and scientific guidance, he can make the goods America needs, to take the curse off its mass production civilization. Every isolated valley can become the home of some kind of excellence peculiar to itself.²

1. A proposal involving decentralization of industry and part-time farming. See Mullins, G.W., Unemployment. The Gateway to a New Life. 140 pp. London, Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. 1926.
2. Morgan, A.E., Planning in the Tennessee Valley. Current History, 38: 667, 1933.

1. President's message to Congress, see H.R. 22, 213, 1933.
 2. Morgan, A. E., Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1927, p. 206.

From the above utterance, we can see that the Tennessee Valley Authority, which is, as was once pointed out by President Roosevelt, a corporation clothed with the power of government but possessed with the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise,¹ aims at preserving and developing but not destroying the type of civilization that the Southern mountaineer has already had. To this task, there is but one approach, "that is the ethical approach which seeks, before imposing its own ideals on any person or group, to draw from them the best they have to give."²

2. Types of Rural Industries

There is a great variety of rural industries. To establish or to promote an industry in any community, an intimate knowledge of this community's cultural tradition, resources, and conditions of marketing, as well as of the individual tastes and skills of the local people is necessary. Since no two communities are exactly alike, there is no stereotyped industry that can be introduced into any community. However, for the sake of our discussion, we may classify rural industries into five types, viz., 1. preserving and processing food; 2. raising small animals and poultry; 3. cultivating fruits and gardens; 4. handicrafts; and 5. manufacturing agricultural implements.

1. President's message to Congress, see Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 663.

2. Eaton, H. Allen, Handicrafts of the Southern Highlanders. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1937, p. 333.

(1) For staple food products, the following have
a. Preserving and Processing Food.

Farmers are producers of food, but in the modern, highly industrialized economy, farmers tend to lose control of food as soon as crops are harvested. Crops are sent to factories owned and operated by capitalists who sell them as commodities for profit. The farmer has to buy the food he himself produced at a price which will yield a profit to the merchant who handles the distribution of the food as well as to those who take part in processing the food. If farmers had a way to process the crops themselves, they would be able to stabilize the farm market by storing their seasonal surpluses until there was a demand for them. If farmers could own small plants for processing their food stuff for both home and market consumption, they would be able to save much of the money that goes to pay the cost of distribution under the present complicated and extravagant system.¹

While there are many varieties of food products just as there are many varieties of methods to preserve and to process them, we may mention some of the plans or designs that have been practiced by or recommended to farm families.

1. Cf. The School of Living, How to Economize on Flour & Breakfast Foods, A Manual for Milling at Home, 1938.

(1) For staple food products, the following have been suggested:

Rice-hulling
Oil crushing
Sugar refining
Flour or corn milling

(2) For dairy products:

Cooperative pasteurizing of milk
Cheese making and cheese dehydrating
Butter making

(3) For fruits and vegetables:

Storing vegetable crops for winter use
Drying fruits and vegetables
Peeling fruits and vegetables
Dehydration of fruits and vegetables
Fruit and vegetable canning
The community center for food preservation
Preservation of fruit juices
Making of jellies, jams and preserves.

(4) For Livestock products:

Conservation of pork and pork by-products
Freezing and storing meat for home use
Butchering and curing of pork on the farm
Tanning of cattlehide
Conserving hides, salting, skinning
Drying of meats
Utilizing by-products of slaughtering
Use of cold storage lockers

At the present time, the mystery of Nature has been steadily unfolded to men through the application of scientific knowledge. Numerous inventions and discoveries have been recorded in scientific books and magazines. The methods of processing foodstuffs are no exceptions; they are also being

1. Cf. Kent, George, *Revolution in Rice*, *Reader's Digest*, Feb. 1944 (Condensed from *The Washington Post*, January 16, '44).

advanced rapidly. For example, the processing of rice, which is the staple food of about half of the world's entire population, is now being subjected to a new experiment. Ordinarily, rice is stripped of a large portion of its nutrients through processing. Those who eat it unmixed with other vegetables or with meat are likely to suffer a chronic weariness, and are subject to beriberi and pellagra. A new idea has been worked out by two practical men named Gordon Harwell and Eric Hazenlaub in Houston, Texas. They have revolutionized the processing of rice and are producing what is called "converted rice". The Vitamin B content of converted rice is twice to three times that of polished white rice. This new rice which will keep without deterioration in all kinds of weather, is pronounced as one of the most significant scientific developments of World War II, and is regarded as "the most feasible process for the improvement of the nutritional value of rice." It is also believed by research scientists that this conversion method can be applied to virtually all cereals.¹

b. Raising Small Animals and Poultry

Another type of rural industry can be developed by raising small animals and poultry. Small animals such as sheep,

1. Cf. Kent, George, Revolution in Rice, Reader's Digest, Feb. 1944 (Condensed from The Washington Post, January 16, '44).

2. Cf. U.S.D.A., Farm Poultry Raising, and Poultry Keeping in Back Yards. Farmers' Bulletin, Nos. 1524 & 1525.

goats, and pigs can be raised with little money. Hogs are great scavengers; they can convert much of the waste from the kitchen, farm, garden, orchard, etc. into meat.¹ Goats will produce milk in places where it would be impossible to keep a cow.² Sheep raising does not require expensive equipment or heavy labour, although it does require study and continuous attention.³ Before starting to raise small animals, the farmer must choose good breeds. Then he should learn how to feed and house them in clean quarters.

As to the poultry industry, the most popular kind is breeding for egg production. The strain should therefore be of the highest possible bred-to-lay quality. But the size of the flock does not necessarily have to be large. A small flock of chickens will consume waste products from the kitchen and garden and at the same time keep the family supplied with eggs and meat.⁴

Other phases of the poultry industry such as duck farming, goose raising, and the production of good-quality squabs, can also be conducted as a side issue on farms as well as become a special business on a large scale. The Peking duck, which originated in China, is almost the only breed kept

1. Cf. Carver, George W., How to raise pigs with little money, The Extension Department, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.
2. Cf. U.S.D.A., Milk Goats, Farmers' Bulletin, No. 920.
3. Cf. U.S.D.A., Farm Sheep Raising for Beginning, Farmers' Bulletin, No. 840.
4. Cf. U.S.D.A., Farm Poultry Raising, and Poultry Keeping in Back Yards. Farmers' Bulletin, Nos. 1524 & 1508.

by American commercial duck farmers who make a specialty of producing "green" ducks. "They are hardy, are fair layers, practically nonsitters, and are especially adapted for the production of flesh."¹ Geese can be raised successfully and profitably in many places. They subsist very largely on grass, during the growing season, and can be housed very cheaply because they need protection only during cold, stormy weather.² Squab production has increasingly become a special business in the United States. Satisfactory returns from this enterprise, however, depend on the use of suitable breeding birds and on good equipment, feeds, and markets.³

Closely related to this small animal and poultry industry, we may mention the production of an ample supply of fresh fish for farm use. "Many farms have suitable sites for the construction of ponds. These sites, properly developed and managed for fish, will contribute substantially to better living on the farm."⁴ A good fish pond not only yields fresh fish for farm diets, thereby promoting proper development for growing children and improving the health and capacity for work of adults, but it also affords recreation which is hard to surpass.

1. Cf. U.S.D.A., Duck Raising, Farmers' Bulletin, No. 697.
2. Cf. U.S.D.A., Goose Raising, Farmers' Bulletin, No. 767.
3. Cf. U.S.D.A., Squab Raising, Farmers' Bulletin, No. 684.
4. Cf. U.S.D.A., Fish For Food from Farm Ponds, Farmers' Bulletin, No. 1938.

c. Gardening and Fruit Raising

An American Poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, once wrote:

Give fools their gold, and knaves their power;
 Let fortune's bubbles rise and fall;
 Who sows a field, or trains a flower,
 Or plants a field, is more than all.

Such a view of farm life should certainly be entertained by all who live on the soil. But the kind of rural industry which takes the form of gardening and fruit raising, has a practical as well as a psychological value. Well-ripened, sound fruits and an assortment of fresh vegetables increase the healthfulness, variety, attractiveness and palatability of meals. Furthermore, through the products of gardens and home orchards, many rural families may be able to fill their meager purses with some ready cash in order to purchase those things which cannot be grown on the farm.

There are many varieties of vegetables which can be raised in the home garden such as asparagus, beans, cabbage, celery, cucumbers, lettuce, muskmelons, peas, potatoes, pumpkins, spinach, sweet corn, squash, tomatoes, radishes, and watermelons. In order to insure a continuous supply of vegetables throughout the year, and a greater return from gardening, a definite garden plan should be made and followed as nearly as seasonal conditions will permit; and precautions should be exercised to combat the

1. Cf. U.S.D.A., Leaflet No. 503, Plants-Resistant Varieties of Alabama Home Gardens, Wilkinson, A.S., The Farm Home Garden, The Connecticut State College Extension Service, March 1939.
2. Cf. U.S.D.A., Leaflets on Fruit Gardens. Also, Ruffin, The Alabama Home Orchard, (Revised December 1940).

ravages of plant diseases and insect pests.¹

In regard to fruit raising, there is a large variety of fruits which can be grown successfully in home orchards with little or no spraying. If fruit trees are properly selected as to kinds and varieties suitable for home planting, a succession of fresh fruits of good quality can be available during much of the summer for both home and market consumption. And surpluses may be canned, preserved, dried, or in some cases frozen, for use during other seasons. Here is a list of the best fruits and nuts which have been recognized by many American horticulturists to be well adaptable for home gardens in places where spraying is not practiced:

Grapes, pecans, figs, strawberries, dewberries, blueberries, pears, black berries, peaches, plums, apples, raspberries, several citrus fruits, and oriental persimmons.²

In connection with gardening, one more thing needs to be mentioned, viz., bee culture. In the United States, it is reported that since 1941 bee culture has received increased attention both for its value in the pollination of plants and in the production of honey as a wartime substitute for sugar. The art of bee culture has been greatly improved. For example, in Pennsylvania 27 bee clubs with 199 members produced in one

1. Cf. U.S.D.A., Leaflet No. 203, Disease-Resistant Varieties of Vegetables. Also, Ruffin, W.A., The Home Garden, The Alabama Polytechnic Institute, and Ross, A.B., Big Crops from Little Gardens. Wilkinson, A.E., The Farm Home Garden, The Connecticut State College Extension Service, March 1939.
2. Cf. U.S.D.A., Leaflets on Fruit Gardens. Also, Ruffin, The Alabama Home Orchard, (Revised December 1940).

year 30,694 pounds of honey, showing an average of 103 pounds per colony, whereas the average for the State was 42 pounds per colony.¹

d. Handicrafts and Cottage Industries.

Handicraft, as the word indicates, includes all those things which people make with their hands either for their own use or for that of others. Handicrafts have been developed in recent years because of various reasons. Economically, Handicrafts bring rural people a cash income, or provide them with things they cannot afford to buy. Socially, Handicrafts offers opportunities for individuals of similar interests to get together and discuss common problems. Educationally, Handicrafts give opportunity for self-expression and stimulates the creative impulse. Psychologically, Handicrafts possess a therapeutic value which is recognized by professional psychotherapists. Finally, Handicrafts help rural people foster the habit of doing things during their leisure-time, and doing them well. It brings to rural folk the joy of work and pleasure in achievement. Here is a partial list of Handicrafts that are to be found in homes of the American Southern Highlands, the advance-

1. Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, 1941-42, p. 26. With reference to scientific and practical culture of bees, see Root, A.I., ABC and XYZ of Bee Culture. Mesburg, U.S. Dept. of Labour, women's Bureau Bulletin No. 120, 1935.

ment of which is being promoted by such institutions as the Opportunity School at Berea College, Kentucky, which is an adaptation of the Danish folk high school, its purpose being the enrichment of life:

Basketry and raffia; coverlets and counterpanes; quilting and patchwork; embroidery and knitting; lace-making; rug-making; spinning and weaving; whittling and wood carving; wood work; leather work; metal work; needlework; crocheting; candle making; stone cutting; printing; stenciling and the like.¹

From the above list we can see that this type of rural industry represents a great variety of skill and taste. The fact that cottage industries are comparatively simple, and can be carried on in rural homes with a minimum of equipment and with little or no overhead expense does not insure it against failure, especially when it is used as a means by which to increase the revenue of rural families. There are three distinct elements which are involved in this industry, viz., design, production and distribution. If successful economic returns are expected from this industry, these three must be worked out together. Design of an article, for example, must conform to the limitations of the tools required, as well as of the resources available. Moreover, it must be acceptable to the prospective consumers in the market. As to the problems connected with production and distribution, they shall be dealt

1. Cf. Eaton, H. Allen, Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands. Also see Home Craftmanship, by Emanuele Stieri; and Potential Earning Power of Southern Mountaineer Handicrafts, by Bertha M. Nienburg, U.S. Dept. of Labour, Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 128, 1935.

with when we come to discuss the methods of rural industrialization.

e. Small Rural Factories.

Still another type of rural industry is that of factory production. The manufacture of agricultural implements will not only give employment to part of the rural population, but also reduce the cost of such implements. This is also true in the manufacture of oil cake as fertilizer or cattle food. Other factories devoted to rope-making, paper-making, pottery or brick-making, cotton gins and silk filatures, can be established wherever raw materials are available. These factories will help rural people utilize local resources as well as facilitate in building up of a community with a variety of interests. In order to keep pace with the times, new articles should be made in these factories, and new methods and techniques should be introduced.

3. Methods of Rural Industrialization

Thus far we have discussed the aims and types of rural industries. Now we come to a more crucial question, which is, how these aims are to be attained and how these industries are to be developed so they will be a real blessing to the masses in the rural areas. In other words, what are the methods

daily lives and holds promise of raising the standard of living

whereby rural areas can be industrialized? It is true that industrialization in rural areas is generally preceded by industrialization in urban areas. Without the latter, it is hard to attain the former. But if plans can be made in such a way that rural areas may be industrialized at the same time industries are being developed in the adjacent urban areas, then many of the evils resulting from the concentration of industries might be avoided. At least the process of decentralization being advocated by some of the modern economists may be unnecessary.

Labour-saving machines are wonderful inventions. They help men get rid of many drudgeries. The right thing for us to do is to utilize them for constructive purposes. We would commit a grave mistake should we deny the use of them. The same thing is true of rural industrialization. Rural industrialization is inevitable. The question is not 'Is it advisable for us to have it?' but rather 'How are we going to get it, or to bring it to pass?' We shall mention four methods which have contributed considerably to the advancement of rural industrialization, viz., electrification, road-building, merchandising, and cooperation.

1. Beall, Robert T., Rural Electrification, *The Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1940.

a. Rural Electrification.

2. Plathery, Harry, *Rural America Lives Up*, p. 89.

3. Beall, Robert T., *op. cit.*

The wide use of electricity adds comfort to people's daily lives and holds promise of raising the standard of living

for the general public. The extension of electricity to rural areas will be welcomed by farmers and will meet a vital need for the all-round improvement of rural life.

Rural electrification is something that is needed if the welfare of rural people is considered of national concern. It is reported that in 1935, over 60 percent of the farms in New Zealand were electrified, in both Japan and Germany about 90 percent, in France between 90 and 95 percent, in Sweden about 65 percent, in Norway over 55 percent, in Denmark over 85 percent, and in the Netherlands practically 100 percent.¹ It is also reported that in the Province of Ontario, Canada, the average cost of current to the farmers, exclusive of other rural customers, was 5.1 cents per kilowatt hour in 1928; 3.5 cents in 1935 and 2.5 cents in 1940. In all probability the average will drop below 2 cents by 1945.² In the United States, farmers, prior to 1935, had not enjoyed electric power to any great extent. Of the more than 6 million farms in the country in January 1935 only 743,954, or 10.9 percent, were receiving central-station electrical service.³ And the inadequacy of this service to farmers became one of the distinguishing features of the gap between rural and urban living standards.

1. Beall, Robert T., Rural Electrification, The Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940, p. 791.

2. Slattery, Harry, Rural America Lights Up, p. 89.

3. Beall, op. cit., p. 790.

But since the establishment of the Rural Electrification Administration in 1935, there has been a substantial increase in the number of electrified farms. Many kinds of labor-saving and time-saving equipment have been employed in rural homes and in farm operations. In point of industrialization, the Rural Electrification Administration is now serving 115 different types of industries in all parts of the country. These industries include seed cleaning, canning plants, flour mills, lumber yards, the manufacturing of tiles, brick, and glass, textile products such as hosiery, clothing, and knitted wear, and chemicals which cover fertilizer plants, tung oil processing, and such manufacturing as paint and pigment.¹ The development of these industries would have been greatly retarded, had electricity not been available in rural areas.

During the past seven to nine years, more American farms have been electrified than during the previous fifty years. Before that period, very few thought it possible that light and power would be taken to American farm homes. From what has been experienced by the American people and their government, we may venture some suggestions as to how the dream of rural electrification can be realized in other lands such as China.

1. Slattery, op. cit., pp. 94-7.

First of all, we must have vision. The Bible says, 'Where there is no vision, the people perish.' In America we find dreamers in the persons of the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette; in Steinmetz, wizard of electricity, who spoke of his belief in a network of transmission lines that would gird his country border to border and reach into every hamlet and every home; in the late Henry Wallace, affectionately known to farmers of the middle west as "Uncle Henry", who urged cooperative electrification; and in others of their kind.¹

Second, rural electrification must be considered a national concern, and as such, the government should take the initiative. It is too big a task to be undertaken as a private enterprise. This is frankly admitted in an editorial in the *Electrical World* for May 23, 1932 entitled "How Stands Rural Electrification?" It says:

The primary interest of the electric utility in rural electrification is revenue. Social responsibility is a factor, a strong one, but electric utilities are not eleemosynary institutions and they cannot undertake to serve any class of customers on any narrower base than that the revenue will pay at least the cost. Therefore, conspicuous advances in farm electrification must wait until the converging efforts in reduction of cost of service and in persuading the farmer actually to use electricity have met and merged into a single stream of progress.²

1. Slattery, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142.

2. *The Electrical World*, N.E.L.A. Convention Number, May 23, 1932.

So even in America, where free private enterprise is the rule of the industrial world, private enterprise has proved unsuitable to meet the needs of agriculture.

On the other hand, it is disclosed that the chief reason for the remarkable progress achieved by Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Australia and New Zealand, was in every case Government aid or sponsorship in various ways. Therefore, when President Roosevelt created the Rural Electrification Administration, his action was neither precipitous nor uninformed. He authorized the Administration "to initiate, formulate, administer, and supervise a program of approved projects with respect to the generation, transmission and distribution of electric energy in rural areas," because he was convinced that Federal aid was imperative.

Third, it must be realized that rural electrification is no longer a question of whether or not the farmer wants electric service but where he can get the money to pay for it. In other words, if the government program is to succeed, the consumer's rates of electric current must be brought within the reach of farmers. On account of this situation, the engineers and officers of the Rural Electrification Administration had to travel in uncharted fields, and a new approach had to be made on many fronts in order to remove or modify substantially the barriers that had impeded progress in the past. Consequently, the principle of comprehensive area coverage was practiced,

thus enabling the electric service to reach all farms in an entire area; the cost of line construction was reduced through various innovations such as long spans between poles, cyclo-meter meter, scheduled management and stream-lined construction; and a new low-cost, small capacity electric service was develop-

ed, which enables the small tenant farmer or sharecropper to have electric lights and radio, and possibly a limited number of other small appliances at very low cost.

Fourth, the achievement of the objectives of the rural electrification program can not be attained if the people themselves are not willing, or do not know how, to cooperate. "It is of first importance to grasp the fact that the basic purpose of REA is not to offer farmers charity but self-help on sound financial and engineering principles. REA seeks to bring electricity to all unserved farmers willing to pull their end of the oar, but Uncle Sam must be repaid his loans."¹ As a rule, the Rural Electrification Administration does not make loans to individual farmers. If the farmers wish electric service in their community, they must organize a cooperative nonprofit association for the specific purpose of constructing and operating a rural electric system. To be sure, the REA is ready to give technical assistance both before and after the formation

1. Slattery, op. cit., p. 57.

1. Dewey, R.L. & Nelson, J.C., The Transportation Problem of Agriculture, The Yearbook of Agriculture, 1949, p. 722.

of their community association, but the activities of the Administration either in connection with the preliminary steps for forming a cooperative or in regard to the construction and operation of its distribution system, are of an advisory nature.

The four essentials that have proved to be indispensable in the attempt to extend the electric services to the rural areas are vision, government initiative, low cost and self-help.

b. Farm-to-Market Roads

To build roads linking rural communities to their nearby market towns, railway depots, and highway junctions is another method of facilitating rural industrialization. Rural industries cannot be developed if markets for the finished goods are too far from the raw materials. Rural people are both producers and consumers and their ability to reach markets is largely conditioned by the number of roads as well as the kind of roads that are available. In America, for example, "rural life and farming operations would be back in the horse-and-buggy days of isolation from neighbors and urban culture, restricted educational opportunities, self-sufficient farms, and inaccessible markets were it not for the modern highway and motor-vehicle facilities, in the promotion of which agriculture has been vitally interested in recent decades."¹

1. Dewey, R.L. & Nelson, J.C., The Transportation Problem of Agriculture, The Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940, p. 722.

- experimental stage, and the principle has been accepted as good practice in both the original construction and the treatment of bituminous surfaces.

Furthermore, good roads will not only get farmers "out of mud", but also will help bring in new ideas; and new ideas are of vital importance for the development of rural industries. Due to new roads, the farmer's neighborhood is enlarged, the horizon of his outlook is broadened, and ideas are constantly exchanged. Accordingly, new patterns for weaving, pottery or the like may be copied, new lines of manufacturing are stimulated, new methods of food processing are adopted, and new articles of wood, or metal, are made.

There is no stereotyped procedure to follow in a program for successful road building. However, it is perhaps safe to say that in order to realize the dream of providing every farm with good roads leading to the market, the four essentials considered indispensable to the program of rural electrification also apply to rural road building. The need for vision, government aid, and self-help are self-explanatory.

In reference to the low-cost, we may cite a case in America, the practicability of which has been successfully demonstrated. This is the use of cotton in the construction of roads.

According to a speech made by Mr. Howard E. Coffin, Chairman of the Board of South-Eastern Cottons, Inc., at the second Dearborn Conference, cotton roads have passed from the welfare of numerous rural communities throughout the world.

experimental stage, and the principle has been accepted as good practice in both the original construction and the re-treatment of bituminous surfaced, dirt-base roads. He says:

It takes no stretch of the imagination to foresee that if cotton roads continue to perform as the experimental projects built to date have performed, this tremendous new use for cotton will become as staple as that for the manufacture of bed sheets and towels.

I say this because the cotton reinforced road is a good road, capable of giving long service, and shows a great saving in the initial construction costs as compared to other types. In the second place, the cotton fabric reinforcement of bituminous surfaced roads very definitely cuts maintenance costs, which are an important factor and, in many cases, the controlling influence in the building and improvement of low-cost roads. In that connection, let me mention that in some states maintenance costs of these country roads run up to \$1,000 a mile a year, and in South Carolina, which does not have the severe winter temperatures to wreak havoc on its roads, average at least \$200 a mile per year. Our experience with cotton roads to date shows that maintenance expenses are, to all effects and purposes, practically eliminated. And just measure, if you will, the significance of that fact in terms of reduction of local tax bills which all tax-payers, both big and little, must meet each year.↓

Let us hope that "cotton roads" will not merely appeal to us as an interesting idea, but will continue to prove to be a new outlet for cotton, absorbing this agricultural product in great quantities, and that the roads thus built with the reinforcing cotton fabric will become a titanic factor beneficial to the welfare of numerous rural communities throughout the world.

1. Proceedings, Second Dearborn Conference, May 1936, p.66.

they liked, and c. Merchandising by the price indicated by dropping. "Merchandising is an essential part of marketing, but marketing covers a broader field than merchandising which is sometimes rather rigidly defined as meaning the adjustment of the commodity produced or for sale to buyer demand."¹ If rural industries are to be developed, the art of merchandising should not be neglected, and therefore deserves special mention.

2) General The art of merchandising is related to many aspects of business enterprise, and is expressed in many different ways. For example, Prof. Gras of Harvard University says that in the Harvard Cooperative Society, "the clerk is told to say "Is there anything else?", not "Is that all?"² This is an indication of merchandising. A farmer who used to market his farm produce by parcel post, once sent to his prospective customers a circular which reads: "Our all-pork homemade sausage is in season again,--easy to get, hard to keep (because so good to eat). Three pounds delivered to your door, \$1."³ Such an appeal designed to arouse appetite, is another way of merchandising. Along a country highway, stood a roadside market stand, on which fresh vegetables and fruits were attractively displayed and neatly packed. Customers were free to take what

techniques ranging from the seeking of customers, figuring prices

1. Garden, Kelsey B., Planning Merchandising Policies, News for Farmers Cooperatives, January 1941, p. 21.
2. Gras, Harvard Cooperative Society, p. 104.
3. Quoted from U.S.D.A., Farmers' Bulletin No. 1551, Marketing Farm Produce by Parcel Post, p. 7.

they liked, and were requested to pay the price indicated by dropping their money in a specially prepared container. No one was there watching over the stand. This is still another form of merchandising.

Merchandising usually involves the coordination of selling with production, which means: 1) the selection of the channels of distribution; 2) standardization of its products; 3) determination of the type and size of package to be used; 4) stimulation of demand through advertising; 5) use of dealer-service work; 6) proper distribution of the supply; 7) sound pricing of the commodity; and 8) a resulting adjustment of production to consumer requirements.¹ While it is beyond the scope of the present writing to discuss these phases in detail, suffice it to say that the art of merchandising plays an important role in developing rural industries; and those in charge of these industries should constantly use their ingenuity to apply this art to the local conditions. For instance, if a roadside market for farm products is promising, a continuous supply of fresh vegetables should be carefully planned. If marketing farm products such as fruits, vegetables, poultry, meats, cut flowers and the like by parcel post is possible, then a complete set of techniques ranging from the seeking of customers, figuring prices

1. See Garden, op. cit.

2. Ibid., p. 287.

in assortment shipments to packing and mailing, should be efficiently worked out.

d. Cooperation

In a book which represents a careful and comprehensive study of handicraft of the Southern Highlands, the author says: "It seems certain that a special business technique must be applied to handicrafts in contrast to those employed in mass production and distribution."¹ The following is his reason:

The conditions of the two fields are essentially different. In factory production all workers are concentrated in one place, where the work is so divided that each person performs a definite part of the process; in the mountains much of the work is carried on in separate homes where success is dependent upon the initiative, skill, and industry of the worker. In factory organization, work is done on a time schedule and wages are paid accordingly; in the mountains it is usually done "between times" and there is no set-up for carrying out a wage system. In the factory the objective is a uniform product which can be multiplied, usually by machinery, in great numbers with unvarying results; in the mountains there is little exact repetition, and no great quantities can be produced at such low cost per unit that they will allow large profits for subsequent distribution.²

The same author goes on to point out that "in working out these problems every proposed experiment should be referred back to the all important question, "Will this help the Southern

1. Eason, H. Allen, Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands, p.287.

2. Ibid., p. 287.

CHAPTER XVII

Highlanders to help themselves?" It seems certain that the great hope for handicrafts lies more in the cooperative than in the competitive way.¹

Truly, it is in cooperation that the hope of handicrafts lies. But we may add that by the same token, the hope of all other rural industries also lies in cooperation.

As a rule, rural industries are comparatively small in scale and meager in capital, and their methods of production differ from those of assembly line production. If rural people who have established industries in their local communities are to shun the exploitation of money-lenders, to avoid the "squeeze" of middlemen, and to stand firmly against the crushing competition of big industrial corporations, it is almost imperative for them to organize themselves into cooperatives for purposes of credit, of purchase of raw material, and of marketing, on the basis of such principles as have already been described in previous pages.

disease, hale-eyes and diseases arising from diet deficiency insidiously reduce the labour power of the cultivating classes.

In America, it has been repeatedly pointed out by Para Security Administration supervisors that the extent of

1. Eaton, H. Allen, Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands, p.233.

1. Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, p.493.

Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands

CHAPTER XVII

HEALTH IMPROVEMENT

In the last two sections, we have discussed progressive agriculture and rural industries. Undoubtedly, agriculture and industries are the two sources from which rural people derive their means of livelihood. But agriculture cannot advance if there are no vigorous, healthy farmers to develop it; and rural industries will certainly be crippled if those engaged in them are constantly in danger of becoming the prey of a thousand and one kinds of preventible diseases. There is a close relationship between agriculture and industries on one hand, and health and sanitation on the other. These two interact to a remarkable degree. For instance, in India, it is reported that "economic wastage due to disease cannot be over-exaggerated. Malaria slays its thousands and lowers the economic efficiency of hundreds of thousands; plague and cholera sweep the country from time to time; hookworm disease, kala-azar and diseases arising from diet deficiency insidiously reduce the labour power of the cultivating classes."¹

In America, it has been repeatedly pointed out by Farm Security Administration supervisors that the amount of work done by borrower families improved when they were provided

1. Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, p.482.

2. Lively, C.E., The Physical Status and Health of Farm Security Clients in Southwest Missouri, Preliminary Report No. 1, University of Missouri, 9 pp. April 1942.

3. Quoted in A Study of Rural Society, by Kolb and Bruner, p.692.

with adequate nutrition.¹ On the other hand, a study of FSA borrowers in southeastern Missouri reveals that a large percentage of the persons examined had such a low percent of hemoglobin that their physical ability for sustained effort was seriously impaired. Much of the anemia found resulted from malnutrition.²

Although it cannot be said that the ill-health of rural people is primarily responsible for their poverty, yet it is an undeniable fact that a close association exists between these two factors. "Conditions of poverty seem to produce ill health, and illness that incapacitates a worker often forces him below the poverty level."³ Both of them are great sources of insecurity and unhappiness for rural people. Furthermore, unsanitary conditions that are responsible for the sickness of rural people may also prove to be a source of urban menace. For dangers that lurk in distant farmsteads are likely to be carried into the city by such vehicles of infection as flies and mosquitoes, contaminated milk, fruits and vegetables. Even the people who come to the city from unsanitary rural areas are disseminators of infectious diseases. In view of the foregoing considerations, it is therefore important to note that any inquiry into the general condi-

1. Tauber, Conrad, Agricultural Underemployment, Rural Sociology, Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 349. (December 1943)
2. Lively, C.E., The Physical Status and Health of Farm Security Clients in Southeast Missouri, Preliminary Report No. 1, University of Missouri, 9 pp. April 1942.
3. Quoted in A Study of Rural Society, by Kolb and Brunner, p.599.

tion of the rural community, or any measure designed to improve the livelihood of the man on the soil, must take account of those facts that are related to the health aspect of life, such as the control of disease, sanitation and nutrition.

1. Inadequacy of Rural Health Practice and Its Causes.

While the rural people can boast, and with justification, of the natural advantages of living in the country--fresh air, sunshine, and direct access to food supply--natural advantages are not signs of a higher level of civilization because they do not result from social effort. Furthermore, natural advantages are not present everywhere in all rural sections; even in those favorable sections where these advantages are prominent, very little effort has been made to improve them.

In order to prove the last statement, evidences can be found in America by comparing rural and urban morbidity and mortality caused by preventible diseases. In infant mortality, for example, the rural rate exceeds the urban by more than one point for influenza, pneumonia, diarrhea, and for diseases of unknown origin. Of certain specific types of diseases fatal to both children and adults, the type which is higher for rural than for urban areas, and in which the differences are really significant, includes the epidemic, endemic, and infectious

diseases.¹ As to morbidity, the rural rates which are higher than the urban are typhoid and paratyphoid fever, malaria, measles, whooping cough, influenza, dysentery, and tuberculosis of the respiratory system.²

Thus it is clear that many of the defects of rural health conditions are traceable to poor sanitation and to neglect of preventive and regulatory measures. Here is a summary of findings of a survey of rural sanitation which may give us some idea of how widespread and serious unsanitary conditions are:

Of 51,544 farm homes surveyed, only 1.22 per cent were equipped for the sanitary disposal of human excreta and at some which were properly equipped, the equipment was not used by all members of the household in a satisfactory manner; at 69 per cent, the water supply used for drinking and culinary purposes was obviously exposed to potentially dangerous contamination from privy contents or from promiscuous deposits of human excreta and at the majority of them the water supply was exposed also to unwholesome pollution from stable yards and pigsties. At only 32.83 per cent of the farm homes were the dwellings during the summer season effectively screened to prevent flies--having free access to nearby deposits of human or other filth--from entering the dining rooms and kitchens and contaminating the foods for human consumption exposed therein.³

1. Kolb & Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, p. 596.
2. Ibid., p. 597.
3. Lumsden, L.L., Rural Sanitation, Public Health Bulletin No. 94, p. 40.

1. J.O. Dean and Kay Pearson, Rural Sanitation by Emergency Relief Workers, Public Health Reports, Vol. 32, part 1, 1917, pp. 628-636; see also H.L. Sims, Elements of Rural Sociology, third edition, pp. 628-629.

2. See Pamphlet issued by Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, "Typhoid Fever."

Although the above survey was made before 1918 by the United States Public Health Service and represents the conditions then existing in fifteen typical rural counties of 13 Midwestern, Eastern, and Southern States, whose health conditions have been improved a good deal during the last two decades, the findings thus summarized still hold true for many rural areas today, including a considerable part of rural America.¹

As to the causes of poor health conditions in rural areas, they may be explained in the light of three factors, educational, economic, and social.

First, rural people neglect sanitation because they do not know the nature of disease and how it is spread. For instance, typhoid fever is a serious, infectious disease caused by the typhoid bacillus. This disease is spread chiefly in drinking water polluted with infected body wastes. It may also be spread through carelessness or lack of cleanliness in handling milk, or by eating raw food which has been grown in contaminated soil or water. Flies are great carriers of the germs of typhoid fever; they are responsible in many places for causing a number of cases of typhoid fever.² But many rural people do not know there is such a thing as "the germs of typhoid fever." They think that this disease is caused by "stomach troubles",

1. J.O. Dean and Kay Pearson, Rural Sanitation by Emergency Relief Workers, Public Health Reports, Vol. 52, part I, 1937, pp. 629-636; see also N.L. Sims, Elements of Rural Sociology, third edition, pp. 626-629.

2. See Pamphlet issued by Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, "Typhoid Fever."

"marshes", "fate", "hot sun", "exposure to bad weather", or even "heredity", "going to church", or "tearing down old houses."¹

Because of the insufficiency of knowledge regarding disease, rural people are apt to be victims of sickness. Typhoid fever is only one of many common kinds, such as hookworm, measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, malaria and the like.

Second, rural people lag in public health practice because they cannot afford to provide a common water supply, or sewage system. To keep one's surroundings reasonably sanitary requires not only a sufficient knowledge of the principles of public health, but also financial resources at one's command. Prof. Sims says: "From a community standpoint, even if sewer and water systems were generally feasible for country neighborhoods, the amount of taxable property and income in the average district is too small to bear the cost. Such provisions for health protection as the city enjoys can be had, if at all, only at incomparably greater cost by the country, and the latter is less able to bear it."²

By the same token, rural communities are not able to establish well-equipped hospitals, nor are they able to keep competent and much needed physicians in their midst.

1. Lumsden, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

2. Sims, Elements of Rural Sociology, p. 632.

Third, the provision for rural health is further handicapped by the individualistic attitude of a scattered population. It is true that in a rural community, inhabitants recognize one another; and unlike many city dwellers who may not know their next door neighbors, rural people still preserve their neighborhoods and enjoy one another's company. But when the situation demands discussion of matters of common concern such as health and sanitation, they do not as readily take uniform action as do the people who are massed in small areas in cities and towns. Since rural people are more or less diffused over a comparatively large area, health and sanitation are considered private affairs rather than matters of public concern. And it is actually difficult for them to see that to install sanitary facilities in their own houses has a significant bearing on the health conditions of their neighbors who may live at a distance of a quarter of a mile.

In view of the above reasons, health improvement is destined to be one of the most difficult problems confronting the rural community.

movable wagon which carries clinic service to small rural communities.

2. Types of Rural Health Programs

One of the lessons resulting from the health demonstration in Cattaraugus County, New York, which was supported by the Milbank Memorial Fund, is this: "A complete urban health

1. Winslow, G. - *Health on the Farm and in the Village*, p. 13.

RURAL HEALTH PROGRAMS

program has proved itself just as practical, just as essential, and just as fruitful among the hills and valleys of Western New York as in the tenements of a great city."¹ Hence, the health programs in rural areas are in many ways parallel with those which we find in urban sections. The following types of health programs have already been conducted in some rural sections with a variable degree of success, and should be expanded into all rural areas.

a. Hospital Facilities for Rural People.

Hospitals are places where life may be saved and men and women made new. In many instances, the outcome of accident cases or cases of severe illness which proved fatal would have been different, if hospital facilities had been available.

Hospital facilities for rural people, however, do not need to be associated with special buildings. They may be provided through outpost clinics of a city hospital which occupy only one room, in a school building, or in a church parish house. Such facilities may also be given to rural people by means of a movable wagon which carries clinic service to small rural communities.

In the State of New York a law was passed in 1929 which sets up each county as a welfare district. Each district is

caring of sickness but neglect the prevention of disease.

1. Winslow, C. - E.A., Health on the Farm and in the Village, p.16.

1. See Winslow, op. cit., p. 98.

'responsible for providing necessary medical care for all persons under its care, and for such persons otherwise able to maintain themselves, who are unable to secure necessary medical care.' 'Such care may be given in dispensaries, hospitals, the person's home or other suitable place.' The law also states that 'the public welfare official shall employ a physician or physicians to visit sick persons in their homes whenever necessary.' If a law can be introduced into other states or other countries, and be carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter, a new and modern level will be reached in this matter of supplying hospital facilities for rural people.¹

b. Control of Communicable Diseases

Communicable diseases such as typhoid fever, diphtheria, measles, scarlet fever, malaria, smallpox, and hookworm, often occur in rural areas. Any one of them, if not arrested through such measures as immunization and quarantine, will constitute an epidemic. An epidemic means loss of lives as well as a drain on the already meagre resources of the rural communities. The program of control of communicable diseases is all the more important considering the traditional attitudes of rural people toward health and sickness. The way rural people combat disease is largely negative, in that they emphasize the curing of sickness but neglect the prevention of disease.

1. See Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

1. See Windlow, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

Health for Rural Communities, Proceedings of the National Country Life Conference, American Country Life Association, p. 18.

RURAL HEALTH SERVICE

Usually, c. Sanitation school health service consists of Closely related to the program of control of physical disease is the program generally known as sanitation. Since the farmer's knowledge of disease is largely negative, he cannot see the relationship between his sickness and the fly, which transmits at least eighteen different kinds of disease germs.¹ Sanitation programs usually consist of measures which help avoid flies, fleas, and mosquitoes that might have visited sick persons, and help protect the soil and the water from being polluted by disease germs through screening, building sanitary privies, ventilation, heating, lighting, and general cleanliness. the care of crippled children. In each community

there are a number of children who are crippled due to infant d. School Health Service paralysis, congenital defects, birth injuries, accidents and

Schools, it has been held by experienced health workers, tuberculosis. A program of reparative treatment for these are good and effective means by which education and agitation in children should not be neglected. behalf of better health can be introduced. In fact, "Health and other social workers have learned that oftentimes the only approach to families is through children in the schools."² Schools can be made centers of health demonstrations, from which health literature may be distributed. Medical inspection of school pupils will serve as a great stimulus to public health progress, if it is considered as the first step in treatment and not as an end in itself.

1. Windsor, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

1. See Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 629.

2. Vincent, George E., Better Health for Rural Communities, Proceedings of the Second National Country Life Conference, American Country Life Association, p. 19.

Usually, the program of school health service consists of three basic elements, namely: "correction of physical defects which handicap the individual child and limit his health and efficiency, the provision of a safe and sanitary environment with such facilities as are essential for exercise and recreation, and the development of health knowledge, inclinations and habits which are basic in the practice of healthy living."¹ The needs of schools vary, of course, from place to place, so the detailed program should be worked out on the basis of a survey to be made in the individual locality.

In connection with school hygiene, mention should be made of the care of crippled children. In each community there are a number of children who are crippled due to infant paralysis, congenital defects, birth injuries, accidents and tuberculosis. A program of reparative treatment for these children should not be neglected.

e. Planned Parenthood.

Planned parenthood deals with enabling those who wish children to have them when they want them. "Fear of unwanted pregnancy can damage a normal marital relation and affect the happiness of existing children even if the fear is not realized." And "reliable contraception can eliminate

1. Windlow, op. cit., p. 152.

the fact of fear of pregnancy, where it is not pathological."¹
 By bringing to the world well-born and well-reared children
 through pregnancy-spacing service, we will be building a founda-
 tion for a happy family and community life in the future.

There are several methods of birth control. First
 is continued continence, which is neither possible nor desir-
 able in most cases for obvious reasons. Second is "rhythm" or
 regulated continence, but it is considered unreliable from the
 point of view of protection for most women.² Third is sterili-
 zation. This may be carried out for either men or women, but
 this is a solution only for those whose reason for not having
 children is compelling and permanent. The fourth is the contin-
 ued use of a safe and effective contraceptive. The last method
 has been recommended by well-qualified physicians to be legal
 and scientific. Some say that birth control is against the law
 of nature. But this objection has been refuted by others who
 say that "it is not more against the law of nature than are
 other great advances in medical science, such as anesthesia,
 immunization against disease, or the control of infection."³

1. The Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc., The Case Worker and Family Planning, p. 13.
2. See Dickinson, Robert L., Techniques of Conception Control, Williams and Wilkins Co., Baltimore, 1942. p. 38.
3. See Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Pamphlet entitled Planned Parenthood, Your questions answered.

1. Jenson, Arthur, "A Certain Way of Looking at Planned Parenthood," Reader's Digest, December 1943, pp. 102-4.
 2. Hilditch, Grace, "A Birth-Control Pioneer Among Migrants," Reader's Digest, July 1943, (Condensed from Survey Graphic, June, 1943.)

PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION OF AMERICA

Just to show how greatly the program of birth control is needed, we may point to the work which has been done by a soft-spoken, warm-hearted Southern nurse among migrant mothers of California. Miss Mildred Delp has set up 50 medically supervised birth-control centers in California. During the first four years of her service, fifteen thousand indigent women attended her meetings, and she personally gave birth-control information to more than 6000. When a family-planning meeting was in session, this smiling and sincere nurse would win the attention of her audience by saying: "First, I want to explain that I do not speak for empty cradles, but for planned children. That is what birth control means." Then she went on to show them how babies come into being with the aid of a specially prepared "Birth Atlas."²

This problem of planned parenthood is, therefore, intimately related to social and economic questions. It is true that, as Cardinal Hayes once said, "Our duty is not to check life as it is about to enter the world, but to make the world a better place for life to enter."¹ But before many mothers are able to make the world better, they desperately need a breathing space in order to combat the cruel ordeal of labour, and to accept the exhausting task of child-raising. As to those women

1. Jameson, Frances, A Catholic Mother Looks at Planned Parenthood. Reader's Digest, December 1943, pp. 102-4.
2. Naismith, Grace, A Birth-Control Pioneer Among Migrants, Reader's Digest, July 1943, (Condensed from Survey Graphic, June, 1943.)

who could well afford to bear children, but who refuse to have them because childlessness is the easier, less responsible course, we may say that they are simply dodging their duty by misusing contraceptives.

f. Maternal and Infant Hygiene.

The hygiene of maternity and that of infancy are two aspects of the same thing. To take good care of the mother from the beginning of pregnancy, at the time of delivery, and during post-partum convalescence is really a measure of child care. On the other hand, to make a baby comfortable, safe and healthy, means a gratifying experience to the mother who will thus become strong and happy, both mentally and physically.

The problem of maternal hygiene is also one of preventive medicine in a broad, far-reaching sense. This is clearly expressed in a cogent statement made by Dr. Taussig as follows:

The more we go into the study of preventive medicine, the more we realize that disease is less the product of bacterial invasion than the result of our way of life, and that drugs and surgery avail less in its control than changes in environment, nutrition and the interrelationship of the family. The key-stone in the arch is as a rule the health of the mother. If she becomes an invalid or dies, the physical well-being of the children is almost certain to suffer.¹

Therefore a program of maternal and infant hygiene, if properly conducted, will not only reduce the rate of maternal

1. Quoted by Nicholson J. Eastman in his article entitled Review of Recent Progress, The Aims of Birth Control and Their Place in Preventive Medicine, Reprinted from New International Clinics, Vol. I, Series 5, copyright, 1942, by J.B.Lippincott Company.

death and that of infant mortality, but will also greatly strengthen the structure of the family which is the basic unit in rural communities. This kind of program usually consists of pre- and post-natal services, the training of midwives, and educational exhibits illustrating how babies should be cared for at various stages of growth.

g. Nutrition.

In introducing the pamphlet entitled "Improving the Dietary Habits of a Rural Community," which was written by Miss Ruby Odell, who was responsible for the nutrition program of the Cattaraugus County Health Demonstration, New York, Dr. Haven Emerson says, "Probably at no previous time in the experience of our people have we recognized so many defects, diseases and disabilities due directly or indirectly to errors in nutrition; to lack of adjustment of food intake to growth and energy needs; to unfamiliarity with the values and properties of a great variety of manufactured, stored and sophisticated edibles. Is it not true, therefore, that practiced teaching of the science of nutrition is at the foundation of good public health work?"¹ Indeed, nowadays, more and more people are becoming nutrition-conscious. The first United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, for example, placed great emphasis

1. Odell, Ruby M., Improving the Dietary Habits of a Rural Community, published by the Milbank Memorial Fund.

on nutrition, because it recognized that malnutrition is responsible for widespread impairment of human efficiency and for an enormous amount of ill health and disease. Among its recommendations relative to nutrition, we may quote the following to prove our point:

The United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture recommends:

That the governments and authorities here represented:

(a) Initiate or continue the study of the relationship between malnutrition and impaired bodily health and vigor; and, in particular, investigate the role of inadequate food consumption in the causation of, and mortality from, all those diseases which constitute their most serious health problems;

(b) Direct their attention to the study of health and well-being and of the nutritional and related factors which are necessary to secure and maintain them;

(c) Consider the most effective means of disseminating knowledge of correct feeding among all sections of the population.¹

In the United States, nutrition is generally emphasized in home demonstration clubs. The programs of nutrition service comprise such items as meal planning, food preparation and food buying. Farmers are encouraged to produce food on a nutritional basis, and farm women are taught to serve better balanced

1. United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, Hearing before the Committee on Agriculture House of Representatives, 78th Congress, First Session, p. 30.

meals. For instance, peanuts as sources of vitamins and high-grade proteins are now being used in a variety of attractive dishes, and increasing interest has been shown by people in peanut-growing States in the storing of generous quantities of peanuts to last a family through the winter.¹

It is said that the deficit in nutrition is found chiefly, though not exclusively, among low-income groups.

The task of raising the nutritional level to a higher point involves far-reaching implications, such as advanced education, increased purchasing power, and better methods of food distribution. On the other hand, if we can succeed in raising the present level of family consumption of food, the program of nutrition will mean to us smaller outlays for illness, less loss of working time, greater physical efficiency, and longer, more productive life.² Accordingly, to attain the goal of adequate nutrition for all persons at all levels of income is a very high ambition, but it is important. It is worth our dreaming about it as well as striving for it, and we should never allow ourselves to lose sight of it until the cherished goal is realized.

1. Report of Cooperative Extension work in Agriculture and Home Economics, 1941-42, p.14.
2. See Better nutrition as a national goal, Human Nutrition, Reprint of Part I, of the Yearbook of Agriculture, 1939, p. 381, et al.

h. Public Health Nursing.

The last program we mention here is public health nursing. As the title indicates, this program of public health nursing service is rather comprehensive in scope. The purpose of this service is threefold: to assist in carrying out the health program, whatever it is, as adopted by the public health administration; to give instruction to rural people either individually or in groups regarding such topics as personal hygiene, prevention of disease and sanitation, and in case of sickness to offer bedside care whenever necessary; and to provide an inclusive service in maternity and infant hygiene, if no other adequate nursing care is available.¹ In other words, public health nursing is woven into all the health programs we have mentioned above, and the nursing staff is expected to carry out the work of those programs that ought to be existing but have yet to be initiated.

In accomplishing this program of public health nursing, we are bound to be confronted by two big problems, namely, the problem of personnel, and the problem of cost. Trained public health nurses are largely concentrated in the big cities, and it will take a long time before it will be possible to have one nurse for each 5000 rural population. Even in America, nursing

1. Cf. Winslow, op. cit., p. 173.

participation in various health programs must be neglected completely, or their service must be spread very thin. "A concrete illustration may be presented in terms of home visits per year. A county of 25,000 population would yield about 435 births per year. If nursing service extended to one-half the expectant mothers, giving each mother an average of six nursing visits, the number of home visits to this group alone would amount to about 1300. Another 500 visits to postpartum cases could absorb all of one nurse's time without her having participated in any of the other major services."¹

Then there is a second question, the question of cost. In America, "it was a recognized fact that the majority of rural communities could not out of their tax money meet the entire cost of any complete public health plan. And that plan only included one public health nurse to the county."² It is quite obvious that one nurse is insufficient for a county. The question then is where are we going to get the money to pay for the nursing service, granted that there are nurses available? Shall we look to the philanthropic organizations as possible sources for financial aid? Surely, people did get help from these sources. But do we want it to come from philanthropy?

1. Mustard, Harry S., Rural Health Practice, p. 49.

2. Fox, Elizabeth, Rural Public Health Nursing, Proceedings of the Second National Country Life Conference, p.74.

Suppose there are philanthropic organizations which are so heavily endowed that they can finance the public health nursing program for all the rural communities (which is likely not true), is this a democratic way of taking care of rural health? To such a question, social engineers who aim to improve the welfare of rural people must give a great deal of thought.

3. Methods of Promoting Health Programs.

So far we have discussed the problem of rural health from two angles, why it is necessary and what it should be.

Now we come to the question: "How can these programs be launched?" In answering this question, the four following principles may be mentioned as essentially important; these are education, cooperation, socialization, and utilization of existing social agencies.

a. Education

In order to launch a health program, the first thing to do is to let the people know all about public health. The program must not be forced upon people, especially when they are bound by ancient customs many of which are linked with their religious practices. Thus, any effort which attempts to break

1. Farm Security Administration, Group Medical Care for Farmers, FSA-Pub. 75, 1941.

down superstition, resistance to innovation, or positive opposition, must be made through education, so that whatever progress is made is not imposed from without but is an organic and permanent growth from within. The techniques of education have already been discussed in the section on Adult Education.

b. Cooperation

Since every individual is liable to become sick, and since sickness involves expense, the problem of public health offers a natural ground for cooperation in rural communities. In the United States, farmers have developed a cooperative health program, known as "group medicine", or "group medical care." This program was first started for those who borrowed from the Farm Security Administration on the theory that a family in good health was a better credit risk than a family in bad health. Now many farm families, who used to go without a doctor rather than accept "charity", are getting regular medical attention for the first time in their lives, and paying for it.¹

These medical plans vary in detail according to local conditions and preferences, but all of them are founded upon three basic principles: "(1) Each family has a free choice of

1. Baldwin, C. R., Report of the Administrator of the Farm Security Administration, Farm Security Administration, Group Medical Care for Farmers, FSA-Pub. 75, 1941.

families and the participating doctors. The former are its physician from among the participating doctors; (2) fees are paid by every participating family at the beginning of the operating period, and are held by a bonded trustee; (3) fees are based upon the families' ability to pay, as indicated by their farm-management plans and records."¹ The mechanics of group medical care are described as follows:

The farmers agree to pay a fixed annual amount into a pooled trust fund, according to their ability to pay. Since their cash income for an entire year runs from about \$50 to \$300, their payments will vary from \$15 to \$30 a year. On their side, the physicians who volunteer to join the plan agree to provide all necessary medical services. The pooled fund is divided into 12 monthly portions. At the end of each month the doctors submit their bills to the trustee in charge of this pooled fund. The bills are then reviewed by a committee from the county medical society. If the total of bills approved for payment is less than the sum set aside, bills are paid in full; if more, the fund is prorated. Any monthly surpluses are applied to deficit months.

From 15 to 20 per cent of the paid-in funds are set aside for hospitalization. The participating hospitals are paid on the same basis as the doctors, with proration in case the funds do not cover the full amount of services rendered. . . .²

c. Socialization

"Group medicine" as described above has proved to be successful, and it is being welcomed by both the participating

also need socialization. By socialization is meant that if any

1. Baldwin, C.B., Report of the Administrator of the Farm Security Administration, 1940, p. 22.
2. Hellman, Richard, The Farmers Try Group Medicine, Reprint from Harper's Magazine, December 1940, p. 3.

families and the participating doctors. The former are paying less for their medical care than they would have to pay in case of sickness if there were no such group action. And the latter are getting more from their low-income rural patients than before the program was started.¹ But it must be remembered that this program was started and sponsored by the agents of the Farm Security Administration. It was meant for the borrowers of FSA, and the money needed to organize this group action was loaned by the government. The story would be different, if the farmers had not already been organized by FSA agents, and if the money needed were not available.

While there are great possibilities in organizing group medicine among farmers, we must realize that the task of public health is sometimes beyond the financial ability of independent, self-reliant individuals and families, even if they were organized on the basis of co-operation. Group medicine may carry benefits such as ordinary medical care, obstetrical care, ordinary drugs, emergency surgery, and emergency hospitalization to the farmers, but its function may not cover other measures of general sanitation, such as the control of communicable diseases and the prevention of epidemics. Therefore, in addition to cooperation, we also need socialization. By socialization is meant that if any

1. Group Medical Care for Farmers' and also "Greene County, Georgia, The Story of One Southern County" FSA publication.

1. Felton, Ralph A., & Short, Miss V., Rural Health, Cornell Extension Bulletin, No. 187, November 1928, p. 28.

individual cannot overcome a handicap with his own power, society should assist him. By the same token, if any community cannot work out its problem alone, then the unit which consists of a group of communities should help solve its problem. In a similar manner, if a county cannot inaugurate a health program as it should, then the state ought to help it out; and if the state is not in a position to solve its health problem, then it is the duty of the Federal government to see to it that this problem is properly solved.

To put the responsibility on a community or a larger unit is what we mean by socialization. And this is what is being done in the United States and Canada. As a matter of fact, group medical care for farmers as referred to above, is organized with the county as a basic unit. The law of New York State, for example, provides that "State aid is available to reimburse any county to the extent of one-half of its expenditures for approved public health work."¹ In Canada, in a large number of rural communities, physicians in the government offices are hired as public servants. They are paid a yearly salary with tax money to furnish medical services. It is said that each doctor serves about 3,000 people at an annual cost of from \$7.50 to \$11.50 for each family. The socialization of medical service has already resulted in a declining death and morbidity rate. And the growth

1. Felton, Ralph A., & Short, Nina V., Rural Health, Cornell Extension Bulletin, No. 197, November 1929, p. 25.

of such a movement is being encouraged.¹ Perhaps it is safe for us to generalize that in the matter of rural health, if adequate facilities are to be made for all families, a budget must be made of local, state and federal appropriations.

who have pledged themselves to support it goes a long way toward the

d. Utilization of Existing Social Agencies.

The fourth principle that needs to be stressed here is this: health improvement is only one aspect of improving the life of rural people, and any kind of health practice is bound to affect and to be affected by other existing social agencies. Therefore, the value of health work will be enhanced if it is done with the support of other social agencies. For instance, the success of a health program has a direct relation to the condition of school children. If the program is supported by school authorities, it will be able to spread a broader influence than without their support. The same thing is true in the relationship between health practice and the rural church, and other farmers' organizations. The Red Cross is a good example in point.

During World War II, the Red Cross in America has greatly increased its activities both abroad and at home. The secret of its phenomenal success is largely due to the utilization of other social agencies for the promotion of its activities,

1. Wheeler, W.W., Where Doctors Send No Bills, The Reader's Digest, July 1935, pp. 75-77.

CHAPTER XVIII

ranging from financial campaigns to blood donations. Almost every phase of its work has been carried out through the co-operation of other social agencies and with the help of lay assistants. Thus having people interested in the program who have pledged themselves to support it goes a long way toward the success and progress of the work of the Red Cross.

However, in order to utilize the services of other rural organizations, a knowledge of the nature and functions of these organizations as well as of their interrelations is necessary. To the acquiring of this knowledge, sociology has a peculiar contribution to make. For sociology not only enables those engaged in rural health work to see all social organizations in perspective, but also makes them feel that they as a group are one of a number of interdependent elements in an organized society.

1. The Importance of Recreation in the Development of Rural Life.

Recreation, according to Hensinger, is a mode of behavior, either individual or collective, and not sheer idleness. It involves many kinds of activities, and it requires the participation of a person or persons. "If no participation is involved, either active or passive, it is not recreation."¹ Although the

1. Hensinger, Martin E., & Esther S., Leisure and Recreation, A Study of Leisure and Recreation in their Sociological Aspects, p. 157.

CHAPTER XVIII

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

A man's life-time is generally supposed to be spent in work. Theories have been advanced as to whether a man lives to work or works to live. The truth is that sometimes he works because he has to live; at other times, he lives because he has work to accomplish. But no man can work without leisure, that is, a time when he is not compelled to do what is required either by his self-imposed vocation, or by his duty as a bread-winner. Therefore, how to use leisure is a question as significant as the question of how to pursue one's work. In preceding chapters, we have discussed how rural people can improve their lives through their work, both in agriculture and industry. Now we are to consider how their welfare can be improved through the right use of leisure, in other words, through recreational activities.

1. The Importance of Recreation in the Development of Rural Life.

Recreation, according to Neumeyer, is a mode of behavior, either individual or collective, and not sheer idleness. It involves many kinds of activities, and it requires the participation of a person or persons. "If no participation is involved, either active or passive, it is not recreation."¹ Although the

1. Neumeyer, Martin H., & Esther S., Leisure and Recreation, A Study of Leisure and Recreation in their Sociological Aspects, p. 157.

activity involved in recreation is relatively free, spontaneous, and joyful, and it is performed largely for the sake of the pleasure and satisfaction that lie within it, it may prove to be of far-reaching significance for the development of rural life.

First of all, recreation affords a break in the monotonous life of the farmer who seems to be fully occupied in attending to his chores and his work in the fields. It is true that sunrise and sunset are two of the most magnificent scenes Nature has persistently provided for us, but it is doubtful whether many farmers have really enjoyed them. To watch plants growing, flowers blossoming, and trees bearing fruit is one of the most wonderful experiences, leading us to meditate upon the mysteries of the Universe; but to many farmers, the sight of such phenomena represents only the result of their work drudgely performed. Their mind tends to be dull and their imagination feeble. It is through the kind of recreation which in itself is interesting that tensions due to fatigue may be relieved, and relaxation attained.

Second, recreation offers tremendous possibilities for socialized group life. "Under no other circumstances," says Prof. Sims, "do people associate so easily as in play. It submerges class, race, and religious differences, allays or destroys hatreds and animosities, and promotes positive social sympathies. Instances might be cited where rural neighborhoods split asunder

by class jealousies and antagonistic efforts have been maneuvered by impartial leaders into playing together until feuds have been laid aside and forgotten."¹ Dr. C.B. Smith of the United States Department of Agriculture Extension Service once made a remark of profound insight. He said: "People work together better when they learn to play together."² Indeed, while people are playing, they are unconsciously learning to obey rules, to play fair with companions, to be faithful to the leader, and to be modest in success. By sharing joys with the group, recreation is enhanced. Thus recreation becomes a sort of voluntary social discipline, which is necessary for group action or cooperation.

Again, in addition to promoting social progress in rural communities by socializing the sensitive human factor, recreation tends to create a reservoir of jobs for both urban and rural people. In America, it was estimated that the annual cost for recreation amounts to more than ten billion dollars.³ This huge figure includes only the expenditures involved in sports, games, pleasure travel, amusements, clubs, and those leisure time associations which have social approval and fall directly rather than indirectly within the field of recreation. Of course, not

1. Sims, Elements of Rural Sociology, p. 597.
2. Smith, C.B., Relationships and Needs in Rural Sociology Extension, American Sociology Society Papers, vol. 24, p. 216, 1929.
3. Steiner, Jesse Frederick, American at Play, Recent Trends in Recreation and Leisure Time Activities, p. 185.

1. Feast, J.B., Leisure and Living, Child Welfare, vol. 23, p. 299, March 1931.

all people in the world are spending so much on recreation, but this enormous amount of expenditure at least gives some indication as to how extensive the role of recreation can be in the lives of the people. Given a favorable environment leisure-time activities tend to play an increasingly important part in the life of any nation.

If the recreational aspect of rural life is to be developed, more musicians and artists of all kinds are to be needed. More sporting and athletic goods, more toys, games, and playground equipment will be produced; more directors and trained leaders in the field of recreation will be in demand. This is going to be an inexhaustible source of jobs and joy for both urban and rural dwellers. As a matter of fact, the social trend in the United States indicates that: "There is scarcely a national agency today concerned with education, character development, health, spiritual life, the moral and social conditions of life, and work, which is not spending time and thought on this problem of leisure."¹ Happiness and wealth are not synonymous, but judging from what has happened in America, we may say that happiness created through wholesome programs of recreation certainly contribute to the creation of an abundance of wealth in rural communities through more types of employment and greater variety of industries.

1. Faust, J.W., Leisure and Living, Child Welfare, vol. 25, p. 399, March 1931.

2. Types of Recreational Activities in Rural Areas

Recreational activities in rural areas are largely informal and home-made. But as in every field of social endeavor, rural recreation has been influenced by the patterns which are prevailing in cities. Rural recreation can roughly be described in three different ways according to three different criterions: 1) indoors or outdoors activities; 2) interest in cultivating cultural tastes, or for profit motives as a commercial enterprise; 3) activity confined within the primary groups or for wider contacts with secondary groups.

Realizing that a classification like this is bound to overlap, we shall mention only those types of recreation that are most characteristic in each class, in order that we may see the problem in its entirety.

a. Indoor games and outdoor sports.

Indoor games are for use in the home or in social gatherings. There is an infinite variety of indoor games, some require physical action, some mental, some are rhythmic such as music and dancing, and still others are creative such as painting and carving. Many of them combine these different elements. Indoor games are good mixers or socializers, and may easily be adapted to groups of different age, sex, and interests.

Outdoor recreation usually consists of sports such as baseball, basketball, football, tennis, croquet and the like. Baseball, being the traditional American game, is a favourite of many Americans in the country. It is popular among the old as well as the young. Besides athletics, there are also other forms of outdoor recreation such as hiking, mountain climbing, swimming, fishing, hunting, skating and picnicing. These are practiced by rural people with enthusiasm.

b. Cultural activities and commercial amusements.

Under the division of cultural activities, we may mention such forms of recreation as music, drama, painting, drawing, sculpture, photography, and dancing. Photography is a recent addition; and because of the expense involved, not many amateurs can afford to indulge in it. Dancing is an old form of play in the western world. But one kind of dancing that is being promoted in rural America is called folk dancing. The folk dances of different countries are used. Dramatic performances have become increasingly popular due to the spread of the "little country theater" idea. "Drama," says Prof. Sanderson of Cornell University, "is not only good fun for the players, in spite of the hard work it involves, but it has a unique socializing value in that each player must--for the time--live the role which he is playing. His horizon of life is thereby expanded,

and he has opportunity to play a part which is not open to him in real life."¹

In contrast to the cultural activities conducted by amateurs or interest groups, we may refer to those amusements provided by commercial concerns with a view to gaining profits. Among these amusements, motion pictures and radio broadcasting programs are the most widespread forms of commercial entertainment so far as rural America is concerned. And they will become such in other countries, as the other factors--education, roads, and rural electrification--are gradually being improved, and thus more and more adequate for this kind of entertainment. The weakness of commercial amusements lies in the fact that the participators have no direct control over the programs presented, and can only act as passive spectators.

c. Recreation for primary and secondary groups

Recreational activities can also be classified according to the relationship of persons for whom the programs are provided. Programs that are meant for home or neighborhood consumption are most common in rural areas, and they are for primary groups. Among the primary groups, the family, of course,

1. Sanderson, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization, p.573.

is one of the first institutions around which recreational activities are organized. The slogan, "The family that plays together, stays together," is indicative of the importance of the family as a recreational center.¹ The following objectives on Home Play have been emphatically advocated by the National Recreation Association in the United States:

1. To encourage provision of adequate space and facilities for the play of children at home.
2. To strengthen home ties by focusing attention on the importance of parents playing with their children.
3. To provide attractive programs of social activities for adults as well as children in the home and in connection with neighborhood life.
4. To promote knowledge in the community at large of the educational value of the children's play activities and to encourage critical and intelligent selection of such activities for the child in the home.²

As to the activities that are contemplated for secondary groups, they are generally centered around some special interests, or professions, or occupations. Because of the increasing number of automobiles and good roads, recreation for secondary groups has been growing. Local groups have been federated into county-wide associations. Public recreation, like the environment to such a degree that it will meet the require-

1. Cf. James E. Rogers, The Child and Play (1932). The National Recreation Association.

2. Rogers, James E., Ibid., p. 67.

1. Cf. Sanderson, Dwight, Research Memorandum on Rural Life in Depression Years, Bulletin 34, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1937.

public health and public education, has been more and more recognized as a legitimate social institution that should be organized on the county-basis, and for which each county should have a recreational leader, publicly paid.¹

These, then, are rough delineations of different types of rural recreation. However, it has been pointed out that recreation, being a new force in rural society, should be kept closely to the actual situation of the country life. The forms of recreation should be simple and direct so that the people can themselves participate at small cost and with effulgent spontaneity.

3. Conditions Required for Promoting Recreation in Rural Communities.

Rural recreation like every other social institution is conditioned by its environment. If one form of recreation has proved to be successful in a certain neighborhood, it does not necessarily mean that this same program will work in other places, because environmental factors involved may not be the same. In order to have our program of recreation workable, we must either adapt it to the particular environment, or change the environment to such a degree that it will meet the requirements of our desired program. Hence, a brief account of environment is necessary.

1. Cf. Sanderson, Dwight, Research Memorandum on Rural Life in Depression Years, Bulletin 34, Social Science Research Council, New York, 1937.

Thus arises a need for a new form of social control. The mental conditions conducive to the promotion of recreation are a crucial factor that determines this need. The place for recreation seems to be the logical sequence of what has been said in the preceding paragraphs.

Much of the success of a recreational program depends upon the educational standard of the community, the amount of income each family is getting, the cultural heritage handed down from the past, and the present conditions for transportation and communication. All these big factors point to one indubitable fact, that social problems are intricately interwoven. We can not change the one without influencing others. However, for our immediate purposes, we shall consider only those conditions that have direct bearing upon recreational programs.

In the rural community the home is generally the chief center for the leisure activities of men and women, the old and the young. Places kept clean and orderly and are filled. It has been pointed out that because of improved means of transportation, people nowadays have greater opportunities for recreation. Because of greater opportunities for recreation, the three parts of the romance triangle--the boy, the girl, and the place--can now be widely separated. The boy does not have to seek his girl friend within the boundaries of his immediate neighborhood, and both of them can enjoy each other's company at a place far beyond the reach of parental and community controls.

This idea of having a regular playground and

Thus arises a need for newer forms of social control. The crucial factor that determines this need is the place for recreation. For instance, if the place is an inspiring majestic mountain top, which is part of a national park, then the young folks might catch a vision of beauty together, and become life-long companions striving for a worthy cause. On the other hand, if the place frequented by the young lovers is an impersonal night club poorly managed, then this couple might be contaminated by its ideas and form low standards and ideals. Therefore the place for recreation not only helps determine the feasibility of a recreational program but also exalts or degrades the personalities of the participants.

In the rural community the home is generally the chief center for the leisure activities of men and women, the old and the young. Homes that are kept clean and orderly and are filled with a warm spirit of harmony and love are conducive to the enjoyment of leisure activities.

The school athletic grounds are the natural and logical place for sports and outdoor games. The school should also offer its class rooms and auditorium for the use of social meetings or other recreational activities.

Besides the home and the school, the public playground has become firmly established in the United States as a necessary social institution. This idea of having a regular playground and

mountains, hunting grounds, seashore beaches, picnic areas, other community recreational facilities was visualized by Dean Liberty Hyde Bailey when he wrote as follows:

Every community should have a permanent place set aside for recreational enterprises. This should be primarily a grove; and I suggest that if there is no grove in a community that is adaptable to such purposes, an area be planted definitely with this end in view. This grove should be provided with seats, picnic tables, and a speaking-stand. Somewhere in connection with it there should be a building, preferably one that would serve as a community hall. There should also be a regular playground, to be as consciously set aside for play and for games as a town-hall is set aside for public business or a fair ground is set aside for fairs.¹

The provision for recreational facilities on the playground should not be exclusively for children of school age. It also should be for young people who are not in school, and for adults, as well as for pre-school children.

Furthermore, in each state or province, there should be a special department with regional offices such as the Virginia Conservation Commission, Wisconsin Conservation Department, and State Planning and Development Commission of New Hampshire. The purpose of such a commission or department is to preserve places of historic interest, to develop scenic spots, and to create recreational areas both for the local inhabitants and for tourists and travellers. Parks, museums, lakes, forests,

1. Bailey, L.H., The Playground in Rural Communities, The Playground, Vol. V, No. 6.

mountains, hunting grounds, seashore beaches, picnic areas, and camps,--all these are not only conducive to health and recreation but also contribute to the prosperity of the people.

and the farmer works day in and day out with little spare time at his disposal. b. Time for leisure. planting seasons are

over, the Besides a place, time is another conditioning factor which is equally important. It is a sad thing indeed when people have time to spend for some kind of recreation but no suitable places are available for such activities. On the other hand, if there are adequate places with recreational facilities, but the people do not have the time to enjoy them, the situation would be just as pathetic.

half days Scientific studies have revealed that adult members of the average family on the farm, work from 10 to 12 hours a day, and that their children begin to assume responsibilities comparatively early in life.¹ The necessity to work long hours makes them too tired to plan for any further activity. It is hoped that the introduction of labor-saving machinery will some day result in freeing energy as well as time for recreational activities.

play with Again, unlike the city worker whose work is done in fairly short hours and at stated times, the farmer has to work

be discouraged and demotivated. Community obstacles and individual

1. Steiner, op. cit., pp. 149-150.

shortcomings must be overcome. Recreation programs must be very hard at one season, and has very little to do at another season. In the busy season, the farm work seems to be endless, and the farmer works day in and day out with little spare time at his disposal. When the harvest and planting seasons are over, the farmer usually has leisure. But this leisure is more or less an enforced idleness; it is not a real rest from his labours, such as is the summer vacation to a college professor. This kind of enforced leisure is therefore not a right time for recreation; it is rather a time for some other suitable work.

Occidental peoples are accustomed to have one and a half days of rest out of every seven. The weekend is the time for recreation conducive to physical and mental health as well as for spiritual edification. Aside from the regular weekends, all holidays of local, national, and international significance may also be profitably utilized for recreational purposes.

c. Trained leadership.

People in the rural community must be taught how to play with understanding and proficiency. Interest in recreation must be aroused through demonstrations. Native abilities must be discovered and cultivated. Community obstacles and individual

shortcomings must be overcome. Recreation programs must be planned for individual groups according to their respective capacities and resources. All these must be achieved by competent leaders.

At the present time, there are very few persons who possess specialized training for recreation leadership. But this does not mean that we do not have trained leadership. As a matter of fact, most of the recreational activities in rural areas, are being promoted not by professional recreation leaders but by volunteers whose main job is in some other profession such as public school teaching, university extension work, 4-H club leadership, religious education directors or social workers. These people get their training from short-term institutes and conferences, and when they go back to their local stations, they in turn train local volunteers. Cooperative extension work is a good example in point. According to the report prepared by the Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, life-time is generally supposed to be consumed in working. But culture,

Not only is cooperative extension work concerned with production on the farm and better practices in the home, but also with community activities such as pageants and plays, community clubhouses, community singing, promotion of bands and choruses, recreation, development of work centers, improvement of school and church grounds, conducting local fairs, social get-togethers, citizenship ceremonies, and discussion groups.

Nationally, more than 17,564 communities in 1,209 counties were given help in developing their recreational activities. Country-life conferences or meetings for the training of community leaders were conducted in over 7,000 communities. Some 8,500 community or county pageants or plays presented during the year were stimulated and aided by extension forces.

Through bands, choruses, community and club singing, music was stimulated in practically every State in millions of homes in 1941 . . .

Not the least important activity was that of State and county adult and junior camps. Arts and crafts work is often a part of the instruction in these camps. Over 1,000 camps for adults, mostly for rural women, and 3,507 camps for juniors were held, with a total attendance of 274,280. In these camps rural people came together to study, to plan, to play, and to contemplate. The outdoor classrooms are a most appropriate place to obtain new knowledge and skill and strengthen friendships. Through these camps the discovery and development of native talents was promoted. Extension work in the use of leisure time, it is believed, makes for physical health, mental stability, and social unity.¹

As we have said at the outset of this section, a man's life-time is generally supposed to be consumed in working. But work without play makes a man dull and uninteresting. Play without work makes a man like a social parasite. Only when work and play are adjusted to each other in their proper proportion is he travelling the road to an abundant life. "The shifting of human gears," says Dr. Galpin, "from work to play and from play back again to work requires all the skill man has learned

1. Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, 1941-42, pp. 17,18.

CHAPTER XII

in the ages of civilization."¹ As the recreation movement grows, we hope that all the rural people will be able to acquire this skill at a quicker pace.

This group of the rural population whose ages range from 16 to 24. This group is generally called the youth group, or the older youth. The boys and girls of this group, if they go to school at all, ought to be in high school, college, or even in graduate schools. But in rural communities, very few of them have an opportunity to receive education beyond the high school level. Many of them, for various reasons, do not even have a high school education. In the rural community, this age group is not quite admitted into adult society by their elders, yet they do not like to be treated as children and will not tolerate being so regarded.

However, being spurred by biological urge and impelled by youthful idealism, they are the group that needs guidance most. Their minds are most plastic, and their habits are not yet formed. But in the rural area, this group of young men and women is most poorly served. School children are being taken care of either by teachers in school or by their parents at

1. Galpin, Charles Josiah, My Philosophy of Rural Life, p. 14.

youth group is too grown up to be handled like children and too

CHAPTER XIX

YOUTH WORK

Having discussed the problem of recreation, our attention is now called to a topic which concerns a specific group of the rural population whose ages range from 16 to 24. This group is generally called the youth group, or the older youth. The boys and girls of this group, if they go to school at all, ought to be in high school, college, or even in graduate schools. But in rural communities, very few of them have an opportunity to receive education beyond the high school level. Many of them, for various reasons, do not even have a high school education. In the rural community, this age group is not quite admitted into adult society by their elders, yet they do not like to be treated as children and will not tolerate being so regarded.

However, being spurred by biological urge and impelled by youthful idealism, they are the group that needs guidance most. Their minds are most plastic, and their habits are not yet formed. But in the rural area, this group of young men and women is most poorly served. School children are being taken care of either by teachers in school or by their parents at home and adults have their established organizations. This youth group is too grown up to be handled like children and too

restive to be harnessed to the traditional patterns of country life. But what can they do? The average youth group in the open-country is too small to have organized activities. And they are too remote to be served by the activities of urban organizations. Nevertheless, they are the ones upon whose shoulders in the immediate future will be laid the burden of the rural communities as well as that of the society at large.

If the inertia of the self-complacent rural people is to be overcome, it must be attacked at the most strategic point, and that is where youth are because they are the most sensitive to innovations. If any foundation for long-range reconstruction is needed at all, this foundation must first be built in the minds of the youth. Not only must they be mobilized to cope with their own problems, but they must also be led to capture a vision for tomorrow.

1. Problems of Rural Youth.

Everywhere youth are confronted by two crucial problems namely, their vocation and marriage. One is related to the economic questions, the other to social questions. In America it was estimated that during the depression years, as a result of the reduced migration of farm people to cities, the number of rural youth on farms increased by almost one million, or

1. Melvin, R.L., Rural Youth: Their Situation and Prospects, p. 12. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1938.
2. Brunner, Edward G., Working With Rural Youth, p. 2.

18.3 per cent.¹ It was also revealed that before the war began to demand man-power for defense and combat services, there were more than two young men available for every farm that became vacant through the retirement or death of an operator.²

This "piling-up" of youth in rural areas forced many young people to engage in "blind-alley jobs" which bore little relation to their interests or abilities. This situation, together with the deteriorating effect of total unemployment which compelled many energetic young people to spend restless days in idleness, resulted in a loss that cannot be calculated in dollars and cents. The lack of jobs does not end in the fear of economic insecurity; it affects directly the morale of youth. It causes cynicism. How to help these young people replace fear with confidence and supplant cynicism with faith and hope, is a very important problem that will face any social engineer trying to improve the welfare of rural communities.

As to the problem of marriage, it is a part of the bigger, more comprehensive problem, namely sex adjustment. Dr. J.A. Hadfield says: "Probably two thirds of those who at present go to psychotherapists for treatment suffer from disorders which are not merely mental and moral in origin, but moral in symptom--sex perversions, morbid aggressiveness, jealousy, ob-

1. Melvin, B.L., Rural Youth: Their Situation and Prospects, p. 12. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1938.
2. Brunner, Edmund deS., Working With Rural Youth, p. 2.

sessive evil thoughts, impure habits."¹ If boys and girls of adolescent age are not properly guided in this matter of sex, especially relative to the art of courtship, they are liable to sex perversions. How can they have suitable opportunities to mix socially with members of the opposite sex both within and without their own neighborhood? This is another major problem that will tax the brains of those who are concerned with the well-being of rural youth.

The solution of these problems calls for more purposeful education and a richer social life. Neither of these tasks can be left to the self-complacent rural communities; nor can they be accomplished alone by indigenous agencies such as the rural church or the rural school.

In brief, the results of all the indigenous forces of rural America put together were painfully inadequate.

2. Organizations Serving Rural Youth.

Organizations that can serve rural youth are of two types, indigenous and national agencies. The rural church, the rural school, and farmers' organizations belong to the first type. There are numerous national agencies belonging to the second type, such as the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, which attempt to serve rural communities on a philanthropic basis, and the cooperative

1. Hadfield, J.A., Psychology and the Church, p. 258.

1. Douglass, H. Paul, How Shall Country Youth Be Served? pp. 184-5.

2. Ibid., p. 55.

3. Ibid., p. 183.

4. Ibid., pp. 185-6.

extension service which is responsible for all group or general educational work essential for a fundamental understanding of all government programs in rural communities.

Let us see what these agencies have done for rural youth. Up to 1926, the rural studies of the Institute of Social and Religious Research revealed that "the greatest untouched field of Christian effort in rural America is the work for boys and girls." The condition of rural schools was characterized by the United States Department of Education as "laboring under distinct educational disadvantages." As to the farmers' organizations, an investigation by the Federal Council of Churches showed that farmers' cooperative organizations had made little contribution to community life as such. In brief, the results of all the indigenous forces of rural America put together were painfully inadequate.¹

Regarding the work of other national agencies, it was found in the report of a special investigation that the reaching of "the last boy in the country" is palpably only rhetoric,² and that "the agencies, especially in their intensively organized phase, have made relatively little headway in rural territory."³ "The report was forced to conclude that the agencies like to go where they are least needed. Naturally too they all like to go to the same sort of places. This frequently involves competition and other problems of adjustment."⁴

1. Douglass, H. Paul, How Shall Country Youth Be Served? pp. 184-5.

2. Ibid., p. 35.

3. Ibid., p. 185.

4. Ibid., pp. 185-6.

- To be sure since this report was made known, especially during and after the depression, numerous programs and projects for the welfare of rural youth have been put into practice by both voluntary and government agencies. Still, it is a field whose possibilities have only been slightly touched. For example, the cooperative extension service has for a number of years given attention to older rural youth, of the so called "lost generation." But it was reported that "up to the time war was declared, the work was largely explanatory, since the needs, desires, and problems of this group were not so clearly known."¹ Therefore, even in America where rural social research has been developed more than in any other country, and where the country life movement has been promoted in a full-fledged fashion for more than a quarter of a century, this problem of rural youth is still a concern of many. Many communities and agencies are in a state of wondering what to do.

3. How To Do Youth Work.

It is true that many attempts made by American agencies, both public and private, to solve the problem of rural youth, have met with little avail. So far no solutions of a permanent character have been proposed. It is also true that

1. Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, 1941-42, p. 30.

b. Democratic procedure.

rural conditions vary from locality to locality, that no one blueprint can be applied to all communities. Nevertheless, from the experiences accumulated by various agencies which have served rural youth, we may glean some ideas or even techniques that will prove to be useful in doing youth work in any rural community.

a. Motivation.

The first and foremost requisite for a social worker who aims at rendering service to rural youth is motivation. He must see the needs of the young people even before they are awakened to them. His work should not be just a matter of training or profession. It should express an inner urge which makes him restless until he accepts the "call", faces the grim reality of the situation, and determines to change it.

Fortified by this motive, the worker or the agency must do two things: first, acquire enough facts to convince those concerned that something is worth doing; second, maintain the experimental attitude so that he will always be ready to devise new methods and to modify previously approved techniques. Without the first, he will not be able to expand his work or exercise influence on others. Without the second, he will not be able to improve his job and will thus become an obstacle to progress.

b. Democratic procedure.

Motivation is important, but what is motivated must be carried out in a democratic manner. After all, what the worker or the agency wishes to do, is not for his benefit. It is for the good of rural youth. If it is for rural youth, then their ideas must be given recognition, and they themselves must be encouraged to take part in what is being done for them, so that the results of what is being done can really meet their needs and not the needs of the worker nor of the agency which the worker represents.

In reporting the findings of the Rural Project of the American Youth Commission, Prof. Brunner says:

Evidence piled up from many local units in all states that the democratic process, though slower in the beginning, in the long run produces better and more lasting results than a leader-dominated program. It stimulates each individual in the group to better thinking and more participation. It gives to each person the necessary sense of belonging. ...¹

Many projects have failed to attain their goals, or have not even been tried. It is not because what has been planned in these projects is unattainable, but because those for whom the projects were formulated did not feel these projects were theirs. If the people in charge do not identify themselves with the persons for whom a certain project has been launched, they will not have as much interest in it as they would otherwise. To guide people to understand the meaning of a project, and

1. Brunner, Working With Rural Youth, p. 38.

lead them to feel that it is for them is a task that can be successfully accomplished only through the democratic process. This process is slow, because it is a growth that comes from within, rather than being imposed from without.

c. Cooperation.

The third requirement that must be complied with by those serving rural youth is cooperation. "The most successful programs," says Dr. Kirkpatrick, "were based on cooperation. This means exchange of ideas, pooling of efforts, and sharing of experiences on an individual and group basis."¹

First, the youth work must be done in cooperation with the existing, indigenous organizations in the local community. Although these organizations may not initiate any programs especially beneficial to rural youth, nevertheless they are great helpers by virtue of their local knowledge and their experience in dealing with local people.

Second, there is a need for cooperation among agencies which are interested in rural youth. In a study of the "rural" work of certain national character-building agencies, Dr. Douglass has pointed out that "the local community often becomes the theater of contacts between similar national agencies, and sometimes their battle ground."² Duplicate occupancy of communities by various

1. Kirkpatrick, E.L., Guideposts for Rural Youth, p. 163.
2. Douglass, How Shall Country Youth Be Served? p. 132.

CHAPTER IX

national agencies has frequently resulted in increasing difficulties for the worker, thus distracting him from the main business of serving rural youth. Furthermore, the duplicate presence of agencies often serves to divide interests that are already shot through with sectarianism and clannishness.

Against this interagency competition, Dr. Brunner gives a grave warning in his report of the Rural Project of the American Youth Commission. "The needs of rural youth," he says, "are and will be urgent. All the evidence of this project, however, suggests that, if these needs are exploited in a competitive struggle among interested agencies, both the organizations engaged in it and the youth they seek to exploit rather than to serve will suffer severely."¹

The remedy for the evils of competition and divisiveness is cooperation. But cooperation is more than mere organizational mechanics; it is an art of social engineering. This leads us to consider our next topic, "the community organization".

a cooperative is imposed upon the people without their spontaneous desire for it, it will likely fail.

On the other hand, if progress for various aspects of rural life are coordinated, not only will the methods be made easier but also more effective. It is for the sake of avoiding undesirable consequences and of achieving higher efficiency and better results, that we are now considering the subject of com-

1. Brunner, Working With Rural Youth, pp. 61-2.

CHAPTER XX

1. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION.

In the preceding sections we have ventured along some roads to rural reconstruction, dealing specifically with one aspect at a time. This list is by no means exhaustive, but it is important. In this section instead of considering individual problems, we want to see these problems in perspective. As has already been pointed out, social problems are interrelated; therefore, if remedies are prescribed for individual problems without paying due consideration to other factors involved, grave mistakes may result. For instance, mechanization of a certain process of farming is necessary, because it saves labour and releases farmers from drudgery. But any abrupt introduction of new machines into the farming industry may result in a sudden drop of the number of people who can be gainfully employed. Again, it is generally recognized that co-operation is imperative for certain rural enterprises; but if a cooperative is imposed upon the people without their spontaneous desire for it, it will likely fail.

On the other hand, if programs for various aspects of rural life are coordinated, not only will the methods be made easier but also more effective. It is for the sake of avoiding undesirable consequences and of achieving higher efficiency and better results, that we are now considering the subject of community organization.

1. Definition of Community Organization.

Community organization, as defined by Prof. Sanderson, is "a continuing process for obtaining the best integrated social interaction of individuals, groups, and institutions within a community so as to enable it to act collectively and advance the common welfare."¹ Thus community organization is something dynamic. It is not a plan, but planning. A community plan, even if it is an excellent one, may not fit the situation of a particular community at a particular stage of development. Planning anticipates the interaction of all the existing social and economic factors and is subject to continuous readjustment in order to realize the highest values of individuals and groups for the sake of communal welfare.

However, community organization is more than planning. It must be accompanied by something that will urge the community to progress. The real essence of community organization is the process of developing the common will of the people as well as enforcing it for the public good.

2. Objectives of Community Organization.

The aim of developing the common will of the people and of enforcing it in the rural community will be more readily attainable if we know what the specific objectives of community organization are. Some of these have been well described by

1. Sanderson, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization, p. 686.
Organization, pp. 77-80.

Sanderson and Polson in their book entitled "Rural Community Organization". The following list will perhaps give a bird's-eye-view of their ideas.

Specific Objectives of Rural Community Organization

1. To obtain consciousness of community identity.
2. To satisfy unmet needs.
3. To obtain social participation as a means of socialization.
4. To obtain social control.
5. To coordinate groups and activities.
6. To preserve the community from the introduction of undesirable influences or conditions.
7. To cooperate with other communities and agencies to obtain common needs.
8. To establish a means of obtaining consensus.
9. To develop leadership under which the community can act.¹

If we consider carefully the objectives listed above, we will realize that community organization is not merely a technological mechanism. It is shot through and through with human elements. Consciousness, satisfaction, socialization, social control, coordination, cooperation, consensus, and leadership, all have to do with human desires and wishes. If there is a conflict, it is always the result of the clashing of ideas. The task of community organization, therefore, is to create a group or community will, with individual wills functioning as parts in a coordinated unit, as in the case of the human body.

3. Methods of Community Organization.

Having considered the nature and objectives of rural

1. Sanderson, Swight, & Polson, Robert A., Rural Community Organization, pp. 77-83.

community organization, there is still another question: How can this process of integrating individual wills into a coherent unified common goal be started and accelerated? This question leads us to search for techniques or methods. Although community organization is not a mechanical process, there are certain methods which are conducive to the attainment of its purpose, some of which have been admirably explained by Sanderson and Polson. These can be stated briefly as follows:

First, know the community. Any attempt to improve the community must begin with a diagnosis of the present situation. Just as a physician cannot prescribe without diagnosing the ailment, so a social engineer cannot suggest a change without a thorough knowledge of the community. He ought to know the facts concerning its social structure and population composition. He should know the conflicting forces in community control as well as the outstanding leaders in the community. He should also find out in what respects this community is different from other communities and in what respects it is similar to others. In this way, he will be able to find the needs of the community.

Second, discover the dynamics which may arouse a sense of need. Unless there is something which makes people dissatisfied, or which people will strive for, there will be no incentive to community improvement. This sense of community need may be aroused either through the process of disorganization, or through

outside stimulation. Thus, a conflict of dates between different interest organizations may give rise to the feeling of need for a community calendar. A school superintendent may bring new ideas into the community and thereby call attention to the inertia of the people. Economic insecurity and social inequality are the dynamics for a reform movement.

Third, define the situation. After knowing the needs and discovering the dynamics which seem to give the best probable motivation for action, the next step is to get more people to see the needs and to arrive at a common definition of the situation. As Park and Burgess have said:

Actually common participation in common activities implies a common "definition of the situation." In fact, every single act, and eventually all moral life, is dependent upon the definition of the situation. A definition of the situation precedes and limits any possible action. An abusive person, for example, provokes anger and possible violence, but if we realize that the man is insane this redefinition of the situation results in totally different behavior.

A common definition of the situation, therefore, means the common opinion as to what is needed, and what should be done about it. When this is accomplished, the community will be ready to proceed.

Fourth, work together in a common cause. When the essential preliminaries are staged, the community organization

1. Park, Robert E., and Burgess, Ernest W., Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1921, p. 764.

can be started by getting people to work together on some project. The beginners should be given opportunity to learn while doing. The first projects, therefore, should be simple, interesting, and with a minimum of conflict so that the participants can practice the process of give-and-take in a most enjoyable way, and thus build up their confidence in working together. As a rule, social and recreational events are considered good components for early programs. Those projects which affect children and give immediate enjoyment or benefit will generally make the widest appeal.

Fifth, when the needs and possibilities of the community have been appraised by a number of persons in the community who have learned to work together, a definite attempt to create a formal organization may be made. This generally takes the form of a community council to serve as a sort of centralized agency for community action.

According to Prof. Sims, this centralized agency can be formed after four different patterns.¹ The first one provides for a directorate chosen at large by a meeting of the whole community. The second type of council has representatives of the existing special interest organizations in a central body. It is a sort of federation of agencies. The third type combines the first two methods. The central body consists of representa-

1. Sims, Elements of Rural Sociology, pp. 474-478.

tives of organizations as such and members at large elected for the whole community. The fourth type calls for a council made up of representatives of common interests rather than existing organizations. But each interest committee is composed of accredited delegates of all organizations having anything to do with the given interest.

Of these four types of community councils, the third one seems to be most applicable in rural communities. It was worked out by E. L. Morgan and K. L. Butterfield at the Massachusetts Agricultural College, and applied in a few towns of that state.¹ The first type ignores the existing adherence of individuals to special interest groups, thus lacking any definite integration of these groups as such; while in the council type, the first allegiance of each member is to the organization he represents and not to the federation. These faults are avoided in the third type. The fourth type might fit in communities where functional organizations have been considerably developed,² but it is too complex for a small community of few agencies.

4. Principles for Community Programs.

When the community council is organized, it should aim constantly to promote the coordination of the work of the

1. Morgan, E.L., Mobilizing the Rural Community, The Massachusetts Agricultural College, Extension Bulletin No.23.
2. Sanderson, Dwight, Some Fundamentals of Rural Community Organization, Proceedings Third National Country Life Conference, 1920, p. 67.

various organizations and agencies and to do what no existing organization is willing or able to perform. Since it is a voluntary organization, the council should always obtain adjustment and integration among agencies by persuasion. It should seldom, if ever, try to enforce its opinions by legal or other drastic action.¹

In regard to the formulation of programs for the work that no existing agency is willing or able to do, the council should see to it that its programs are living and growing, so that actions may be determined and performed at the right time in the light of the actual and rapidly changing situation as well as of the accumulated experience. In addition to this, three other principles have been recommended by Kolb and Brunner as very important for rural community organization in relation to the rest of society and to local government.² These are:

First, local unit requirements and an open channel to specialized service. This principle means (1) that a community shall determine what is needed in terms of population, money, and area, in order to organize and determine certain service agencies and social institutions; and (2) that the local community must have and keep an organic connection with larger

1. Morgan, Arthur E., The Small Community, Foundation of Democratic Life, p. 157.
2. Kolb and Brunner, A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes, pp. 635-639.

and more specialized services of county, district, or state. A small community, for example, surely cannot afford to establish a hospital; but if a county health unit is maintained, it is not at all necessary for every community within it to have a hospital. A clinic or diagnostic center may suffice.

Second, local responsibility with support and a wider equalization base. This principle means (1) that unless local responsibility, backed by willingness and ability to pay, can be maintained, all superstructures of state, county, or federal aids and regulations are sure to crash sooner or later; and (2) that equality of opportunity requires a larger supporting base than the local community. It may be the county, the state, or the nation. This is well illustrated in the case of education.

Third, local solidarity with integrity and larger comity and cooperation. This means (1) that each group should have an indigenous rootage in local soil, and its individual members should have a feeling of dignity so that they will gladly identify themselves with it; and (2) that between groups there shall be practices of courtesy and, if possible, joint-actions.

5. Community Leadership.

All the principles and methods of community organization are impotent if they are not intelligently applied by community leaders in the right situation and at the right time. Principles and methods are important but they are subject to alteration made by man. A good leader may alter the principles to suit a certain special situation and develop a new set of techniques, whereas an incompetent leader may upset the whole scheme of the organization, even if there are good methods which he can use. Sanderson and Polson are quite right when they say: "Even with the best procedures and programs, the sine qua non of success in community organization is effective leadership."¹

There are two kinds of leaders for rural community organization, viz., local leaders and outside leaders. The first job of the local leader is to be one of the group which he leads. After he identifies himself with the group, he may act as spokesman for the group when it comes in contact with other groups, and as its chief harmonizer when differences among the members have to be reconciled. He should be one of the planners of the group, and should act as the chief executive of what has been planned by the group.

1. Sanderson, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization,

1. Sanderson and Polson, Rural Community Organization, p. 242.

2. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 702.

Sometimes the leader has to act as an educator and lead the group to see what he has seen in his vision until there is a consensus as to the goal and action desired.¹ And sometimes he has to assume the role of a community pioneer and take issue with conservative or special interests and carry on an open and active campaign for necessary improvements. The importance of this unpopular role as an educator and pioneer has been explained by Dr. Morgan:

If community policy is characterized by timidity and cowardice, if special interests and financial or other power overrules the common good, then they (children) come to believe that is the kind of world they live in. They will expect to get ahead by favoritism, by fawning on important people, by pulling strings, by patronage - - - and, when they get power, by dictatorship and by favor. Every one will be careful 'not to stick his neck out.' ... Seldom does a fine community come into being unless along the way some of its citizens have been willing to endure unpopularity in the common interest.²

Finally, the local leader is looked upon as the symbol of group ideals and purposes. "He must, therefore, have a primary loyalty to the interests of the group. As soon as the group feels that its leader is really more interested in himself or in some other group, its confidence is shaken and his leadership wanes."³

1. Sanderson, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization, pp. 701-2.
2. Morgan, A.E., The Small Community, p. 278.
3. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 702.

Besides local leaders, we find in rural communities professional or outside leaders, such as the county superintendent of schools, ministers, and county agents. The function of the outside leader "is to act as stimulator and educator of the group that employs him; but it is not his function to attempt to act as a group leader, and in so far as he does so, he prevents the best social organization of the group with which he is entrusted."¹ Therefore, the main job of the outside leader is not to act for the people, but to train them to act for themselves so that they can get along without him.

Sanderson says: "The slow process of building local leadership is the surest means of any permanent rural improvement." On the other hand, if the professional leader does not perform this duty, he is unconsciously exposing the community to a danger, as has been brought out by E.C. Lindeman, who says:

The community leader's greatest temptation is to "do" things for the community, rather than create means whereby the community may do things for itself. There are two objections to this type of leadership: in the first place, it devitalizes the leader, and, in the second place, it undermines the community. Each time the leader does something for the community that the community might have done for itself, he prevents the community from developing its own resources. This process in time becomes so devitalizing that whole communities appear to be

take, or if there is one local unit in which the individual

1. Sanderson, *Leadership for Rural Life*, p. 103.

1. Lindeman, E. C., *The Community*, New York, Association Press, 1931, p. 100. Quoted in Sanderson, *Leadership for Rural Life*, p. 103.

2. Morgan, A. K., *op. cit.*, p. 231.

without leadership. The principle is applicable even in cases where the leader's ability is superior to that of the community. . . . In a democracy, the group must be permitted the right to make its own mistakes. Eventually, this process leads to the proper utilization of specialized leadership.¹

6. Community Organization and Democratic Life.

One more thing about community organization is very important and should not be overlooked. This has to do with the contribution of rural people towards the building up of national democratic life through community organization. As A. E. Morgan has pointed out, "actual democracy cannot originate in large masses or by legislation. It is a way of life which must be learned by the intimate associations of family and community."² Community organization is therefore a process whereby the rural people are trained to exchange ideas, and to develop common outlooks. In the community council meetings, they stand on an equal footing and talk to one another not as strangers but as persons between whom intimate relations exist.

Rural communities are cellular units of the entire nation. If there is one community where people are unable to improve their common welfare through the process of give-and-take, or if there is one local unit in which the individual

1. Lindeman, E. C., The Community, New York, Association Press, 1921, p. 190. Quoted in Sanderson, Leadership for Rural Life, p. 108.

2. Morgan, A.E., op. cit., p. 281.

variations have been ironed out by physical force or social pressure, to that extent the nation is not a democracy. On the other hand, if in one rural community people are accustomed to acquire understanding, sympathy, and unity of purpose through the continuous practice of free expression of ideas in the meetings of their local community organization, their influence is bound to spread to neighboring communities; and these people are really helping to build a genuine democracy for which many have already shed their blood and for which still more are ready to do the same.

And that which sustains our vision is a faith in God. According to one of the writers in the New Testament, "Faith means that we are confident of what we hope for, convinced of what we do not see. It was for this that the men of old won their reward." Thus, things unseen may be far more important than that which can be seen.

Prof. Sanderson, in his presidential address at the meeting of the American Country Life Association, 1932, spoke as follows:

I hesitate to speak of the role of religion in improving the condition of the disadvantaged rural classes, for it is a subject upon which there are wide differences of very fundamental convictions, but I am so certain that without a motivation which is fundamentally religious there will be little advance in improving their condition, that I would be derelict if I omitted consideration of this basic factor.¹

1. Hebrews, XI, 1 & 2. (Neffate translation)
2. Sanderson, Deight, *Disadvantaged Classes in Rural Life*, *Rural America*, December 1932. Also *The Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin*, No. 34, January 1933.

CHAPTER XXI

A FAITH IN GOD

All the roads we have thus far suggested will lead us towards our objective,--rural reconstruction, and ultimately to our destination,--the building up of a sound democratic nation. But whatever we may do along these roads will be ineffective, or at least will not come to their best fruition, if people do not have a vision backed up by a faith in God. The book of Proverbs says: "Where there is no vision, the people perish." Vision is that which keeps the fire of life burning. And that which sustains our vision is a faith in God.

According to one of the writers in the New Testament, "Faith means that we are confident of what we hope for, convinced of what we do not see. It was for this that the men of old won their record."¹ Thus, things unseen may be far more important than that which can be seen.

Prof. Sanderson, in his presidential address at the meeting of the American Country Life Association, 1938, spoke as follows:

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1. Hebrews, XI, 1 & 2. (Moffatt translation)

2. Sanderson, Dwight, Disadvantaged Classes in Rural Life, Rural America, December 1938. Also The Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin, No. 38, January 1939.

Indeed, without the dynamic which only religious conviction can provide, the obstacles of rural reconstruction will be exceedingly difficult to surmount, because ^{many} of these obstacles lie in the realm of attitudes, habits, and ideals, rather than in the sphere of tangible, physical phenomena. And builders of rural communities must see that material achievements are not facilitated at the expense of human values.

Furthermore, rural life itself is inevitably related to something that only religion can explain. In the first place, rural people are nearer to Nature. They work when the sun comes up, and rest when it goes down. They rejoice while they watch the gorgeous sunrise brightening the sky; and they meditate while they observe the glittering stars shining in the darkness of a quiet evening. They predict the weather, not by reading the barometer, but by looking at the clouds that move above their heads. They watch with agony when a flood is steadily rising. They wait with anxiety when the rain does not come after a long drought. They recognize the thunder storm during the summer, and they enjoy seeing the earth covered with white snow during the winter. They are warmed in the sunshine, and are exhilarated by breathing fresh air on a cold morning. All these have to do with Nature; and although the scientist may have devised some means to control it, he can control it only in part. A poet or an artist may have the ability to describe Nature in words or on a

canvas, but whatever has been painted is only a fragment. The philosopher may have explored the realm of Nature through intuition and reasoning, but whatever has been ascertained is only a partial truth. The mystery of Nature lies beyond the power of our understanding. This mystery is experienced by many rural people year in and year out with a sense of reverence.

Second, rural people are religiously inclined because they are intimately in contact with God's creation. The farmer not only has to deal with living animals and plants, but he is also instrumental in their growth. To the farmer, the land is holy; he uses it, but he is also obliged to feed it with fertilizer. The songs of birds, the colors of flowers, and the ripening grain come to the farmer to reveal the beauty of life he himself has helped to grow. Here again many rural folk are conscious of something with which the scientist experiments, which the poet admires, and about which the philosopher speculates; but none of them can definitely be sure as to the cause of it. This something is life. What is the source of life? This question lies in the realm of religion.

Prof. Hocking says: "The most dangerous feature of contemporary life is not its transition but the fact that in the course of change our capacity for serious thought has so far diminished. The underlying sadness and hollowness of much modern life is due not to poverty nor to too great labour but to an absence of depth, a fear lest meditation should show the

emptiness of the affair we call life."¹ "Philosophy," continues Prof. Hocking, "is the business of taking stock, at least once; it is the passage to manhood. It should be especially the right of the man who, standing near the earth, knows it both in its threat and its promise, sees it both as the receiver of death and the producer of life, knows by direct handling how closely the tangible living body is welded to the intangible and infinite mystery of consciousness and of the soul."² If philosophy should be the right of the farmer, much more so should be religion. What a misery it would be, if we deprive the farmer of his religious life!

As Dr. Sanderson has pointed out, religion is a subject upon which there are wide differences of very fundamental convictions. It is therefore beyond the scope of the present writing to discuss them. However, we shall venture to dwell on faith in God. "The Bible is a rural book; it is the history of the experience of rural people in their search for God and their struggle to achieve His will as they lived out their days in simple but rigorous rural conditions."³ Furthermore, the Christian Church has always acted and will continue to act as

1. Hocking, William Ernest, A Philosophy of Life for the American Farmer (and Others), Farmers in A Changing World, p. 1071.
2. Ibid., p. 1071.
3. Dawber, Mark A., The Meaning of Christianity for Rural Life, The opening address at the National Convocation on the Church in Town and Country held at Columbus, Ohio, 1943. The Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin, No. 85, October 1943, p. 2.

cannot conceive of God as a real being, call Him by many names a pioneer in rural reconstruction work all over the world, as witnessed in the Madras Conference of the International Missionary Council. In view of this background and outlook, it is perhaps not too presumptuous to say that the Christian view of the ever living God, God is real as we are real. Suppose there is a man who is six feet tall, weighing about one hundred rural workers.

The Christian view of God as understood by the present writer is this: God is real as we are real; He is moral as we ought to be moral; He is personal as we are persons. But He is the Creator and we are the created. While He gives us freedom to choose whenever there are alternatives, He is watching us with deep concern. If we make a right choice, He rejoices with us, and will sustain us even through trials and tribulations. If perchance our choice is wrong, He will be sorry for us, and even greatly suffers; but He still anxiously expects us to return to Him, because His Love is boundless. This belief is explained thus:

1. God is real. . . But where does the human mind often say that God is a Spirit. But by this we do not mean to say that God is unreal. Nowadays, many people who

1. The World Mission of the Church, pp. 144-147.

cannot conceive of God as a real being, call Him by many names such as "Value", "Change", "Space-Time", "Idealized Reality", "Process", "Principle of Concretion" and the like. To those who believe, these names are descriptions of different aspects of the same living God. God is real as we are real. Suppose here is a man who is six feet tall, weighing about one hundred fifty-five pounds, with brown hair and gray eyes. This description can be applied to hundreds of thousands of other men. So, strictly speaking, this is not the description of the real self of this man. His real self consists of his education, his heritage, his environment, and his insight and outlook regarding the world and its future. That in him which can be measured and weighed is the least part of his real self. Of course, we realize that without that which is measurable, this man may cease to exist as a living body. On the other hand, if we only see his measurable body, we would be far from knowing his real self. If this is so in the case of man, how can we say that God is not real simply because we cannot weigh nor measure Him?

We say that we are human beings. But where does the human being come from? Certainly a human being cannot create himself. The reality of this being must have originated from some other source which is commonly called God, or the Creator. Can an unreal God create a real person? It seems impossible. If a person is real, then that which created him must also be real. Furthermore, there are people who actually feel that God does not, he is ignorant of the meaning of human values. No

is real to them. These religious experiences cannot be categorically denied.

2. God is Moral.

We sometimes feel that there are things we ought to do; if we do not do them, we feel guilty. Sometimes, we know there are certain things we ought not to do; if we do them we feel sinful. This sense of oughtness or ought-notness is an indication that we are moral beings. If we ourselves are moral beings, then the One who created us must be moral too, because a moral creature cannot be created by an unmoral Creator.

It is true that in this world there are numerous cases in which the good and the innocent suffer while the evil and the guilty prosper. But we must know that sufferings have their disciplinary functions. The struggle between good and evil is a key to the edification of human character and to the advancement of world civilization. For example, in the midst of the terrific and gigantic struggle between nations, a new peace which will at least surpass the one achieved at the end of the last war, is now looming in the minds of millions. We can not say God is unmoral or unfair to us, until we see the whole thing accomplished. His moral law is like a mirror hanging on the wall. Every time one passes by, he sees himself as a sinner. God does not condemn him, man has to condemn himself. If he does not, he is ignorant of the meaning of human values. He

will then just "eat, drink, and be merry". His life will be directed mainly by biological impulses, and his mind can not transcend time and space. In the end, it is not God who is unmoral, but it is man himself who will be unmoral, and consequently immoral.

3. God is Personal.

By personal, we mean that God is a Person, a perfect Person, as we are imperfect persons. A person has a mind as well as a heart. These two are distinctive characteristics of man. A man can understand others and can also sympathize with his fellowmen, although not perfectly or thoroughly. But God, being higher than man, is a perfect Person. He therefore possesses a perfect intelligence which understands all, and an absolute love which penetrates all.

Some one would say that to explain the character of God in terms of the characteristics of man is to humanize God. This is "anthropomorphic". Our answer is this: "Since we are men, we can only think of God with what is best and highest in us as a clue." If we do not interpret our experience with God with the human mind and human heart as clues, the other alternative would be to think of God in terms of mechanical and material things, or in terms of animated impulses of animals.

Since we are men, each of us possesses a mind; we can not help but believe that the One who created us must have

4. God is the Creator while We Are the Created.

possessed that which has the power to respond to our minds. Each of our minds, if properly trained, can discover the laws of Nature and thus will be able to control a very small part of the natural world. This perfect Mind who created the whole of the universe must know all the laws and control all the natural forces. Therefore, many forces which seem to us uncontrollable and unfathomable, are no mysteries to Him.

Inasmuch as each of us possesses a heart, we must infer that God also possesses a similar heart. But being perfect the capacity of His heart is vastly greater than the capacity of our hearts. He can sympathize with all people under any circumstances. He feels happy when a prodigal son returns home. He feels anxious when one sheep out of a hundred is lost until He finds it. The greater a man is, the greater is his capacity for love of others. God is the Perfect, the greatest Personality; He therefore, possesses the greatest capacity for love of men. No wonder St. John said: "God so loved the world, that He gave his only begotten Son."

To be sure God is infinitely greater than a person.

Besides the highest intelligence and absolute love, He has many other qualities which are beyond our imagination. But at least this much is certain, that He has these two characteristics similar to our minds and our hearts. Hence, He is personal as we are personal.

4. God is the Creator While We
Are the Created.

There are philosophers or scientists who tell us that man as he is now is the result of an evolutionary process. This we admit. But no matter how we explain the present status of man, our life itself cannot produce itself. Life must be something given to us or something created by a Creator. This Creator is our God, who creates all and controls all. He is the Creator; we are His creation. He and He only is our Lord. He and He only is our Master.

God, the Creator, has not only created, but is still creating; He will continue to create. Some of the laws with which He created the Universe have been discovered, but what has been discovered is only a drop of water in the wide ocean in comparison with what has not been discovered.

Since all that man has, he owes to the One who creates, it is only right to say that He, the Creator, should be obeyed by all men as the Universal Sovereign. Hence, our God is not only the God of Christians who acknowledge Him as Lord, but also the Sovereign of all nations and of all races.

What then was the purpose of God in creating the world and all therein? To this question, we may say: Since God's intelligence is infinitely superior to ours, we are not in a position to comprehend what was in His mind. But this we know:

His love is boundless and ever overflowing. His character is love. And as Love, God cannot restrain Himself from sharing what He has with others. The fact that He created man as a free being reveals His purpose. He desires to share His love with others. So when man turns away from Him, He feels sorry and He suffers. But He cannot impose His will upon us, because if He does so, He would deprive us of our rights as free beings and He would not be what He is. Under the circumstances, what He could do was to send His only begotten Son, through whose vicarious sacrifice man may be persuaded to return to God.

To return to God means to surrender one's self to God. Instead of indulging his own selfish and small will, the man who has thus surrendered, should strive to do God's will, and therefore he must have an unshakable faith in God.

Because of this faith, many men and women have consecrated their lives to the welfare of rural people, and have won the hearts of thousands and tens of thousands. Not only have individuals been regenerated, but whole communities have been transformed. John Frederic Oberlin, an Alsatian pastor, was an eminent example. The well-known Oberlin College in America was founded in memory of this man who devoted his life to rural reconstruction. But Oberlin was only one of hundreds who have thus brought blessings to rural communities and wit-

nessed that God is real, moral, and personal, and that God's love is unbounded.

People may not believe in what we have thus said, but "not to believe" is as much a choice as "to believe". Life is such that we have to make a choice between alternatives in the light of what we conceive to be of higher value. Christ Jesus said to His followers: "Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." To surrender to the will of God as revealed by Jesus Christ requires us to strive hard, to exert ourselves to the utmost with prudence and conviction.

We believe that rural reconstruction work is a long and tedious task. But as Dr. Galpin once said, "A new structure of rural civilization is looming before our very eyes. We are the participants in building, digging foundations, laying the wall, hewing the stones, erecting the framework". Our task must be approached from all directions and through all the roads that have been suggested. But we must emphasize that our chief end of building the rural life should be moral manhood,--character. In our thoughts and aspirations, regardless of whether we confess ourselves as Christian or not, the ethical must take precedence over the material. Comfort in daily life and bountiful harvests are signs of an ideal rural life. But these signs can not long endure unless the persons who enjoy them are beautiful in character.

CHAPTER XIII

SUGGESTED POLICIES FOR RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

Post-war reconstruction plans

As soon as the war is ended, China will plunge into reconstruction and the repair of her national life. In

PART THREE

his book entitled, China's Destiny, Generalissimo Chiang

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION AND POSTWAR CHINA

Kai-shek proposed a ten-year reconstruction plan on a practicable scale. Among other things he urges "the construction of 20,000 kilometers of railways and the production of 200,000 automobiles and 12,000 transport planes."¹ This plan also calls for 2,400,000 graduates from various grades of technical and vocational schools.² The "rough sketch" of The International Development of China as mapped out by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen at the end of the last great world war will undoubtedly be looked upon as the essential guide-book for the various aspects of national rebuilding. In this book Dr. Sun has explicitly expressed his desire that international capital should come to China to develop railroads and highways, river dredging and irrigation, new ports and modern cities, basic industries and public utilities. If the program as envisioned by Dr. Sun could

1. The official summary of this book appears in Contemporary China, Vol. II, No. 22, March 22, 1945.

"Taking into account China's 400,000,000 people and her vast area of 12,000,000 square kilometers such estimates are extremely conservative."

2. "In the last five years graduates from such schools totaled only 417,000."

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Ground SUGGESTED POLICIES FOR RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

China's capable of absorbing all the surplus capital as quickly

as the India Post-War Reconstruction Plans

Industrial As soon as the war is ended, China will plunge into reconstruction work for all aspects of her national life. In his book entitled, China's Destiny, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek proposes a ten-year reconstruction plan on a practicable scale. Among other things he urges "the construction of 20,000 kilometers of railways and the production of 220,000 automobiles and 12,000 transport planes."¹ This plan also calls for 2,460,000 graduates from various grades of technical and vocational schools.² The "rough sketch" of The International Development of China as mapped out by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen at the end of the last great world war will undoubtedly be looked upon as the essential guide-book for the various aspects of national rebuilding. In this book Dr. Sun has explicitly expressed his desire that international capital should come to China to develop railroads and highways, river dredging and irrigation, new ports and modern cities, basic industries and public utilities. If the program as envisioned by Dr. Sun could

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2. "Taking into account China's 450,000,000 people and her vast area of 12,000,000 square kilometers such estimates are extremely conservative."

2. "In the last five years graduates from such schools totaled only 417,000."

be carried out, "China will not only," said he, "be the Dumping Ground for foreign goods but actually will be the 'Economic Ocean' capable of absorbing all the surplus capital as quickly as the Industrial Nations can possibly produce by the coming Industrial Revolution of Nationalized Productive Machinery."¹

Dr. Sun also realized that China is an agricultural country, so he said that "the farmers must be protected and encouraged by liberal land laws by which they can duly reap the fruits of their own labour."² In regard to the development of food industry, he suggested a fourfold program, viz., the production of food, the storage and transportation of food, the preparation and preservation of food, and the distribution and exportation of food. Dr. Sun proposed that a scientific survey of the land be made, and factories for manufacturing agricultural machinery and implements be established in industrial centers or in the neighborhood of iron and coal fields where labour and material could be easily found. He proposed that a chain of grain elevators be built across the country and a special transport fleet be equipped all along the waterways, for the storage and transportation of food. In view of the fact that tea is produced in China, Dr. Sun suggested that a system of modern factories for the preparation of tea should be established in

1. Sun Yat-sen, The International Development of China, p. 6.

2. Ibid., p. 145.

all the tea districts in order to supply cheaper and better tea to the world. He also envisaged the introduction of soya bean factories in all the large cities, so as to provide cheap nitrogenous food to the western people. All these suggestions if properly carried out with sufficient capital and expert knowledge will certainly bring prosperity to the Chinese farmers.

Moreover, since the outbreak of the present war, China has been carrying on a program of national reconstruction in addition to the task of resisting aggression. Many specialists, private agencies, and government officials are planning and re-planning their post-war programs. For example, Dr. H.D.Fong, one of China's leading economists is doing research on the program of the post-war industrialization of China, and a part of his findings have been published by the National Planning Association in America. According to Dr. Fong, "the largest sector of China's post-war economy will have to be organized on the basis of cooperation, whether agricultural or industrial." He maintains that in China both agriculture and industry are predominantly decentralized and small-scale in character, and that for this form of production, cooperation seems to offer the best hope for improvement. "It affords to peasants and craftsmen alike," he says, "the advantages of large-scale economy in purchasing, financing, and marketing, without affecting the mode of production

except in designs and other technical details related to standardization and improvement in the quality of a product."¹

Again, Dr. Ching-chao Wu, Senior Secretary of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, asserts that "The Chinese standard of living cannot be raised unless China is transformed from an agricultural country to an industrial country."² He proposes to develop at least seven industrial regions in China, and in each region are to be developed ten fundamental types of industry, namely, the power industry, the metal industry, the machine tools and machinery industry, the chemical industry, the defense industry, the food industry, the clothing industry, the building industry, and the printing industry. The seven industrial areas are not to produce the same series of machines or other articles. They are to cooperate with one another.

Furthermore, "A Draft Outline of the Principles of China's Postwar Economic Reconstruction" has been published by the Chinese Economic Reconstruction Society, which is an influential private organization composed of bankers, manufacturers, engineers and college professors.³ Dr. Wong Wen-hao, Minister of Economic Affairs, is planning to work out a 5-year postwar recon-

1. Fong, H.D., The Post-War Industrialization of China, p.79.
2. Wu, Ching-chao, Reflections on Industrialization in Postwar China, Contemporary China, Vol. III, No. 8, September 6, 1943.
3. Contemporary China, January 25, 1943.

1. Principles of Postwar Reconstruction, views of Dr. Wong Wen-hao, China at War, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 21.

struction plan, of which he said even a modest one would cost China 30,000,000,000 Chinese dollars.¹ These programs and plans, if carried out, will enable the farmer to develop agriculture as an industry and will help him remove many handicaps.

But we must remember that the life of rural people can not be divided into separate compartments, such as economic, political or social. As we have repeatedly pointed out, both in our survey of rural problems and in our inquiry into methods, any attempt to rebuild rural life must consider the total background. If we see that the farmer is in need of credit, and

Suppose we consider the problems described in Part One, and try to find a solution for each of them. We find that for almost every problem there is a corresponding remedy. For instance, if we say that the farmer is handicapped by his lack of credit, we can immediately say that a credit union is the remedy. But this is not the whole truth. For us to say that the credit union is the remedy for this situation without any consideration of other factors involved, would be like the naive prince, who one day was taking a walk with one of his attendants. He saw a dirty faced ragged fellow lying beside the road. The prince asked his attendant, "Who is he?" "He is a beggar" was the answer. "Why should he beg?" "He has nothing to eat." "Why

referring to this matter of the cooperative movement, there are

1. Principles of Postwar Reconstruction, views of Dr. Wong Wen-hao. China at War, Vol. X, No.5, p. 21. really effective.

didn't he buy something?" "He has no money." But the prince was still not satisfied with the answer. Finally he said, "Oh! He doesn't have money! Why then doesn't he go to the Bursar's Office, and ask for some?"

This innocent prince did not know that the Bursar's Office where he got his spending money was not accessible to the beggar who did not even have a place which he could call home. We cannot expect this prince to know that the beggar was a victim of various social evils or maladjustments. In the same manner if we see that the farmer is in need of credit, and suggest nothing but forming a credit union we are like the prince.

Credit unions are a remedy whereby low income families can solve at least part of their pecuniary problems. But we first must/consider their environment and background before we can make this suggestion as an effective measure. At present in China there are cooperative banks and rural cooperatives. In the National Government, the administration of the cooperatives is handled by the Cooperative Bureau of the Ministry of Social Affairs. A Joint Board of the Four Government Banks is in charge of granting agricultural loans to farmers. But the trouble is not that there is no remedy; rather it is a question of how this remedy can be applied to a certain particular situation. In referring to this matter of the cooperative movement, there are several obstacles to be overcome before it can be really effective.

These obstacles, as we have already mentioned, are the lack of sincerity on the part of those who are supposed to promote this idea, the lack of efficiency in carrying out routine business, the lack of understanding of the group-spirit among the farmers, the usurpation of management by the gentry class, and so on.

If we do not take these obstacles into account, then the suggestion to form a credit union would be like a Barmecidal feast.

Rural industry is another example. If rural industry can be developed, it will provide employment for many farmers during the slack season, will furnish extra income for their families, and will thus bring prosperity to the community. But before we suggest establishing rural industry plants in a rural area, we consider many questions, such as the source of raw materials, the accessibility to market, the availability of implements or machinery, the competition put forth by organized reactionary elements. There are also such questions as the turnover of the business, the source of capital, the training of workers and their leadership. These questions are directly related to the proposed industry, but there are still problems indirectly related. Sanitary conditions, for example, are very important. Recreation facilities should not be overlooked. Disciplinary measures, taxation, the political situation, the educational standard, and other questions may sometimes prove detrimental to our proposed plans.

Rural reconstruction therefore calls for two kinds of approaches, viz., the technological approach in regard to the different branches of rural work, and the sociological approach dealing with the question of how these branches of work for various phases of rural life can be integrated into a single whole. It is for the latter that we would like to venture some suggestions as to what should be the government policies in the post-war period.

Some Suggested Policies for Rural Reconstruction.

1. Building the future out of what we have.

There are people who want to have something new by trying to get away from all their past. But the past is already there, it would be absurd to ape others by hating to see what has been handed down to us from the past. The best way to get rid of what we do not care to have is to use whatever is good in it, and to look forward to creating a new future out of it. No matter what handicaps we have in China, nor how incredible our aspirations may be, if we are convinced that something ought to be done, we should strive unceasingly to achieve the goal until we get it. In our study of the rural problems, we have found that China is lacking many things, but we also have found that China is in possession of many things without which we cannot build our future. For instance, we say that farmers are that are taken for granted in America, cannot be secured in China immediately after the war. For example, in order to

poor and ignorant. But these very farmers are the strength of war-torn China. They are the ones who fight against the invader in the front and produce the food in the rear. The value of their indomitable spirit far exceeds that of what they are lacking. It is true that they lack many material things, but they are intelligent, ingenious and industrious. After all it is the quality of the latter type that matters most.

We should not be discouraged by our findings relative to the present economic status of Chinese farmers and by saying that it is impossible to raise their standard of living. On the contrary, we should know that many things which have been considered as impossible, or incredible, have become realities. Many miracles have been performed in the scientific world. The same thing can happen in the realm of the social sciences, if we are ready to apply the laws that have been discovered, tested and found by experimentation to be successful. It should be recognized that in social science as in natural science, every time we discover a new law, new wonders can be explored. The findings as summarized at the end of Section "A" in the preceding part can be adapted to the situation in China. They can be used in our experiments, and perhaps new laws may be discovered.

It is true that rural reconstruction work in China must be started almost from the very beginning. Many things that are taken for granted in America, cannot be secured in China immediately after the war. For example, in order to

teach the farmer to plant a certain kind of plant properly, we have to provide him with the right kind of implements. For the manufacturing of the right kind of implements, we have to establish certain kinds of factories, and so on. Not only that, if we want the farmer to follow our instructions or directions closely, we may have to teach him how to read and to write first. This again involves another set of educational processes.

However, there are many good points which are to our advantage and upon which we can capitalize to facilitate our work. Two of the major points can be mentioned as follows: First, people, being stirred up by the present war, are now ready to learn new methods and techniques; in other words, they are psychologically ready to accept what may be offered them. In addition to this, the Chinese farmers are disposed to work patiently and industriously, which is very important for any sort of undertaking.

Second, many techniques for the improvement of rural life have already been experimented with and have proved to be successful. We do not have to acquire them by painstaking methods of trial and error. What we should do is to adapt these methods to the Chinese situation. Although this does not mean that we do not have to take pains, we at least do not have to begin from the outset so far as methods are concerned.

In order to carry on the task of rural reconstruction the programs should be so formulated that the work can be done

With these advantages on our side, our work should not be as hard as might be imagined.

2. Coordinated Government Programs

Rural reconstruction is an integral part of the national reconstruction. This fact must be recognized. The whole nation should be awakened to the fact that China is fundamentally an agricultural country, 80 percent of her population being rural, and that unless all strive to take part in rural reconstruction, the Chinese nation as a whole can not hope to march abreast of other industrial nations. Therefore all programs of different departments of the central and regional government administrations should be closely coordinated, regardless of whether they are directly related to rural reconstruction, or only indirectly related. Rural reconstruction should be the concern of all government departments, especially such ministries as the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the Ministry of Food, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Economic Affairs, and the Ministry of Finance. All programs of various departments under these ministries should be coordinated, if they are to be effective, so that there will be no duplication, no conflict, no excuses to make, and no blames to throw on one another.

3. A Two-way Program.

In order to carry on the task of rural reconstruction the programs should be so formulated that the work can be done

both from the top downward and from the bottom upward. Some programs should be initiated and carried out by the central administration of the government and gradually branch out from top downward. Others should be adopted or endorsed and expanded by the rural people themselves and gradually grow up from the bottom. The main purpose of the first type is to anticipate the demands of the rural people, preparing the nation to meet these needs. The second type of program is intended to awaken the people to their needs, so that they may arise and make spontaneous demands upon themselves as well as upon the government.

In planning to industrialize China, the government should pay special attention to the rural industry.

4. Old Promises Made Good.

In regard to the first type of rural reconstruction programs, there are several things the government should do immediately after the cessation of the hostilities, or even before that time. First of all, the government should make a list of what it has promised but so far has failed to fulfill. The sore subject of Chinese rural reconstruction is not that we do not have plans, but that our plans are like cheques which cannot be cashed. So the first thing for the government to do is to determine how many cheques it has given to the people and then try to make them cashable. For example, "the tiller of the land should own the land he tills" is one of the basic principles from America and Europe. But foreign experiences can only be

of the revolutionary government as proclaimed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Chinese Republic and the Founder of the Kuomintang. From now on the government should make a new start with the people, vindicating this principle through the adaptation of such methods as have been adopted by the Irish Free State, Denmark, Sweden and other countries, to the Chinese land situation. To make good what has been promised is therefore the first thing the government should do in this matter of rural reconstruction.

5. Development of Basic Industries

In planning to industrialize China, the government should pay special attention to facilitate the decentralized rural industries by developing such basic industries as electrical plants and steel works, and to provide the farmer the necessary implements and machinery for various steps in the development of agriculture. Basic industries that will provide the preliminary needs of the masses should have priorities over those which produce new luxuries. Industries that will help build prefabricated material for rural houses, for example, should be developed before those which make electric washing machines.

6. Emphasis on Research, Survey and Experiment.

It is true that there are many things we can learn from America and Europe. But foreign experiences can only be

Both kinds of research and study should be done in taken as examples or as references. The real solution of educational institutions. In each province, there should be Chinese problems must be obtained through first hand study at least one agricultural college and an experimental station, and research or surveys in China, nay, in the particular in which research must both in theory and in practice may be place the problem is to be solved. We can use tools that have proved to be useful, but tools cannot supplant the materials, that is, the actual facts involved in the problem.

So the task of rural reconstruction is not merely a matter of imitation, of making replicas of what has happened in the West; rather it is a question of creation and adaptation. We cannot create unless we know from first hand knowledge what resources are available; we cannot adapt anything to the Chinese situation unless we know what are the real conditions existing in the local communities.

These surveys and research projects should not be limited to the technological aspects, but should include cultural and sociological subjects. Techniques for doing a certain thing are important, but the techniques as to how technological techniques can be carried out in relation to a certain environment are also important. For instance, to know how to prepare a balanced meal is necessary, but to find out whether or not the environmental conditions will permit the people to have such a meal, and to work out a measure that may adjust various factors in order to create a favorable environment are also necessary.

1. See New York Times, April 18, 1944. It reports that on April 17, an announcement was made by E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. to the effect that "a new chemical process that transmutes all types of soft wood into wood of any desired hardness, thus providing a chemical magic wand with which hundreds of millions of acres of American forests of pine and other soft woods can be transformed into woodlands yielding the best of timber."

Both kinds of research and study should be done in direct assistance from the national government. These are, to educational institutions. In each province, there should be at least one agricultural college and an experimental station, in which research work both in theory and in practice may be carried on, and in which students may be trained to be experts and specialists in various fields closely related to the task of rural reconstruction.

7. Full Use of the Latest Scientific Inventions.

The government should make every effort to utilize the latest methods that have been invented, or newest laws that have been discovered, in the scientific world. The industrial use of agricultural products, such as cotton to be used in building roads, and soybeans for making plastics, the making of converted rice, the cultivating of penicillin for curing diseases, the new chemical magic which transmutes soft Chinese woods into the best of timber,¹ and many other engineering techniques

should be introduced into China so as to lessen the "chores" of the farmer, to increase the efficiency of his work, and to improve the welfare of rural communities in general.

8. Enterprises for Which Government Assistance is Indispensable.

The government should undertake what the people in local communities cannot do by themselves, or cannot do without

1. See New York Times, April 18, 1944. It reports that on April 17, an announcement was made by E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. to the effect that "a new chemical process that transmutes all types of soft wood into wood of any desired hardness, thus providing a chemical magic wand with which hundreds of millions of acres of American forests of pine and other soft woods can be transformed into woodlands yielding the best of timber."

direct assistance from the national government. These are, to mention only a few of them, reclamation of waste land; relocation of farmers on more productive farms; colonization of farmers in Northeastern or Northwestern frontier provinces; purchase and development of submarginal lands; the development of national forests, public parks, and recreation grounds for camping and picnicking, sports and games; the preservation of wild life; irrigation projects; rural electrification; the building of farm-to-market roads; the provision of transportation facilities; the establishment of radio broadcasting stations; providing funds for cooperative loans; provisions of grant-in-aids for public libraries, public schools, public health administration in local communities; and the training of professional rural workers as outside leaders in rural communities, corresponding to the county agent of the Cooperative Extension Service in the United States.

9. Reduction of Taxes.

The fact that Chinese farmers have been taxed far out of proportion to their tiny incomes was pointed out by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his lectures on the Principle of Livelihood,¹ and has been confirmed by agricultural economists and rural social research students who have made first hand investigations in a

1. See San Min Chu I, translated by Frank W. Price, pp. 435, 436, and 453, 457.

number of sample areas. It is therefore of paramount importance that the government should endeavor to reduce the amount of taxes as well as the number of kinds of taxes, that have been recklessly imposed upon the farmer. Only in this way, may the government hope to convince the people that it is really determined to work for the reconstruction of the nation and for the renaissance of the rural life.

10. Parity Income for Rural Families.

The government should work out a system whereby the farmer and his family will be assured a parity income; that is to say, he will have the opportunity for a satisfactory living, equivalent to that enjoyed by the city people who are gainfully engaged in other occupations.

11. Genuine Practice of Democracy

All that has been suggested above belongs to the first category of rural reconstruction, viz., the program which should be carried out by the National Government in order to meet the demands of the people when they are awakened to, or conscious of, their needs. Now we need to consider the program that belongs to the second category which is parallel with the first, but has to do with the awakening of the people, and with the methods of extending to the people government aid, both financially and

in personnel, and the results of research and experiment from educational institutions. These programs should be developed from the bottom upward, which is the genuine practice of democracy. It does not mean that the outside leaders should assume the habit

In connexion with this matter, we would like to endorse a recent statement made by Dr. Sun Fo,¹ in which he says that if Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principle of democracy is ever realized in China, "there must be a fundamental readjustment of methods within the Kuomintang itself. . . . The structure of the party was to be from the bottom to the top." "If we had realized the principle of democracy during the past twenty years," continued Dr. Sun, "the democratic spirit of the party would now be an inspiration to the rest of the country. Unfortunately we have failed to do so because of various difficulties and other considerations within the party. As a result the organization of the Kuomintang moves, on the contrary, from top to bottom."

Summing up his criticism of the practices of the Kuomintang, Dr. Sun Fo declared: "We have already spent sixteen years in political tutelage, yet there is not one member of a hsien (county) council nor one hsien administrator who has been elected to his office by the people of the hsien."²

1. President of the Legislative Yuan of the Chinese Government.
2. This statement was reported by Brooks Atkinson, See New York Times, April 15, 1944, p. 4.

It is true that rural people are not organized, that they are inarticulate, and that they should be awakened through the stimuli furnished by outside leaders. But this does not mean that the outside leaders should assume the habit and attitudes of a ruling class and impose their own will upon the masses. On the contrary, the rural people must be saved by their own effort, even though the initial motivation, or the stimulus, needs to be introduced by outside leaders. But outside domination must be removed, or mitigated to the minimum. Otherwise, the farmer will continue to suffer from inferiority and fear, and subsequently, the development of the spirit of democracy will continue to be arrested.

12. Rural Adult Education.

In order to provide a program that is compatible with the realization of the democratic idea, the government should in every possible way develop a system of adult education to be applied in rural areas. The techniques of adult education in rural areas which have proved to be successful in Mexico, Nova Scotia, Denmark and elsewhere, have already been described in a rather detailed fashion. These methods may be adapted to the needs of China for breaking down the inertia of the rural people, and for introducing new ideas and practices for the

12. Participation of the Farmers in the Planning.

good of the rural people. They should not be used for grafting any alien characteristics upon unwilling and obdurate masses. The awakening of the people must be spontaneous and genuine; their freedom cannot be forced upon them, or given to them; it must be won by themselves.

in the hands of the local groups. It must be recognized that

13. Working With or Through Local Organization.

In attempting to introduce new ideas and practices, the outside agencies should enter first into partnership with the established local organizations, such as schools, ancestral temples, self-defense corps, and Christian churches. By working with or through the local organizations, the agents representing national or outside agencies, will not be alienated, and the local people will become actual participants in the services devoted to the improvement of their own communities. By giving credit to indigenous organizations, the outside leaders may help the local people to build up their self-confidence and reliability upon themselves. Furthermore, the innovations thus introduced will be tied up with the established local interests, which ^{may} consequently share the pre-empted space in their lives and in their budgets. This should prove to be the most effective way of helping the people to help themselves.

14. Participation of the Farmers in the Planning.

To work with or through local organizations, however, may induce the outside leader to exert unconsciously too much influence on the local people, and thus defeat the very purpose of being democratic. In order to guard against this pitfall, it should be emphasized that detailed planning must be left in the hands of the local groups. It must be recognized that both the specialist and the farmer have contributions to make. And the knowledge of local conditions may lead to a new definition of the problem at hand, which would call for a new set of proposals for solution. These new proposals therefore should be met with open-mindedness and even with tolerance on the part of the specialist.

15. Community Organization.

A corollary to the above principles is community organization. Through organization by the people themselves many things, which seem to be too gigantic or too expensive or even impossible, can be done unspectacularly, but effectively and realistically. For example, the cadastral survey, which, if done by the National Government, would mobilize tremendous human and material resources for a period of one hundred years. And when the complete survey is made, many of the results will be of historical value only, because after the lapse of a hundred years the village may be able to support a lower primary school of four grades, but a vocational school, or a higher primary school.

years, the actual land registration will be greatly different from what is recorded. But if each local community is properly organized, this survey may be done voluntarily, with little cost of public money, accurately, smoothly, and contemporaneously. In the same token, the local people may be encouraged through their own community organization, to build roads, or to plant trees within the boundaries of their respective communities. These projects would cost millions or billions of dollars, over a period of tens and scores of years, if they should be undertaken by the National Government.

Community organization thus fostered will make the rural people more ready to avail themselves of the advantages of modern technology through cooperative effort for a common end. It also will preserve the social values of mutual helpfulness and the traditional neighborliness. It is an arena in which the spirit of democracy is hammered and polished.

16. The County as an Integral Unit.

As the problems of rural life are varied, so are the roads leading to the goal of reconstruction. For some problems, solutions may be sought in the local community. For others, such as public health and higher education, we need a larger basis for a satisfactory operation. For instance, a single village may be able to support a lower primary school of four grades, but a vocational school, or a higher primary school

related to the problems of the entire nation.

with eight grades, calls for a larger constituency. In the same token, a local community may be able to organize a selling and buying club, but it will not be able to have an efficient producers' cooperative with elevators and plants for processing agricultural products. Hence, all projects must be planned in the light of what can be accomplished with the available resources. If it is not large enough to allow free play to the various interests of human life, a larger area should be sought, but it should not be so large as to hamper the mutual understanding among the people within a given area. For all practical purposes, the county has been suggested as the most adequate unit in the United States, which incidentally coincides with the views of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who designated the hsien as a unit of local self-government like. It requires continuously renewed efforts, and should be

17. Rural Reconstruction, a Long Range Task,
Requiring Cooperation and Consecration

Finally, rural reconstruction must not be understood merely as a sort of rural relief (although relief is an important feature at the beginning), or even as a kind of rural rehabilitation (because it does not aim at returning people to a previous state). Rural reconstruction is an integral part of national reconstruction; in China it is almost synonymous with national reconstruction. As such, its problems are not economic only, but social and cultural as well, intricately related to the problems of the entire nation.

CHAPTER XIII
 Reconstruction implies creation, the process of which is not meant to be solely an emergency measure but which aims at a healthy, long-time regimen. It therefore should be conceived as a growing program. Its programs not only should be built to improve the physical well-being, but the spiritual also; not only for those who are now living, but also for the children of the generations to come.

The task of rural reconstruction calls for patience and wisdom in the execution of its programs. To go too fast or too far ahead of the people would be a grave mistake. It is a task of a long-range educational campaign through various channels, such as indigenous social organizations, the extension services, agricultural colleges and experiment stations, farm papers, Christian churches, cooperative societies, and the like. It requires continuously renewed efforts, and should be carried out on the basis of cooperation between the state and the individual, between the central, the provincial, and the local (hsien) governments, by men and women who are willing to consecrate their lives to a task of unparalleled significance.

about the post-war world order. But this must be planned for now.

The fact that 80 per cent of China's 400,000,000 are rural people should certainly be recognized in the new world order. If the standard of living of these rural masses remains

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN POST-WAR RURAL CHINA

1. The Chinese Rural Church and World Democracy.

While the present world-wide struggle is going on, people are living a life of tension; all eyes are focused on the final victory; no sacrifice is too great for them to endure. As long as the enemy is threatening to undermine our way of life, people will endure any hardship they can possibly bear, and will drain the cup of bitterness to the dregs. But once this dreadful spell disappears, a period of relaxation will come; and, during this period, people will feel fatigue and will murmur at their fate. They will say, we have undergone so much destruction, spent so much money, lost so many lives, and what do we get now? Then people will begin to recall the good old days, and try to seek revenge against any one who, they think, ought to be blamed for their troubles. No sooner will the visible enemies disappear, then invisible ones will creep into their lives. Then history will again repeat itself. This is perhaps one reason why many people are now concerned about the post-war world order. But this must be planned for now.

The fact that 80 per cent of China's 450,000,000 are rural people should certainly be recognized in the new world order. If the standard of living of these rural masses remains

as low as it is now it will constitute a big drawback to the realization of a world democracy. A world democracy must not be interpreted merely as political equilibrium; it also means economic equality. We cannot have the one without the other. When the war is over, there will be a colossal gap between reality and potentiality. Theoretically, rural people in China are free citizens of a republic, yet actually they are fettered by many chains. These limiting factors, as has been pointed out, are small family incomes, educational inadequacy, sociol-political chaos, and religious disintegration. Many of the underlying causes for these factors are beyond the control of the people themselves. Even if the people were psychologically ready to remove these limiting factors, they would have a long way to go before they would be able to enjoy a standard of living similar to that of the labouring classes in America.

If these retarding factors are not removed, not only will the people in rural China become a stumbling block to a world democracy, but they will be a bone of contention which the reactionaries will try to seize upon, or else they will be reservoirs of danger which might overflow and menace the world if their potential power gets through a breach. Either way there will be a repetition of the present disaster, and all our cherished wishes will be defeated.

lead the people on and on toward the ever developing goal which

Here, therefore, lies the job of the Christian church.

In the first place, we must recognize that a good government, no matter how good it is, is not as good as self-government. If there were capital available for the development of rural areas in China, it could not be used until the people themselves knew, or desired to know, how to make good use of it. Unless the people are approached by an agency like the church, which is world-wide in scope, and impartial in nature, and are informed concerning this idea of world democracy, it will be very hard for the people to grasp the idea and unite for its ultimate fulfillment.

In the second place, after the cessation of present hostilities, the country will be flooded by agents of various organizations and political theorists with diverse interests. We can also say that most of them will be concerned with the material well-being of the people. But the material well-being is only the outward appearance of something that lies deeper in the life of man. As everybody will be in a hurry to see results, it will be very likely that this deeper meaning of life will be sacrificed or neglected. This will result in a confusion of ideas and a conflict of motives. Here comes the special service of the church. Having its vision focused on world democracy, which is an abstract idea, the church will lead the people on and on toward the ever developing goal which

can be reached only through faith in the loving will of God. Therefore, the endeavor to realize the idea of world democracy will always tend to be frustrated if we only try to enforce some collective planning through centralized government agencies, or if we are interested only in the fruition of an idea without looking into the fundamental principle that lies under the surface.

The role of the Christian church, in relation to this idea of world democracy, is to decentralize the authority of human effort by bearing witness to the truth that men are created by God, as free beings. And as such, everyone of the human race should be accorded due respect.

However, the task of the church is not only to create a moral urge for a new and better world order, but to introduce into this world a new God-given force, similar to that experienced by the early Christian communities. Its message is real only when it is incarnated in the corporate body of the professed followers of Christ. This giant task of the church in rural China can be adequately carried out only when it is recognized, not as a task for individual local churches, but as a coordinated movement for the whole Christian Church in China. Hence, a united effort made by all branches of the Christian faith in China is necessary.

While the war is going on, two things should be done. First, discover the facts regarding the policies of different denominations for mission work in China in the post-war period, and facts regarding the present and potential resources including the active and expectant missionary personnel. Second, explore the possibility of concerted action in regard to the preservation of existing rural churches and the expansion of rural church work in the light of the changing conditions and the national aspirations of the Chinese people.

Not only does the rural work of the Christian Church require cooperation between denominations, it also calls for coordinated planning by the different types of Christian workers, namely, evangelists, educationalists, physicians, agriculturalists and Christian social workers. For example, an organic plan could be worked out so that the rural parish might become a laboratory for social studies made by Christian institutions of higher learning. It might become an auxiliary out-station of a hospital or an experimental center of an agricultural college with a Christian background. On the other hand, there are many questions and problems of social, economic, or other environmental concern that the rural church will have to deal with, and these should always be referred to organized Christian institutions for analytical research and technical help.

Moreover, as the means of communication are bound to be developed after the war, the old idea of localized community life will tend to change. Many of the present-day rural areas will probably be industrialized or urbanized and the structure of the rural community will be subjected to constant modification. Special interest groups will arise to take the place of the old traditional clan associations. All these will need to be motivated and carefully guided. In order that the local rural church may properly discharge the service-aspect of its program, contacts should be made with various institutions, both government and private, through the National Christian Council or Provincial Christian Councils. Finally, if the Christian church is to proclaim its message to the rural people, both in word and in action, this message should be proclaimed by men and women who are specially trained. In regard to this matter of training professional rural ministers, it is hoped that not only the curricula of the theological seminaries may be adapted to the needs of the rural ministry, but also that there may be a close relationship between the colleges and seminaries. Arrangements should be made in such a way that a student who is preparing for the ministry could elect courses in the affiliated college and receive a college degree recognized or granted by the Government.

(2) The rural church offers the people an opportunity for worship. Human beings are somewhat like lions trapped and caged,

In this way, rural ministers would have as high an academic and social standing as the school teacher or the government extension worker.

2. The Christian Church and Rural Reconstruction.

Aside from the task of bringing the Christian gospel to rural people with a view to building the kingdom of God on earth the Church is also confronted with a more immediate task, that of post-war reconstruction of rural areas. Here, the role of the church is in the sphere of the intangible. We must recognize that the Word should always be made flesh and that the intangibility of the message of the church should always be expressed in things that are tangible. This point may be briefly stated here.

(1) The rural church is a dynamic force in the village community. In the post-war period, rural people will be in need of everything from the things with which they can produce food to the things through which they will be able to enjoy life more appreciatively. But between the stage when they begin to desire and the time when their desire is satisfied, there will be a great gap that can be bridged only through persistent effort, indomitable courage, and firm faith in God as revealed in Christ.

(2) The rural church offers the people an opportunity for worship. Human beings are somewhat like lions trapped and caged,

who reproduce in a place barred with iron pillars. These lions walk round and round for miles and miles, and always stop at the same place. Worship is the door through which man comes out of his cage and can have communion with God so that he can taste the kind of life that will be qualitatively different from his daily routine. Since the rural church is located in a village or in the country, forest and rice fields are its backgrounds for praying and singing.

(3) The church should act as the helper of the weak, the sick, and the forgotten. For example, a Chinese peasant is left in the cold corner of his mud house with no money with which to pay his debts and with no means to improve his lot. It is the job of the church to see to it that he is properly treated by his fellow men. Hear what Jesus said, "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me." We must realize that no evangelical church can consolidate its position in a village as long as a considerable number of the rural population is under-fed and under-housed, decimated by preventable disease, and liable to be despised on account of poverty or ignorance.

(4) The church is the pioneer of reform movements. If there is anything that needs to be done, it is the duty of the church to study the problem and to make its desire known to the

proper agencies that are competent to undertake the necessary reform, or start the social action itself. In the preceding chapters we have noted that the people in rural China are burdened by many problems, and therefore they are living under the shadow of a monstrous specter--fear. Freedom from want and freedom from fear are both lacking. Hence the church should always be ready to translate its ideals into social action, either by stimulating the local people or by collaborating with the outside agencies.

(4) The rural minister in China lacks many things which are taken for granted by rural ministers in other countries where the profession of the ministry is generally recognized and honored and where people are accustomed to pay for the maintenance of the church as well as for the support of the pastor and his family. But the Chinese rural pastor has at least one advantage over his co-workers in America, in that he has unlimited opportunity for service. Such things as cooperative agriculture, cooperative industry, cooperative health projects, public recreation, literacy classes and travelling libraries, to mention only a few out of a long list, can be introduced by the rural minister.

(5) The church is the collaborator, but not the handmaid, of the government. As long as government action is beneficial to the people, the church should cooperate with it to the full

extent, but the church should not take orders from the government in matters regarding its function.

(6) The church is the gardener which concerns itself with the spiritual growth of the people, as the farmer is concerned with the growing of plants and the raising of livestock.

(7) The church is a teacher and an interpreter who helps the farm people see the beauty of natural surroundings, and develops their character so that their outlook may not be blurred by their immediate material handicaps.

(8) The church should be an integrator of the community social forces. In order to fulfill this function, the church should always prove itself a useful and indispensable organization, and never a burden to the people. Thus it should constantly seek to reaffirm its message, to re-evaluate its program, to readjust itself to the newer and higher stages to which the evolving community has or ought to have attained. We all know that rural China will be reconstructed after this war, but let us also be reminded that the process of reconstruction does not aim at the restoration of what the rural people have had in the past; rather, it should be designed to recondition the lives of the people in the light of the changing world.

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