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DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

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The Ohio State University
1970

Approved by

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Advisor
College of Education
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Introduction

Mass education is usually conceived of as a program of literacy campaign in a country where the rate of illiteracy of the population is high. But the rural-mass education movement in China forty years ago was an attempt to create a new pattern of education universally available and practically useful to the people to replace the current system which was considered dysfunctional and ineffectual, and which is referred as the "new education" in this study. Generally, literacy is an indicator of the quality of the population of a nation; but, as far as the people's welfare is concerned, according to the experience of China in the programs of mass education, literacy alone is not enough. Strictly speaking, "literacy is not education; it is but a tool for education." The efforts made to reform China's educational system in the 1920's and the 1930's were an attempt to combine the literacy programs of mass education with the life-improvement programs of rural reconstruction. To represent, in a precise way, the meaning of the movement, the term "rural-mass education" is therefore coined and used in this study.

China, early in this century, was the largest, the most populous and probably the poorest country in the underdeveloped world. Poverty, illiteracy, ill-health and political chaos
were the reality of the conditions under which the people desperately struggled for survival. In order to make a change for the better, but acting under a wrong assumption that to borrow the educational system from a prosperous country would enable a poor country like China to become equally prosperous, the American system of education was then borrowed. Unfortunately, the high expectation was met with a series of frustrations. The system, in a period of more than one decade, failed to produce what it had done on its native ground. Consequently, the new education greatly burdened the progress of the nation and helped very little to relieve the people from their miseries. Against such a background, the programs of rural-mass education were initiated. In the course of its development, the rural-mass education movement exhibited a great variety of underlying philosophies and programs, and, finally, under the influence of its three most outstanding leaders, it became a "troika" with three leading forces moving not as a harmonious team but in three diverging directions. So the movement failed to bear any significant result before the disruptions of the second Sino-Japanese War.

The expressed goals of the movement were to change the nature of education from elite-making to peasant-training and to democratize education. The rapidity of the development of the movement and the extent to which it spread demonstrated its general acceptance. So, even though it lacked success, the
rural-mass education movement in China is a subject of significance, worthy of thorough study.

This study is an attempt to make a critical but objective assessment of the outcomes as well as the shortcomings of the rural-mass education movement. The findings of the study may imply hypotheses regarding the construction of an educational program appropriate to other countries struggling for survival under such difficult conditions as were encountered by China half a century ago. At the same time, by presenting a detailed analysis of some major programs in the movement, it is hoped that a basis can be provided for subsequent studies of the educational development in contemporary China as rural and mass education has so far been the dominant theme in education on China mainland.

Due to the complexity of its development and the variety of programs, an exhaustive study of the movement is hardly possible. The scope of this study is therefore limited temporally to a period of fourteen years, from 1923 when the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement was organized in Peking, to 1937, the first year of the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). Further, although a general view of the relatively impressive programs scattered across the country will be presented, close analysis will be made only of the six leading programs as six models of the movement.

In order better to provide a comprehensive view of the
background against which the movement took place, a panoramic picture of New China in the early twentieth century and her educational system of that time will be presented in Part One of this study. In Part Two, there will be a general review of the development of the movement, followed by an account of the six representative models of the movement. Some educational critics in China thought that the appearance of the rural-mass education movement had opened a new prospect for the future development of China's education, and that accomplishments of the movement must be credited to the three leaders: James Y. C. Yen, Liang Shu-ming and Tao Hsing-chih. Others held these three men responsible for making China's educational system more confusing as they had worked out divergent programs based on their own personal preferences without relevance to the real problems of China's education at the time. The remarks, both favorable and unfavorable, somehow served to show the importance of each of the three men to China's educational reform in the 1920's and the 1930's. A study of the rural-mass education movement in China would be incomplete without a knowledge in depth of the personalities, philosophies and educational ideas of the three leaders. Hence, intensive individual studies of each of the three leaders will also be made in Part Two. An analysis of the problems and the promise of the movement is presented as a conclusion to the study. This conclusion was derived from the overall survey of the
movement, together with the detailed descriptions of the representative models and of the thoughts and the work of the three great leaders.

The sources of materials used in this study consist of three categories: (1) the foundational source materials, which are books and journal articles pertaining to the theories and facts of social, economic and cultural development, and to the theories and methodologies of comparative education; (2) direct source materials, which include statutes and regulations of various organizations related to the rural-mass education movement; progress reports of experimental programs; records of various conferences; and published works written by the leaders or the members of each group of the movement; and (3) indirect source materials, which are the general literature dealing with the problems of rural communities in China and the critiques of the movement.

Although the movement represents an important stage of educational development in China, yet it has not been much studied by Western educators, so most of the available materials were written in Chinese. Great care has been taken in selecting source materials. The most reliable and original sources are the laws and the statutes and the records of conferences. These supply accurate information concerning various aspects of the development of the movement. The accuracy of most of the statistics used in this study remains doubtful, but
the figures would indicate the trends of development, nevertheless.

Because of the incongruity of connotations of a word in the context of different cultures, an idea expressed in one language may be translated to mean something else in another language. Consequently, there arises misunderstanding and misjudgments. Students of comparative education have been well-aware of the problem and are somewhat disturbed by it. In order to minimize such difficulties in this study, special attention has been paid when certain technical terms and some passages in Chinese are rendered into English.
Part One

The Background of the Rural-mass Education Movement

The rural-mass education movement in China, begun in the early 1920's, was an attempt to create a new pattern of education to replace the existing educational system which had been proved dysfunctional in terms of meeting people's needs and national demands. For a thorough understanding of the significance of such an educational reform movement, it seems necessary to have some knowledge of the general conditions in China during the period in question and of the facts of the operation of the existing educational system as the background, against which the movement arose. The presentation in Part One of this study will therefore focus on a profile of New China from 1911 to 1937 and the perspectives of her new education. Then follows an ecological review of the new education in New China.
Chapter I
A Profile of New China

October 10th of 1911, known in China as "Double Ten", has subsequently been celebrated as the birthday of New China--The Republic of China, for this was the day of the Wuchang Uprising, the outset of the national revolution which brought the two-thousand-year-old imperial system to an end by overthrowing the Manchu dynasty. So New China means that China is new because she has been transformed from an empire into a republic. The profile of New China will be made to show her political situation, economic conditions and social and cultural trends during the years following the revolution of 1911 up to 1937 when the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) broke out.

Political Situation

The political situation in China immediately after the revolution of 1911 was chaotic, and the reasons for the chaos can be apprehended through a brief review of the events in the revolution, the warlordism after the revolution, and the antagonism between the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) and the Chinese Communist Party.

The Tragedy of Revolution

Although on New Year's Day of 1912, the founding of the
Republic of China as a result of the revolution was officially proclaimed, yet China did not become a unified nation until December, 1928 when the national flag was hoisted over the capitals of the northeastern provinces to signal the victory of Kuomintang’s Northern Expedition. Nor was there a constitutional government in China until March, 1948 when the National Assembly was first convened in the national capital, Nanking, to enact the constitution of China. But by the time when a democratic government was finally formed according to the constitution immediately after the adjournment of the National Assembly, most of the rural areas and a number of cities had already been occupied by the Chinese Communists, and many different forms of the “People’s Government” had been established by the Communists in the so-called “liberated areas”. By 1949, the mainland of China was entirely taken over by the Communists. Since then China has once again been put under the control of a totalitarian government. After a transitional period of less than four decades, which was predominated simultaneously by revolutions, wars and economic depression, China politically from a long system of monarchial dictatorship entered a new system of proletarian dictatorship. Strictly speaking, therefore, the Chinese people as a whole, despite the price they had paid for various revolutions, have never had so far an opportunity to live under a truly unified and democratic government ever since the beginning of their
recorded history.

Perplexedly, in 1912 when the republican government was formed in Nanking, and Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) was elected the provisional president of the Republic, the Manchu imperial government in Peking was still functioning. Perhaps it was true that the Manchu government, because of its deeply rotted foundation, appeared too weak to resist the revolutionary force; while on the other hand, the strength of the revolutionaries was not great enough to overturn the empire easily by force. A subtle situation thus developed, and it gave Yuan Shih-k'ai (1859-1916), the Prime Minister of the Manchu government\textsuperscript{1} and a shrewd and wily schemer, an opportunity for political maneuvering to create a condition favorable to his own personal interests. Under Yuan's manipulation of the events, neither one of the two parties attempted to drive the other out. Instead, they came to negotiate for a peaceful settlement of the disturbing situation. Finally an agreement was reached: the 13-year-old young emperor, later known as Henry Pu-ya, announced his abdication on February 12, 1912, to satisfy the prime objective of the revolutionaries; and Yuan Shih-k'ai took Sun Yat-sen's place as the provisional president.

\textsuperscript{1}Only three months before the outbreak of the 1911 revolution, the Manchu government in Peking was reorganized by changing the Committee of Ministers on State Affairs into a cabinet consisting of one prime minister, two vice prime ministers and ten executive ministers.
of the Republic to take over the ruling power of the Manchu imperial government.

Actually Yüan had no faith in republicanism at all, and he detested the revolutionaries. After his inauguration on March 10, 1912, Yüan insisted that Peking must remain the national capital. This meant that the republican government in Nanking was automatically dissolved, and that he was the legitimate inheritor of the last Manchu emperor, not the successor of Sun Yat-sen, although he had in fact accepted the offer of the provisional presidency of the Republic from Sun. It was said that Yüan secretly doctored the young emperor's abdication edict so as to show that the edict specified that the ruling power of the Manchu government was being transferred to him and that he was authorized to organize a provisional republican government and to negotiate with the revolutionaries. Thereafter, relying on his relation with the foreign powers and his own military power, Yüan managed to disband the revolutionaries by either exiling or assassinating them. Soon he decided to bring himself to the throne as the emperor of a new dynasty.

During his tenure as provisional president of the Republic, Yüan, in order to extend his control over the provinces to facilitate the realization of his political ambition, replaced all of the republican governors with his own henchmen. In protesting against his dictatorial conduct, the governors of
the central and the southern provinces, collaborated with Sun Yat-sen, started a revolt in July, 1913, known as the second revolution, but it subsided before it could do anything effective enough to upset Yuan's preparation for a new monarchy. In December, 1915, Yuan, exploiting some instigated petitions as justification, proclaimed that he would be the emperor of a new dynasty, and that his enthronement would take place on January 1, 1916.

Shortly following the proclamation, such provinces as Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Yunnan, Chechiang, Hunan, Szechuan, and Shensi declared their independence and threatened that a new monarchy would mean an immediate civil war. Recognizing the difficulties of the situation, Yuan dropped his plan on March 22, 1916, and died with despair and frustration in June of the same year.

Tragically, everyone who was directly involved in the first phase of the revolution, for a period of fifteen years (1911-1926), came out to be a loser. The Manchu government was brought to an end by the abdication of the young emperor. Yuan schemed to fish in the troubled water, but ultimately he gained nothing except that he drowned himself in the water. For the revolutionaries, the possibility of establishing a republic by the premature revolution was far out of sight. What was the immediate result of the revolution of 1911 was the civil wars and the fragmentation of the nation.
Warlordism

Warlordism as a political phenomenon had its root in provincialism, which had been fostered during the late years of the Manchu regime. Within the boundaries of a province in China, after the republic was declared, a military man or warlord could conscript his own army and secure the economic resources of the province for military use. So much so that the army in China in the past was often labelled with a provincial name, such as the Chihli Army and the Fengtien Army. The leader of the army was always joined by the men ambitious for political power to form a clique with the intention to dominate China's political scene.

No matter what label was attached, the army in general was always worse than useless. Plundering and looting seemed to have become the routine job of the soldiers. Wherever the soldiers went, they never failed to perform this job, and they were always so greedy and with so much ease as if they were licensed to do so by wearing their uniforms. In many cases, therefore, the people were afraid more of the soldiers than of the bandits. People in a village always carrying their household goods with them began to flee when they heard the soldiers were coming to the village to protect them from the bandits.

Among the warlords themselves, the stratagem of entrapping and betraying was their daily business. They never trusted each other. They could be allies today, and enemies tomorrow.
So it was often heard that one warlord invited other warlords to banquet. Before the feast was over, the host lined his guests against the wall and had them shot. Sometimes the warlords formed a kind of triangular relation, "each allied himself in turn with each of the other two against the third, and thus each was double-crossed by the other."²

Since the revolutionaries, after overthrowing the Manchu regime, were pushed aside by Yüan Shih-k' ai, they could only retreat to Canton in Kwangtung, the home province of Sun Yat-sen. The northern part of China, after Yüan's death, became an arena for power struggle among the warlords. The republican government in Peking remained nothing more than "a legal and diplomatic formula". The ministries were occupied by "a succession of ephemeral cabinets" whose tenure of office was, in practice, determined by the result on the battlefield. The winner of the civil war would have his followers fill up the offices till the next winner led his followers to come to replace them.

After Yüan's failure in making himself emperor, for instance, an attempt to restore the young abdicated Manchu emperor was made by a monarchist warlord Chang Hsün (1854–1923) in July, 1917. The restoration lasted for only a few days

before the monarchists, including K’ang Yu-wei (1858-1927), a leading figure in the reform movement during the closing years of the Manchu regime, were dispersed by the combined forces of the Anhwei clique and the Chihli clique. Before long, the alliance of these two cliques was broken because of the competition for power. Then the Chihli clique joined by the Fengtien (southern Manchuria) clique successfully forced the Anhwei clique off of the stage in 1920. Afterwards conflicts between Chihli and Fengtien cliques soon developed to such an extent that within three years there were two Chihli-Fengtien wars. In the first war in 1922, the Fengtien clique was defeated and was forced back to Manchuria; while in the second war, because of the defection of a Chihli general, Feng Yu-hsiang (1880-1949), the Fengtien clique became the victor.

In Canton, the revolutionaries under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, in the hope that they would be able to unify the nation by eliminating the northern warlords, organized a military government in 1918, and Sun was elected Generalissimo of that government. Ironically, however, the existence of the military government was in fact at the mercy of the local warlords of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. In May, 1918, for instance, Sun was forced by the Kwangsi militarists to resign from his post as Generalissimo of the military government, and, in 1922, he was again compelled by one warlord in Kwangtung to flee to Shanghai.
Obviously, because of the lack of adequate preparation and sufficient military and financial support, the revolution of 1911 brought the nation into an anarchistic state. Then the warlords in various areas throughout the country became ravenous contenders for domination of the political scene. As a consequence, the general condition in China became more turbulent and the people at large suffered more than before the revolution.

The Antagonism between
the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party

Since the early 1920's, the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party in China have become two major rival political parties, and the interactions between these two parties have been "in such a complicated fashion that it is almost impossible to isolate the growth and decay of one from the development of the other." Sometimes one tried to cooperate with the other as its own interests required, and soon a split became apparent when one thought itself able to exterminate the other. Basically, however, neither party was ever inclined to recognize the other as a political party and to respect the other as such. To the Kuomintang, for instance, the Chinese Communists are only a group of lawless rebels;

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while to the Chinese Communists, the Kuomintang has become but a corrupted clique. Thus antagonism between the two parties unceasingly developed, and their antagonism contributed no less than warlordism to bring about the national disaster which ensued from the civil wars in China.

In 1912, after a setback of the revolution by Yuan Shih-k'ai's usurpation, the revolutionaries under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, in order to recapture their aspiration, converted a revolutionary anti-Manchu secret society, T'ung Meng Hwei (United League), which had been created in Tokyo, Japan in 1905, into an open political party and named it the Kuomintang. Its platform, in addition to nationalism which originally meant anti-Manchu, was extended to include national unity, the development of local self-government, racial harmony, the improvement of the people's livelihood, and the promotion of international peace. In 1914, when Sun Yat-sen went into exile in Japan after the failure of the second revolution, he realized that the organization of the Kuomintang was not efficient enough to attain its political objectives. Therefore he joined with others to reorganize the party into a Chunghwa kemingtang (China Revolutionary Party) in Tokyo, and he also decided that the tasks of the revolution in China should be carried out in three different stages: military rule, political tutelage, and constitutional government. Five years later, in 1919, for the purpose of strengthening the party by bringing back the estranged old members of the former
Kuomintang, the old name of Kuomintang was restored to replace the name of Chunghwa kemingtang.

In 1924, a change in policy of the Kuomintang was made under the advice of a group of Soviet advisers headed by Mikhail Borodin, and this change began to bring destruction to the Kuomintang. The new policy was known as "to make allies with Russia and to admit the members of the Chinese Communist Party" to the party. Thereafter, the members of the Chinese Communist Party were admitted to the Kuomintang as individual members of the party, not as representatives of the Chinese Communists. In the same year, the Kuomintang's First Party Congress, held in Canton, enacted the party constitution, and by the same Congress a resolution was passed to establish a military academy to train troops to fight the warlords in order to unify the nation. Also the military government in Canton was reorganized in the form of the National Government of China as a rival of the Republican Government in Peking. In June, 1926, one year after Sun Yat-sen's death (March 12, 1925), the Northern Expedition, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek (1886- ) with the aim of unifying the nation by annihilating the warlords, started from Canton.

When the Expedition army reached central China in January, 1927, the National Government of China moved from Canton to Wuhan (a tri-city including Wuchang, Hank'ou, and Hanyang). No sooner had the moving of the government been completed than
the antagonism between the members of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists within the Kuomintang developed to such an extent that neither could tolerate the other any longer. As a result, the Communists were expelled from the Kuomintang, and a new Kuomintang National Government was set up in Nanking in April, 1927, to replace the National Government of China in Wuhan. On October 10, 1928, the establishment of the Nationalist Government in Nanking (southern capital) was formally announced, and Peking (northern capital) was renamed Peiping (northern peace). The completion of the Northern Expedition was the victory of the Kuomintang's revolution in the military sense.

However, before the end of 1928 when the Expedition army successfully took over all of the northern provinces, the Chinese Communists had established their base in Kiangsi Province in 1927, and a Chinese Soviet Republic was subsequently formed in that province in 1931. Then the civil war between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists became the dominant feature of national events. As of 1934, the Communists, after several bloody battles with the Kuomintang's troops, were finally forced to take up their "Long March" to Yenan, a small city in northwestern China. During the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), a United Front between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists was again formed and continued to function as such intermittently. By 1949, in the renewed civil war, the
Kuomintang was finally defeated and the Communists took over the entire mainland of China. In a period of about four decades, from 1911 to 1949, there seemed to be no time without war in China, either civil or foreign.

**Economic Conditions**

In a period of such political upheaval, it would be no surprise that the economic conditions became deteriorated. To have a clearer picture of the economic conditions of that time in China, a general review of the facts concerning population, agriculture and industry, which usually affect the economy of a nation, would help.

**Population**

The number of China’s population has so far remained a myth because no census covering the entire territory of China was ever taken. The difficulties of taking a complete census in China were and still are manifold: (1) the difficulty of reaching the countryside in the remote areas, using the available means of transportation and of communication of the time; (2) the reluctance of the people to co-operate because the people always see a connection of a census with taxation and conscription; and (3) the traditional preference for the anonymous status of the females. The figures which appeared in various publications were only estimates made by either the government authorities or the demographers, so they were always different from each other. By the following chart, such
Artificiality of the figures of China's population can be easily seen.

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Reported by</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>440,000,000</td>
<td>The central government of China⁴</td>
<td>In Nanking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>456,200,000</td>
<td>Ch'en Chang-heng⁵</td>
<td>A Chinese population expert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>480,000,000</td>
<td>Ch'en Chang-heng⁵</td>
<td>At the 19th International Statistics Conference in Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>340,000,000</td>
<td>Walter F. Willcox⁵</td>
<td>An American population expert at the same conference</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above figures were given in the same year, from three different sources; two of them were given by the same person, but even they differed. Therefore, the accuracy of other figures of China's population may also be questionable. In 1948, for instance, one year before the Communists took over the mainland of China, the Ministry of Interior of the National Government in Nanking reported that China's population was 464,978,646. By 1954, the figure given for the first time by the Chinese Communist government was 601,938,035. Within a


⁶Jen-min Jih-pao (The People's Daily), November 1, 1954.
period of six years, from 1948 to 1954, an increase of 29.4 per cent of the total population seems quite improbable. Estimates of the natural rate of increase underline the implausibility. So S. Chandrasekhar, the distinguished Indian social scientist, doubted if a census was really conducted in China under the Communist government. Granting that a census had been successfully carried out, there was the question of whether the figure officially given by the government was correct, for statistics under Communism always have a certain strategic value, and the world has had experience in receiving impressive but unreliable statistics from Communist regimes elsewhere in the past. If the figure was approximately correct, then all previous figures of China's population, which was estimated around 450 million, would become meaningless.  

Due to the absence of accuracy in the quantitative analysis of China's population, an adequate judgment of its quality would be another impossibility. However, some of the available figures, even apparently mythical, can be used to support a general assessment in regard to the age and sex composition of the population, which directly relates to the size of labor force relevant to economic development. For instance, of the total of 464,978,646 (the 1948 official figure),

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243,078,779 were males and 221,899,867 were females, so the sex ratio was 11:10. The age composition of China's population was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1-9</th>
<th>10-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60-69</th>
<th>70-79</th>
<th>80-89</th>
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<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Controversial as the problems of China's population could be, by and large, one fact, which seems undeniable, would be that the number of Chinese people is the largest compared with that of any other country in the present world. From the age composition of her population, China is a relatively young nation, and the magnitude of the labor force is quite large. If there is a responsible government and some workable plans can be well worked out, this large labor force can be directed to any desired end.

The real problem of China's population is not its quantity, nor its quality, but its geographical distribution. Some areas in China are massively congested; while other areas are very sparsely populated. Once Weng Wen-hao (1889- ), a renowned Chinese geologist, suggested that if a straight line were drawn in a southwesterly direction from Aihui in Heilungkiang Province to Tengchung in Yunnan Province, it would then show that 36 per cent of the land area of China lies southeast of the line, and 96 per cent of the population live there; while only 4 per

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8 Yao Kuo-shui, op. cit., p. 89.
24

cent of the population live in the northwest where 64 per cent of the land area lies. If China had an area of 11,418,174 square kilometer, as usually claimed by the Chinese government, and a population of 464,978,646 (the 1948 official figure), then the average population density was 46 per square kilometer. But in the eastern coastal areas and the Yangtze delta, the density reached 400 per square kilometer; there were only 1 to 25 persons per square kilometer in the far northwestern areas, particularly in Chinghai and Hsinkiang, where there was less than one person per square kilometer.

The pattern of population distribution as such would necessarily lead to the development of a formidable economic crisis in a nation. A considerable amount of human labor had been wasted in the overpopulated areas simply because there were too many to be employed; while, in the underpopulated areas, the wastelands had remained wasted because there was not enough working force to cultivate them. If, in a country like China, serious economic crisis resulted from ill planning in the employment of human resources, the adjustment of population distribution seems to be the problem of which the solution deserves a high priority.

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9 Yao Kuo-shui, op. cit., p. 91
Agriculture

Up to now, the main economic resource of China has long been agriculture, in which 74.5 per cent of the whole population is directly engaged, and even more are dependent upon it. Yet the returns of the agricultural enterprise in China has been far from sufficient to provide a comfortable standard of living for the masses of the people. The farming environments, such as climate, soil and topography, were undesirable, and the methods employed in farming are not efficient, nor are the capital investments and equipment adequate.

The topographical conditions of China exhibit a wide variety. Weng wen-hao made the following estimate:^{10}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Sq. km</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plains</td>
<td>380,000</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basins</td>
<td>600,000</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valleys</td>
<td>340,000</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plateaus</td>
<td>1,400,000</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountains</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cultivability of the areas of plateaus and mountains, which constitute 64 per cent of the whole area of China, is very significant. The remaining three areas are only 36 per cent of the land. "Much of China is uncultivable, owing to lack of moisture, excessive cold, mountains, or poverty of

^{10}Ch'iao Ch'i-ming, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
soil; but not all that is cultivable is actually cultivated.\textsuperscript{11} The cultivated index reported by the Ministry of Interior in 1932 was 10.0. It was much too low compared with Germany's 63.1, but it was higher than Canada's 2.7.\textsuperscript{12}

The cultivable land in China was estimated to be 1,687,000,000 mow\textsuperscript{13} (one mow is approximately equal to one sixth of an acre). If this figure is divided by 345,780,000,\textsuperscript{14} an estimated figure of the number of Chinese farmers, then there would be five mow per person. Yet, according to the estimate made by Professor E. M. East of Harvard University, an amount of land of sixteen mow per person was required for maintaining a moderate standard of living.

Before the people's communes were organized in 1958, small-scale cultivation presented another unique feature of Chinese agriculture for the size of the land holdings of a single family was usually very small. According to the report made by the Central Institute of Agricultural Experiments in 1934, the distribution of landownership fell into the following

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12}Ch'iao Ch'i-ming, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 181.
\item \textsuperscript{14}Tawney, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 26.
\end{itemize}
Because of the small size of the farm, the methods of cultivation are necessarily limited to heavy physical labor as most of the mechanical implements are not applicable to small farms. Moreover, in China, animal power, compared with the farms in the Western nations, is rather scarce. "The poor peasant of European tradition had a cow, but no land; the poor peasant in China had land, but no cow." So far work in China is usually done by the members of the farmer's family using traditional techniques and primitive tools, such as wooden plough, hoe and spade.

The cropping system varies according to the climate and soil in different regions of the country; so does the rural economy. The main crop division is between the wheat belt of the north and the rice zone of the south. Between the Yellow River and the Yangtze River, there is a transitional zone, where both wheat and rice are grown. However, under the population pressure, the main crops in China, both north and south, are primarily grown for human food. There are only a few different kinds of commercial crops. So in China it is not

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of mow</th>
<th>10 and below</th>
<th>10-20</th>
<th>20-30</th>
<th>30-50</th>
<th>50 and above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[16\] Tawney, op. cit., p. 28.
easy for agriculture to help the development of industry of any kind.

As a result of the low rate of agricultural production caused by the numerous factors as mentioned above, China, an old agrarian country, has been and probably will be a great importer of rice and wheat for many years to come. The available figures of imported rice and wheat for 1931 and 1932, for example, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Cotton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>10,240,810 tan*</td>
<td>23,773,424 tan</td>
<td>4,652,720 tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>21,386,444</td>
<td>15,084,723</td>
<td>120,577,475</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(one tan equals approximately 133 pounds)*

Obviously, these figures were out of date, but, nevertheless, they are probably still good to show how much the masses of people in China have suffered from the pressure of hunger.

Industry

Historically, the first setup of modern industry in China was the building of the Anching Arsenal and the Shipyard in 1862, and its further development in the subsequent years was demonstrated by the establishments of the Kiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai in 1865, of the Ma-wei (near Fuchow) Shipyard in 1866, and of the Tientsin Arsenal in 1867. During the first phase of the development of modern industry in China, the goal was

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primarily concentrated on military preparation in order that the nation could withstand the challenge of foreign powers.

However, after 1870, the commercial industrial enterprises and transportation facilities began to come into existence. The China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, for example, was founded in 1872; the K'aiping Coal Mine was opened in 1878, and later a cement factory was attached to it in 1891; the Ta-yei Iron Mine and the Hanyang Iron Works began to operate in 1890. In addition, a wool mill was set up in Lanchow of Kansu Province in 1878; the first telegraph line between Shanghai and Tientsin was constructed in 1881, and companies in other cities were also invited to apply for telegraph service. Two more large cotton mills were established in 1891, one in Shanghai, and the other in Wuchang. A number of paper mills, flour mills, and match factories were also subsequently established one after the other in large cities throughout the country.

Unfortunately, the prospects of China's industrial development greatly dimmed after the signing of the Treaty of Shamonoseki to conclude the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). By this treaty the Japanese as well as the other foreign powers were given the rights to carry on their trading and to establish their factories in the treaty ports. Thereupon, the foreign businessmen, particularly Japanese, English and German, flocked in, and the foreign factories, such as textile mills,
flour mills, mines, and shipyards, were erected one after another. Notwithstanding the various measures taken by the government as signs of encouragement to the native industries, the nascent Chinese industry could by no means compete, in capital investment and management, with its counterpart of foreign origin. Therefore, a setback in the Chinese industrial development resulted.

However, about one decade after the founding of New China in 1912, the Chinese industry enjoyed two opportunities of revitalization. In 1915, the Japanese submitted to the Chinese government the Twenty-one Demands, which gave rise to a general anti-Japanese feeling among people of every walk of life throughout the nation, and a Boycott Japanese Movement spread all over the country. By this movement, the domination of the Chinese market by Japanese goods was successfully checked. The First World War offered another opportunity. During the war, the European powers became occupied with military production, so the amount of their exported goods to China was drastically reduced. Therefore, China's native goods gained more markets. These two events altogether meant that the pressure of the foreign economy upon Chinese industry was temporarily eased so that the Chinese industrialists had a chance to increase their production and to establish more factories. For instance, the cotton mills owned by Chinese were thirty-two in 1913; by 1920 the number increased to sixty-nine.
Not long after the ending of the war, the return of the Westerners and the Japanese to the Chinese market constituted a fatal blow to the infant Chinese industry. In the severe competition, the Chinese industry, due to its inherent weaknesses, such as the lack of sufficient capital and the absence of modern and scientific methods in management, was doomed to fight a losing battle.

In addition, there were some social and political factors which created a formidable hindrance to the Chinese industrial development. The anarchical situation after the 1911 revolution and the constant fighting among the warlords did immeasurable and irremediable damage to the Chinese industry. Furthermore, strikes of the workers hurted production in factories both foreign and native. For instance, from 1919 to 1926, there were 1,232 strikes, which involved 1,813,291 workers for a total of 6,158 working days. Such intermittent stoppages certainly made a great drawback to the industrial development.

The population increased steadily; the agricultural system upon which most of the population depended was too outmoded; and the prospects for industrial development were also

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very dim. Furthermore, the influx of foreign manufactured goods to the villages destroyed the rural handicraft industries, which had been the main auxiliary occupations of the farm families. As the manufactured goods are always of lower price and better quality than those made by the hands of the craftsmen in their shops, so these goods are more appealing to the consumers. The income of the farm family without auxiliary occupation decreased, but the farmers had to buy machine-made goods for their daily use. Such an imbalance between income and daily expenses inevitably led the Chinese farmers to enter a state of economic misery.

Social and Cultural Trends

Amidst the political turmoil and the economic deterioration, there emerged a change of societal structure and the rise of various kinds of new thoughts. These occurrences were the earmarks of the new social and cultural trends in China of the post revolution period.

Structural Change of the Society

As a result of the establishment of factories both foreign and native in various cities, a considerable proportion of the rural population was attracted away from the villages by the promise of a better life when and if employment in the city was secured. Once the rural youths, away from their farm homes, flocked into an industrial center, a new relationship and a
new kind of loyalty would develop among them. Then the ties and the contacts with each one's own old family gradually became insignificant as the old family was no longer the place to provide economic and social security for them. Consequently the foundation of the Chinese traditional family system began to lose its strength, and hence, an individual instead of a family gradually began to become recognized as the basic structural unit of the society.

No caste system has ever existed in China, and yet the concept of social classes is nothing new to the Chinese. The word "class" in China usually connotes not the social stratification, but an occupational classification. Traditionally people in China were classified into four divisions: scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants. Nevertheless, in the sense of social control, two social strata have existed: the ruling class of the gentry-elites and the ruled class of the masses of people.

Owing to the changes which occurred in various aspects of the society, the traditional four social divisions have been replaced by five groups: farmers, workers, merchants, students, and soldiers. Such a new order is always subject to change as required by different circumstances. During the war time, for example, the soldiers were on the top of the list, but the Communists always mention the workers first.

The most significant changes in the past few decades were
that the scholar class showed a dramatic decline in their social position; while the merchants, including the industrialists, in many people's minds, stayed no longer at the bottom of the social structure. Obviously, the growth of the cities, and the increase of foreign trade were the facts which afforded the merchant class access to a much higher position in the society.

On the other hand, because of the enlarged enrollment of students in various schools, students seem to have to be regarded as a class, or at least a category. The new student class, however, unlike the old gentry-scholar class, can no longer enjoy special favors and respect from the masses of people. In many instances they almost appeared useless and frustrated. In a modernity-oriented society, knowledge of the past tradition is always less appealing than the new ideas of economic growth. Therefore a man of action in the modern society appears in many ways superior to a man of erudition. This is what both the new and the traditional scholars in China have suffered. A graduate from whatever school who failed to secure a position either as a school or college teacher or as a public civil servant in some government office would inevitably become a kind of burden, not a leading force, of the society. Compared with a former farm boy who is now working in a factory, or with a man who has much less education but now is a rather prosperous businessman, the students--new scholars--suffer miserably in status and prestige.
Another new phase of the Chinese society was the rise of the social position of women. In the new social order the Chinese women are able to break their traditional social bondage and to achieve an independent status. Previously, women in China were regarded as dependent beings inferior to men. Since the 1911 revolution, the idea of equality between men and women began to prevail, and also through the vigorous struggles for equality in the legal and social aspects initiated by various women's organizations, women in China today enjoy nothing less than men. Discrimination between the sexes has become a less serious problem in the Chinese society.

Cultural Revolution and New Ideologies

The May Fourth Movement, or the New Thought Movement, was a cultural revolution in China. The movement was started by a students' demonstration from 37 schools and colleges in Peking on May 4, 1919, to protest China's diplomatic failure at the Paris Peace Conference after World War I. In fact, however, a cultural revolution aiming at uprooting the old Chinese tradition had been underway before May 4, 1919, and its headquarters was the National University of Peking. Particularly after January, 1917, when Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei (1867-1940), a scholar of both Chinese classics and Hellenistic learning, was inaugurated as Chancellor of the University, the university became a center, from which a flood of new thoughts was generated and by which various "isms" of foreign origin were
introduced. Ts'ai believed that the sacred obligation of a university was to create a new culture and a new society for the nation; he therefore recruited a faculty of men with new ideas and often encouraged the students to discuss and to discover the social and political problems of China so that a new society might be created.

In the May Fourth demonstration, students were attacked by the police, and thirty-three of them were arrested. In protest against these arrests, the students in Peking called a city-wide strike. A few days later, in response to the action taken by the students in Peking, students throughout the nation, joined by workers and merchants, went on a general strike. This movement was witnessed by John Dewey (1859-1952), who arrived in China three days before the demonstration took place in Peking, and he commented on it by saying:

While most political in its outward expression, it was not a political movement. It was the manifestation of a new consciousness, an intellectual awakening in the young men and women who thought their schooling had been aroused to the necessity of a new order of belief, a new method of thinking.... Its spontaneity was the proof of its genuine and inevitable nature.  

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Evidently this movement propelled by the anti-imperialistic sentiment was primarily to question the fitness of a corrupt and incompetent government, such as China had at that time, to handle foreign affairs. As the spirit of protest spread all over the country, so the sound of fury mounted. Eventually, the value of the traditional Chinese culture and the old social establishments altogether became the subjects of questioning. Such a change of front of the movement immediately won the enthusiastic support of the intellectuals, who had been actively engaged in seeking a new social order for China.

Amid the revolutionary atmosphere, the problems concerning the old and the new became the central topic of discussions in the current publications and in the classrooms throughout the country. The dissatisfaction of the young Chinese with Old China was clearly reflected in their unreserved denial of the old tradition and in their fervent hope for a new society. As a consequence of the movement, the old morality and Confucianism were renounced as obsolete, and science and democracy appeared to be the only alternatives of the time.

Following the climax of the movement, the leaders of the movement, who held different views of the problems and insisted on different approaches to remodel China, split into two groups. One group, led by Hu Shih (1891-1962), a student of John Dewey at Columbia University, insisted that a new and democratic China could be made through gradual progress; the other group
led by Ch'en Tu-hsiu (1879-1942), who did his advanced studies in Japan and France, believed that the salvation of China could be achieved only by such radical means as the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. So Ch'en Tu-hsiu collaborated with Li Ta-chao (1888-1927), a professor at the National University of Peking and also the librarian of the University, under whom at one time Mao Tse-tung worked as one of his assistants, began to introduce Marxism-Leninism into China. Henceforth, Communism became a strong challenger on the ideological front in China.

The "New Life Movement" and the Revival of the Old Morality

The New Life Movement, aiming to use the codes of the old Chinese morality as foundation to reform the way of the people's daily life, was initiated by Chiang Kai-shek in 1934. The old morality as Chiang defined was the law and order in the Chinese traditional society. He assumed that the nation's physical power could be build only upon the foundation of moral strength. However, it was believed that the underlying reason which had motivated Chiang to initiate the movement was twofold: on the one hand, he was irritated by the presence of Communism in China which formidably challenged the existence of the Kuomintang, and on the other hand, he was impressed by the achievements made in Japan after the Meiji Restoration (1868) and that in Germany by Hitler. In his message to the first
mass meeting of the movement, February 19, 1934, in Nanchang, he said: "If we are determined to reform, we must start with the most fundamental problem—we must reform our habits first." By this statement it can be well understood that Chiang was to try to make a social regeneration in China by fostering a spirit of discipline as opposed to the individual habits of disorganization, irresponsibility and perfunctoriness. Such a movement for a country like China of that time was significant and necessary in terms of promoting social modernization and cultural change. China had long been under the rule of the monarchical system, but the Chinese as a whole are a carefree people. Compared with the people in the well and systematically organized societies, the Chinese have enjoyed much too much freedom in their daily life. So at the beginning of the movement, the people were asked not to make loud noise in public places, to straighten their posture, to stop smoking, to keep clothes buttoned, to walk on the right hand side of the street, and to be punctual. All these requirements were fundamental and necessary for an effort to reform the people's habits. These requirements were all within the comprehension of the common people, so they were met enthusiastically. As a consequence, orderliness and cleanliness among the masses were achieved to some degree. As guidelines of the movement,

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there were eight cardinal principles,\textsuperscript{22} (see Appendix I) which were printed on posters placed on display in schools and government offices throughout the country.

The orientation of the movement seemed contradictory—to restore the old morality while it promoted a new life. The supporters of this New Life Movement argued that the ancient virtues generated from the teachings of the ancient sages had been the national soul for so long, that New China could not afford not to have them in order to overcome the current crises of various kinds. Therefore, they \textit{vigorously} propagated the importance of the four basic Chinese virtues: (1) \textit{li}, courtesy and proper behavior according to status; (2) \textit{yi}, proper conduct and righteousness; (3) \textit{lien}, integrity and honesty; and (4) \textit{ch'ih}, conscience and the sense of shame. People were asked to apply these four virtues to their daily \textit{life} in the matter of food, clothing, shelter and action.

In connection with the restoration of the old morality, the cult of Confucius came back, and the Confucian temples in different localities, which had been destroyed during the May Fourth Movement (1919) and the Northern Expedition (1927), under the influence of the revolutionary zeal, were \textit{rebuilt}. The Confucian ethics of loyalty and obedience were also

tactically translated into a new kind of patriotism and nationalism, through which every Chinese was urged to give his filial piety to the whole people as one race and to devote his loyalty to the nation as one family. In the nation-family there was one and only one head with the status of "L'etat c'est moi" to rule all the members. The movement hence became a political device, and most of its programs were carried out through a network of the government machineries. The New Life Movement, because of its political overtone and its backlash in nature, gradually lost its appeal to the majority of the people and finally faded away in the course of time.

Each of the contour lines of the profile of New China has been drawn with great effort to achieve verisimilitude. The profile as a whole may look much too grim and too depressing, but it is a true picture of New China. Anyone who had the experience of witnessing what was happening every day in China during the period in question would recognize that there is not any intentional distortion of the picture. For instance, John Dewey spent two years in China from 1919 to 1921, and he witnessed the conditions. Based on what he had seen and understood, Dewey said that by what people knew as nations in
Europe, China was not a nation. It was a land of problems and the problems were all deadlocked and interlocked.\textsuperscript{23}
Chapter II
Perspectives of the New Education

The term "new education" in China has so far remained equivocal. To one group, it means the educational system which began to exist when a foreign language school was first founded in Peking in 1862. To another group, it means the educational system which was adopted by the republican government after the revolution of 1911. This study will take the latter point of view on the basis that only changes in policy and philosophy not the outward formal imitation of school organization make a new education. The reason that supports this point of view will become obvious when the rise of the new education is studied in the following pages. Then the search for aims and policies, the administration and school system, the curriculum and instruction, and the facts and figures, of the new education will be presented separately.

The Rise of the New Education
In China, probably like in any other tradition-bound nation, ambivalence would always be the general attitude toward the adoption of some foreign system. The adoption was considered good and necessary for the programs leading to national modernization, but the foreign system itself seemed somehow to wound the national pride in its own tradition. This was exactly the
manner in which the development of China's new education took place, and from these facts, dilemmas developed.

Ever since the beginning of contact with foreign powers through religion, trade and wars, the Chinese had found out that the foreign cultures in some aspects were superior to theirs. So they reluctantly swallowed their pride in the cultural-supremacy of China and attempted to learn something of foreign origin in order to catch up with the foreigners by using foreign means. Therefore, the first opening of new schools of foreign model was only a measure to meet the temporary emergency without any intention to establish a new educational system.

After the opening of the treaty ports, for instance, the presence of foreigners in a number of cities in China created an urgent need for people able to interpret the languages of the treaty powers. So, in 1862, through the recommendation of the Tsungli Yamen (the Foreign Office), an institution of foreign languages, known in Chinese as T'ung Wen Kuan, was set up in Peking to train interpreters of English, French and Russian. In 1867, a mechanical school affiliated with the Kiangnan Arsenal was opened in Shanghai to train mechanical engineers and machinists in order that modern weapons and ships could be manufactured without the necessity of employing foreigners. In the same year, a naval yard school of two divisions, one a French division in naval construction, and the
other an English division in navigation, was established in
Fuchow. Military academies, and mining and engineering schools
were set up one after another in subsequent years.

The zeal for acquiring technological knowledge during this
period was remarkable, but the efforts made by those who were
in charge of the programs were concentrated merely upon intro-
ducing techniques of manufacturing weapons and ships. Perhaps
they never had the idea to establish a new educational system
to replace the traditional examination system, of which they
probably all were beneficiaries. The founding of some insti-
tutions for the purpose of training a certain kind of techniques
might account for something in the efforts of establishing an
educational system, but not everything anyhow. So if the
appearance of these institutions should be regarded as the
beginning of a new educational system, the meaning of education
would seem much too broad and too loose. Furthermore, the
education would have appeared incredibly unfamiliar to the
Chinese particularly at the time almost one century ago if it
meant solely to train technicians for manufacturing weapons and
ships, instead of making gentry-scholars.

Against such one-sidedness of the programs, Chang Chih-tung
(1837-1909), a scholar-official of the Manchu government, later
advocated an over-all new educational system. He published a
book, known in Chinese as the Ch'Uan Hsueh P'ien (An Exhortation
to Learning) in 1898. In his book, he recommended the
establishment of a university in the national capital, Peking, and colleges in various provincial capitals, middle schools in prefectural cities, and elementary schools in district cities. The teachings in the new schools were to emphasize both Chinese classics and Western sciences and technologies. His philosophy of education, "Chinese learning as essence; Western learning for practical use", then became a classic dictum, which for many years governed the policies of China's education. Of course, the proportions in the mixture and the methods of blending the two learnings were an even greater philosophical problem in education. However, his progressive ideas, in the era of conservatism, could not be put into practice. Not until the turn of the century, in the wake of the eight-nation expedition to Peking as a measure of retaliation to the Boxer Uprising in 1900, was the force of resistance to change overwhelmed by the cry for reform so that there might be an attempt to adopt a new educational system.

In 1903, a special commission, consisting of Chang Chih-tung and others, was organized by the emperor's edict to make a detailed plan for setting up a new national educational system. Most of the members of the commission were convinced that Japan became strong because she had adopted an educational system after the model of the Western nations, particularly the German and the French style of highly centralized control. The
Japanese educational system promulgated in 1872\textsuperscript{24} was therefore their first choice as the model for the establishment of a new educational system in China. The system known in the history of Chinese education as the Educational System of Kuang-hsū 29th Year (1903) was adopted but never well established. (see Appendix IIA)

The newly adopted system consisted of three different levels. At the elementary level, there were kindergartens of four years, lower elementary schools of five years and higher elementary schools of four years. Paralleling with the higher elementary schools, there were supplementary industrial schools of three years, primary industrial schools of two to three years, and apprentice schools of one-half to four years. At the secondary level, there were middle schools, middle industrial schools and lower normal schools of five years; higher schools, university preparatory schools, higher normal schools and industrial teachers training schools of three years; and higher industrial schools of three to four years, schools of languages to train interpreters of foreign languages of five years. Paralleling with the higher schools, there was a Chinsih Kuan (House of Scholars) admitting those who had passed the local examination of the old examination system. At the

higher level, there were universities of four years and graduate schools without time limit.

According to the recommendation of the commission, schools at the elementary level were to give boys at and above seven years of age the knowledge necessary in life, to instill the foundation of morality and patriotism, and to promote physical development. Schools at the secondary level were to provide general education for the youth and to prepare them to enter public or industrial life or to go on to higher institutions of learning. The universities were restricted to the graduates of higher schools and of university preparatory schools and were to train men of talent for various government offices.

Such an educational system and the function of the schools unfortunately appeared too new to the Chinese tradition in general and to the Manchu government in particular. So in 1906 an adjustment was made, and the Board of Education of the Manchu government proclaimed that the schools at every level were "to cultivate in the mind of the youth the virtues of loyalty to the emperor, reverence to Confucius, devotion to public welfare, admiration for martial spirit and respect for industrial pursuits."  

By and large, such a pioneer plan for China's new

education could well be considered comprehensive and ambitious. It had a wide scope and provided a variety of schools to meet the practical needs of the people. For instance, a youth who could not complete the course from kindergarten to university might branch off the main track to specialize in some vocation of his own choice. But under the strong influence of the Chinese tradition of looking down upon businessmen, the training of merchants and commercial training at each level was not given any attention. On the other hand, the requirement of twenty-one years to pass through the whole system seemed too long and made it less practical if the system was adopted for the people at large because it was beyond the reach of the majority of the people on the basis of their financial ability.

In addition to its inherent shortcomings, the promise of the system was tragically overshadowed by the lingering evils of the old examination system. The old system had been abolished in 1905 under the condition that the candidates for public offices would be selected from the new schools. So a graduate of the new schools had to receive proper official recognition from the government before he could be appointed to any position. The new educational system, therefore, was made to resume the old practices of training government officials. Once Paul Monroe made a comment on the system by saying that it was a system with "aims simply to recapitulate the past, ... to form habits and thoughts and action identical with
those of the past without developing any ability to modify or adjust habits to new conditions."

A new bottle is filled up with old wine. However new the bottle may be, the wine in it would remain old. Such was the situation of the first attempt to have a new education in China—merely a new form under which the reality remained unchanged.

Following the founding of the Republic of China, the Ministry of Education was officially formed under the government of the Republic of China in January, 1912. Then a message delineating the Temporary Educational Policy was dispatched from the Ministry to the governors of the various provinces. Each of the governors was asked to reopen the schools which had been closed because of revolution in his province, and to permit boys and girls to attend the same lower elementary school. This was the first measure taken for co-education in China. The practice of awarding official degrees to the graduates of various schools and the teaching of Confucian classics were all abolished. Adult education classes for those who previously never had an opportunity to attend any school were given an unprecedented emphasis. Education in China from this time on was directed into a new course of development, and this has

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been recognized by many as the beginning of China's "new education".

Obviously a change in philosophy and policy of education in China like this reflected the ideas of the leaders of the 1911 revolution, and most of them in one way or the other were bearing the influence of the Western democratic philosophy. Particularly was this the case with Sun Yat-sen, whose ideas and beliefs had their roots more in the West than in China. Although he never wrote any special book on education, his ideas in this respect can be found in many of his speeches. Sun firmly believed that the stability of the foundation of the Republic would entirely depend upon the intelligence of its citizens. He thought that it would be an unbearable social injustice if only those from wealthy families could have education and the poor people were deprived of such an opportunity. Sun therefore advocated the idea that in the Republic equal opportunity of education must be made available to everyone. He also recommended that teaching the use of both hands and brains would be an effective approach to a productive education.  

In Search of Aim and Policy for the New Education

Although the new educational system was established after

the founding of the Republic of China in 1912, the search for aims and policies for the new education was never concluded until 1928 when Sun Yat-sen's San Min Chu I (The Three Principles of the People) was taken as the supreme guidelines of educational practices, and China's education began to be officially named the San Min Chu I education. A brief review of changes in aims and policies may help in understanding the difficulties in the development of China's new education.

In July, 1912, an Emergency Central Education Conference was called in the national capital, Peking. In addition to the administrative officers of various schools and officials from the concerned departments of the central government of the new Republic, two representatives from each province were invited to the conference. The future of China's new education was the focal theme of the discussions at the conference. After long deliberation among the participants in the conference, seventeen resolutions were passed concerning the problems in the practices of the new education.

Following the close of the conference, the aims of education in China were redefined and made public by the Ministry of Education. They were to cultivate virtuous and moral character in the youth, and moral training was to be supplemented

by industrial and military education and rounded out by an aesthetic education. Obviously, under the Republic, the meaning of morality was not the old Confucian ethics; it was now tinged with the Western idea of equality, liberty and fraternity instead. Industrial education was meant to give practical and vocational knowledge necessary for daily life, and military education to train each citizen as a soldier so as to insure an effective defense for the new Republic. Aesthetic education was intended to give the youth a lofty ideal in life and a sublime outlook on the world. But such a highly philosophical and vague idea of aesthetic education, because of its incomprehensibility to the majority of the people, failed to receive much attention at the time.

New policies were also worked out by the Ministry of Education. For instance, attendance of the lower primary school became compulsory. Equal opportunity of education was provided for both boys and girls of every race (five races: Hans, Manchus, Mongolians, Mohammedans, and Tibetans), and technological and vocational training were given more emphasis than the literary courses. By the fourth year of the Republic, 1915, because of Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to restore a monarchical system, the aims of education were once more revised. Now they

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became, to cultivate patriotism, practical ability, martial spirit, observance of Confucius and Mencius, appreciation of self-government, and the sense of responsibility and modesty. Thereby the teaching of Confucian classics was again given more emphasis than the practical courses. But a few months later, Yüan's sudden death brought an abrupt end to the revival of Confucianism, and the development of new education resumed its original course.

In February, 1917, the Ministry of Education, in order to free education from ulterior political influence, issued a statement asking students and teachers not to join any political party or to engage in any political activities. But soon such an effort was proved all in vain because both the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party had tried by all possible means to have the students and the teachers involved in their activities, such as the Youth Corps under the leadership of the Kuomintang and various other organizations on the campus under the leadership of the Chinese Communists.

In addition, the numerous educational associations and educational conferences were another reason that caused constant changes in the aims and the policies of China's new education. During the early years of the Republic, a critical period of readjustment and reconstruction, in order to win public support, to obtain advices from the leading educators of the nation and to secure the facts of the progress of education in each province,
the Ministry of Education earnestly encouraged the interested people to set up organizations to study the educational problems and to voice their opinions regarding solutions to the problems. Consequently, associations of education, both national and provincial, sprang up everywhere in the nation. A democratic measure like this was encouraging and necessary, but the organizations and opinions were much too numerous to help education to grow along a steady line without excessive changes. A resolution, for instance, passed by the first annual National Conference of Provincial Educational Associations, held in Tientsin in 1915, recommended that the country should be militarized through programs of military education. In 1918, the fourth annual conference of the National Federation of the Educational Associations proposed to establish more industrial schools and to start the movements of Boy Scouts and Student Clubs. In the same year, the National Conference of Middle School Principals suggested adopting military training in the middle schools.

Contrary to these suggestions, in 1919, the first Conference for the Investigation of Education, which included such prominent educators as Ts'ai Y'nan-p'ei, Chiang Monlin (1884-1964) and others, moved to abandon the aims of education stipulated in 1912, on account of the over-emphasis on militarism. Their argument was that the direction of change in China should be harmonious with the current world opinion which
at the time violently condemned the militarism of Germany. So "Right over Might" became a very popular slogan. These educators therefore proposed that the aims of education in China should be to cultivate a strong and perfect personality and a spirit of republicanism. In the same year, the members of the National Federation of Educational Associations voiced their opposition to the proposal. They believed that there was no need and was also impossible to impose any aim upon education because "education has its own aim". As a result of these arguments, the old aims became meaningless, and no new ones came up as alternatives. China's new education therefore became substantially aimless in the following years.

In September, 1922, a National Education Conference, aimed at revising the current system of education, was called by the Ministry of Education in Peking. At the conference, no final decision concerning the revision of the current system was reached. However, a proposal of seven principles, later known as the 1922 Educational Reform Act, was passed. The principles were:

1. to adapt itself (education) to a changed and changing society
2. to promote the spirit of democracy
3. to develop individuality
4. to take into consideration the economic status of the average citizen

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(5) to adjust education to the needs of life
(6) to facilitate the spread of universal education
(7) to make itself (education) flexible enough to allow for local variations

These principles, which were in fact a new set of aims and policies of China's new education, clearly indicated a shift of foreign influence on Chinese education. The influence from Japan, Germany and France was replaced by that of the United States. This shift was made due to the following facts:

(1) with the defeat of Germany in the First World War, the prestige of German education as a foundation of strength was greatly damaged, and so was the popularity of the Japanese educational system; (2) the increased number of returned students from the United States and their success in obtaining access to the commanding posts in the government offices\(^3\) overwhelmingly upset the influence of the Japanese-trained men in many aspects of the national life;\(^3\) (3) John Dewey's sojourn in China from 1919 to 1921 was also a great force in


\(^3\) As John Dewey wrote from China, "The returned student is a definite category here, and if and when China gets on its feet, the American university will have a fair share of the glory to its credit." See John Dewey and Alice C. Dewey, Letters from China and Japan. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1920, p. 150.
directing the educational reform and social change in China. 33

The Americanization of Chinese education, before reaching its maturity, was fatally disrupted by the return of the old trinity of militarism, patriotism and nationalism. In 1925, a May 30th Incident occurred in Shanghai, and in June 23rd of

33 In 1919, after completing his series of lectures in Japan, Dewey was invited by Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei, then the Chancellor of the Peking University, to give lectures at that university. He arrived in China on May 1, 1919, and then started his lectures in Peking. It was said that Dewey originally planned to stay in China for only a few weeks. But the fascination of the struggle going on in China for a united and independent democracy caused him to alter his plan and postponed his return to the United States till 1921. A book titled Dewey's Five Major Lectures was published in Chinese, and this book created a great sensation and went through ten printings in two years. In addition to his regular lectures as a visiting professor at Peking University, he made a lecture tour, which covered 11 of the 28 provinces of China and 35 cities. Besides all of his lectures published in Chinese, many of his works in philosophy and education were translated into Chinese, too. His Democracy and Education in the Chinese version was used as textbook in the course of philosophy and education for many years, and some excerpts from his How We Think could even be found in high school textbooks. For details, see Thomas Berry, C. P., "Dewey's Influence in China" in John Dewey: His Thought and Influence, edited by John Blewett, S. J. New York: Fordham University Press, 1960, p. 200.
of the same year, there was a Shakee Incident in Canton.\textsuperscript{34}

The two incidents together led to an outburst of strong anti-
foreign sentiment throughout the country. As an immediate
effect, militarism, patriotism and nationalism, at the public
demand, came back to dominate the programs of education.

The attendants of the 11th annual conference of the
National Federation of the Educational Associations held in
Changsha in October, 1925, for instance, advocated that edu-
cation henceforth must emphasize military training to create
in the mind of youth "love for fatherland" and a feeling of
shame at the indignities suffered by the Chinese at the hands
of foreigners. In the same year, an even more radical anti-
foreign movement was launched at the fourth annual conference

\textsuperscript{34} Early in 1925, a group of Chinese workers called a
strike for higher wages against a Japanese textile mill in
Shanghai, and on May 15th of that year, the leader of the
strike was dismissed; some of the workers were shot and killed;
and many others were wounded by the Japanese. Sympathizing
with the Chinese workers and supporting their stand, students
from various colleges in Shanghai, on May 30, staged a demon-
stration in the International Settlement to protest against
the Japanese brutality and to demand the abolishment of un-
equal treaties with all foreign powers. In the process of the
demonstration, a number of students were killed and wounded by
the gunfire of the British police. Thereafter a general
strike of protest was called, and very soon the anti-foreign
movement spread over many other cities. On June 23rd of the
same year, a demonstration, encouraged by the revolutionary
government in Canton in response to the call of Shanghai
students, took place in Canton, and it led to the Shakee
Incident. As a result, hundreds of Chinese were killed and
wounded by the Anglo-French joint forces. By these incidents,
the entire nation was aroused and the anti-foreign sentiment
ran unprecedentedly high.
of the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, which had been founded in 1921 under the leadership of Tao Hsing-chih and had designated seven Honorary Trustees, among whom were John Dewey and Paul Monroe of Columbia University in the United States. At the conference, a resolution was passed to request the Ministry of Education to remake the aims of education to develop patriotism among the youth. The resolution included four major points: (1) the culture of China must be given special emphasis so as to reinforce the national character and to develop among the students a way of thinking independent from foreign influence; (2) military education should be extended to include girls' schools; (3) in order to call forth patriotic sentiment, more emphasis should be placed upon the humiliations which the nation had experienced; and (4) for giving students the basic knowledge and skills relevant to life, science education should be advanced. Although the resolution was never officially adopted by the Ministry of Education, its effect on restoring the militaristic and nationalistic education was profound and long lasting.

After the establishment of Kuomintang National Government (later renamed as the National Government) in Nanking in 1927, the First National Conference on Education was called on May

15, 1928, in Nanking, by the University Council, a new organization set up to replace the former Ministry of Education. Once again the aims of education were brought up as the central topic for discussion at the conference. Finally a resolution was passed to adopt the San Min Chu I as the guidelines for educational practices in China as remarked above. This meant that China's education thereafter was to be imbued with nationalism, democracy and socialism (or the principle of people's livelihood). In March, 1929, the aims of Chinese education were officially proclaimed as: "Education in the Republic of China, based on the San Min Chu I, aims at enriching the people's life, defending social justice and order, raising the people's standard of living; and strives to secure national independence, the universalization of the rights of the people, the improvement of the people's livelihood and ultimately a world of great harmony."  

Compared with those promulgated previously, this set of aims of Chinese education, despite its political overtone, was broader in scope and farther reaching in ideal. It showed concern about education outside the schools and the relevance of education to people's life, and it also gave a clear outlook of the world as a whole.

36 Ibid., p. 389.
When China entered her war of total resistance against Japanese aggression in 1937, the policies of Chinese education were remade to meet the demands of the new situation, but the realization of the San Min Chu I as the aim of education remained unchanged. The policies of wartime education in China made by the Extraordinary Kuomintang Congress consisted of the following nine points:37

(1) equal development of mental, moral and physical training
(2) incorporation of literary and military characters into one
(3) equal emphasis on agricultural and industrial needs
(4) linking educational aims with political aims
(5) closer co-ordination between home education and school education
(6) preserving Chinese classics by scientific methods
(7) more intensive study of natural science
(8) introducing new ideas into social science
(9) equalizing educational development in all localities and popularizing mass education in line with social and home education

Obviously, this set of policies was a synthesis and rephrasing of those made previously.

From 1912 to 1929, in a period of less than two decades, the aims of Chinese education underwent official changes four times, but the appearance of militarism, patriotism and nationalism consistently remained in the mainstream unchanged. This clearly indicated the intolerant attitude and the animosity

37 Hubert Freyn, Chinese Education in the War. Hongkong: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1940, p. 92.
of the Chinese toward the foreign aggressions, and it was also an ingenuous expression of the frustration and anger of a humiliated people caused by the arrogance of the foreign powers. Militarism, patriotism and nationalism in Chinese education are almost synonymous. They all mean anti-foreignism. Historically speaking, education has played a very important role in building a nation, and to use education to foster nationalism is of course something indispensable. So Arnold Toynbee once gave his assent to the idea that "at certain stages in a nation's development it may be very necessary for the schools to emphasize nationalism". However, in an economically and technologically underdeveloped country like China, it would seem "too dear for the whistle" if the education is used to foster among the people the feeling of anti-foreignism at the expense of teaching the people the practical knowledge, which had been so desperately needed for them to improve their lives. On the other hand, it seemed very impractical too, because people with hungry stomachs could not enthusiastically participate in the preparation for retaliating against the foreign powers. Education must be both ideological and utilitarian.

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China's new education would have been not so fruitless as it was, if the aims and policies had been made to focus its development on these two levels simultaneously.

The Administration of the New Education and the School System

Like the aims and the policies of China's new education, the administration as well as the school system in China underwent several changes in a period of three decades. These changes were evidently one of the factors which created confusion and greatly contributed to the failure of the new education.

The Administration of the New Education

The administration of education in China has been more political than educational. In the office of the education department of the government at every level, there is always the shadow of some political figure invisibly but effectively directing the policy-making in regard to various educational problems. In the office of the Minister of Education, for instance, the influence of the president of the Republic and the head of the Executive Yuan can be persistently felt, and this influence may be even stronger than the minister's own authority. So also is the governor's influence in the office

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40 The government of the Republic of China is composed of five Yuan (divisions): the Executive Yuan; the Legislative Yuan; the Judicial Yuan; the Examination Yuan; and the Control Yuan.
of the provincial Commissioner of Education, and the magistrate’s in the county Bureau of Education.

The present Ministry of Education was originally transformed from the Board of Education, which was organized during the Manchu regime in 1906 and was the first government office of education in China. After the year 1912 when it was first named the Ministry of Education under the new Republic, the Ministry subsequently underwent several changes in its name and its structure of organization. By the reorganization of the Ministry made in 1928, it consisted of five departments: (1) general affairs, (2) higher education, (3) general education (i.e., elementary and secondary education), (4) social education, and (5) education for the Mongols and the Tibetans. In addition, there were also the Bureau of Compilation and Publication, the Secretariat, the Office of Counsellors, and the Office of Inspectors. Each of the departments had a director-general, and it could also, as the conditions required, be subdivided into divisions and sections.

At the head of the Ministry was the Minister of Education, assisted by two vice-ministers. They were appointed by the president of the Republic. The minister was charged with the responsibility to oversee the educational affairs of the nation. As an executive, he could appoint and dismiss officers in the Ministry, and as a legislator, he could issue educational ordinances. But in case of dispute between provinces over
educational affairs, the Minister could act only as an arbitrator.

At the provincial level, there was the Department of Education paralleling with the Department of Civil Affairs, of Finance and of Reconstruction, of the provincial government. The Department of Education, according to the Organic Law of Provincial Government promulgated in 1934, was composed of the Division of General Affairs, of Elementary Education, of Secondary Education and of Social Education. But the number of the divisions could be different according to the amount of work in different provinces. Besides the divisions, there were the Office of Inspectors, the Office of Technical Experts and some ad hoc committees. The Commissioner of Education, the head of the provincial Department of Education, was appointed by the president of the Republic upon nomination by the head of the Executive Yuan. His main responsibilities were to direct and to supervise the educational programs of the province. In carrying out his responsibilities, he was assisted by one or two secretaries in addition to the head of each division and of each office in the department.

At the hsien (county) level, during the early years of the Republic, there was a great variety of forms and names of the offices of education in the hsien government. However, by 1930, an Organic Law of County Government was issued by the national government whereby the Bureau of Education was uniformly
organized throughout the country. Since then, in the county government it became a prototype in the nation. The Bureau of Education was composed of a few sections in charge of affairs relating to school education in the county.

The head of the Bureau was appointed by the provincial government upon the recommendation of the county magistrate to assist the magistrate to promote and to supervise the school affairs of the county, and also to preserve the sites and relics of historical interest. The extent to which the head of the Bureau of Education could exercise his authority was always decided by the magistrate.

In 1927, only one year before the Ministry of Education was given its ultimate form, the National Government in Nanking had wanted to give a new and fresh impression in contrast to the bureaucratism and incompetence of the government in Peking, and so had formed a National University Council to take the place of the earlier Ministry of Education. The Council was charged with the responsibilities to take care of all the affairs relating to education, science and arts of the nation. So it consisted of: (1) the Secretariat, (2) the Department of Higher Education, (3) the Department of General Education, (4) the Department of Social Education, and (5) the Department of Publications and Cultural Affairs. Each department was subdivided into several divisions according to the amount of work which the department undertook. In addition,
there were a University Committee and a Central Research Institute (Academia Sinica). The University Committee, consisting of the presidents of the national universities and a number of education experts, was the highest educational legislative body and also had the power of selecting the president of the National University Council and the presidents of the national universities. The chairman of the Committee was the president of the National University Council. The Central Research Institute was the highest research body of the nation, and it contained the Departments of Geological Survey, of Physics, of Chemistry, of Social Science, of Psychological Science, of Botany, of Zoology and of Meteorology.

Since the National University Council had been designed as the highest educational and academic agency of the nation, it was in the structure of government organizations, but independent from any part of any government at any level. By having such a new machinery to professionalize the administration of education, it was considered by many at that time to be a forward-looking experiment. Yet after a period of less than two years, because of its independence from and the difficulty to coordinate with other branches of the national government, the Council was dissolved, and the Ministry of Education was restored

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as an integral part of the Executive Yuan.

According to the plan of the National University Council, the country was to be divided into a number of university districts. In each district, there was to be a university to replace the former provincial Department of Education. The university was organized in such a form as to include:

1. a legislative committee, composed of the university president, two professors, five principals and teachers of the middle schools, five principals and teachers of the elementary schools, five county education administrators, five representatives of educational associations and five prominent educators of the district
2. a research institute in charge of studying the problems pertaining to the development of the district
3. a department of higher education to oversee the various colleges of the university and other professional schools in the district
4. a department of general education to supervise the elementary and the secondary schools in the district
5. a department of extension to promote programs of social education
6. a secretariat to assist the president of the university

But this new system of universities, because of its novelty, did not find public acceptance, so, following the reinstatement of the Ministry of Education, it was replaced with the old form of the provincial Department of Education in 1929.

Notwithstanding the pyramidal structure of the administrative organizations, the power to control national education

\[^{42}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 210.\]
was not centralized; it was a compromise between centralism and localism. The responsibilities were distributed in such a way that the over-all policies were all made by the Ministry of Education and handed down to the provincial and county education offices. In the matter of practices, such as the establishment of new schools, the financial support to schools and the appointment of administrators and teaching staffs, government at each level could exercise its authority over its own jurisdiction. Generally speaking, the central government took care of the national universities; the provincial government had the responsibilities for the secondary schools and the provincial colleges if there were any in the province; and the county government was responsible for the elementary schools within the county.

Division of responsibility like this enabled the local authorities to have a certain degree of freedom in carrying out their own educational programs. For instance, the co-educational system was practised in Chekiang, but prohibited in Kwangtung. On the other hand, however, the decentralization of responsibilities made it difficult to provide equal opportunity of education for all of the population as the conditions--political, economic and social--were different in different localities. In fact, the most serious problem of education in China was not that the local authorities had limited freedom to conduct their educational programs, but that the great majority of the local
authorities had limited or no professional training, so that they did not know how to carry out the educational programs in the locality. The best solution to such a problem would be the expansion of teacher education which was far from adequate in China at the time.

Another serious problem was the dominant role of politics in education. The offices in the educational institutions had all too often been occupied by politicians rather than educators. The higher the educational office was, the greater was the political character of its occupant. In the few decades of the Republic of China on the mainland, there were many educational conferences, and none of them had failed to be a clamorous forum for the educators. But the professional voices and opinions of these educators could be heard only in the conference hall. The policy-decisions were always made by those who were holding political offices and probably never attended any educational conference. The changes in education were seldom made following professional advice or scientific study of the situational needs, but often by the accident of transfer of political power. It is just as true that the occupation of education offices by politicians without any professional knowledge would make the education dysfunctional as that the occupation of government offices by warlords without any administrative experience resulted in political chaos.
The School System

The modern school system in China was transplanted from foreign lands. The Japanese system was first borrowed in 1903 during the Manchu regime, and in 1928, it was replaced with an American system. The transplanted school system survived several crises in China in a period of one-half century, and only recently has it been completely uprooted by the storm of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution on China mainland.

The school system set up in the first year of the Republic, known as the School System of 1912 (see Appendix IIB), was practically a revision of that which was borrowed from Japan in 1903. The principles upon which the 1912 revision was made were that education must be made available for everyone so that the length of the time required to pass through the whole system must be shortened to fit the financial ability of the people. Thereby, the number of years required for a higher primary school education was shortened from four to three, and attendance in the lower primary school for four years became compulsory. The five-year requirement for middle schools was reduced to four. Parallel with the middle school, there were normal schools and industrial schools of two years. The graduates of middle schools, who intended and were qualified to enter college, could go directly to a university or a professional college, but had to spend two years for the preparatory courses before they began their regular college studies. A
few years after the system was revised, Ellwood P. Cubberley commented on it:

A much more democratic type of national school system than that of the Japanese has been worked out, and this new (1912) Republic of China is rapidly extending in the provinces, and making education a very important function of the new democratic national life, ... The addition of the cultural and scientific knowledge worked out in Western Europe to the intellectual qualities of this capable people can hardly fail to result, in time, in the production of a wonderful modern nation, probably in one of the largest nations of the mid-twentieth century.\(^3\)

For less than a decade after the new school system had been put into practice, suggestions for reorganization were made one after another by the provincial authorities and the leaders of the various educational associations. The main defect of the system, as pointed out by the critics, was the inadequate articulation between the middle schools and the institutions of higher learning. The argument was that four years of the middle school seemed too short, and the preparatory period of one to three years for the college studies was too long. In September, 1922, the Ministry of Education called a national educational conference at Peking. Educational authorities from different provinces and the representatives of various educational associations were invited to the conference. After a few weeks of deliberation and discussion, the final form of a

new school system was promulgated by the Ministry of Education and became known as the School System of 1922 (see Appendix IIC).

The salient feature of the new system was the improvement of the articulation between schools at different levels. The three-year requirement of higher primary schools was reduced to two years. Compulsory education was made to cover the first four years of the primary school, and it could be prolonged if the practical conditions of the locality permitted. The secondary schools were divided into two parts: higher and lower. The lower secondary school required four years to complete its courses of study, and the higher secondary school, only two years. Parallel with the secondary schools, there were normal schools and vocational schools. At the level of higher education, there were no more preparatory classes. Years of residence required for colleges and universities were in the range from three to six according to the nature of the course of study. Along with the universities, there were professional colleges and teachers colleges.

In 1928, the school system was again reshaped into the School System of 1928 (see Appendix IID). According to the newly made system, the secondary school was divided into junior and senior middle schools of three years each. At the senior middle school level, there were various vocational schools such as agricultural, industrial, domestic science and normal schools.
All of these schools admitted the graduates of junior middle schools. For training rural primary school teachers, there were rural normal schools. At the level of higher education, the universities and colleges generally required four years to complete the courses of study. But the college of law and the college of technology required five years, and the college of medicine, seven years. For the graduate school there was no time limit.

The promulgation of the 1928 system was regarded as a demonstration of the success of the trend toward Americanization of China's educational system which had begun at least a decade earlier. The movement was greatly strengthened by the sojourn in China of a number of prominent American educators: John Dewey (1919-21), Paul Monroe (1920-21), George B. Twiss (1922-24), William A. McCall (1923-25), Miss Helen Parkhurst (in 1925) and William H. Kilpatrick (1926-27).

Paradoxically, in 1928, because the Kuomintang had made China's education the San Min Chu I education, the adoption of an American school system was accompanied by the adoption of the Russian style of using education for political socialization. So in the true sense, the success of Americanization of China's education was only in the school system, for such important aspects as philosophy and methodology of China's education were Russianized. However, this evidence showed that an educational system could possibly be made by a combination of borrowings
from different countries.

The Curriculum and the Instruction

A general overview of the philosophical and the organizational aspects of China's new education gives an incomplete picture of the development of schools in republican China. To understand the quality of the schools, an inquiry into the content of the curriculum and the methods of instruction must be made, because curriculum and instruction are both important factors which directly determine the quality of any educational system.

The Curriculum

The striking characteristics of the curriculum in the schools in China since the appearance of the new educational system were threefold. First, it was centered in literature rather than in utilitarian matters; obviously this reflected the Chinese traditional view on education. Second, the subject matter offered in the schools was completely determined by the requirements of schools at the next level, as if the students had no other purpose than to prepare themselves for a higher level of the educational ladder—so much so that even the vocational schools often gave their students more theoretical knowledge at the expense of practical learning because the schools intended to prepare the students not for a vocation itself but for another higher vocational school. Third, the
curriculum was in a constant change, and the changes were mostly made not out of educational necessity but out of political pressure. A brief chronological review exhibits these characteristics.

Prior to the 1911 revolution, the subject matter offered in various schools concentrated on the teachings of Confucius. By 1912, following the founding of the Republic, an adjustment was made. In response to the Temporary Educational Policy, the courses in Confucian classics were dropped, and subjects which were of more immediate social and industrial significance began to be introduced. In 1913, the Ministry of Education issued the "curriculum standard", according to which subjects of study for all elementary and middle schools would be offered thereafter (see Appendix IIIA). Since it was believed that the "curriculum standard" had been made under the guidance of the aims and the policies of China's new education, it was thought that the standard would demonstrate the new direction which the new education was heading. But a close analysis of its contents would reveal that the amount of subject matter appropriate for the traditional literary and character training overwhelmingly outweighed that for giving practical knowledge. Such a "curriculum standard" at best led the students to obtain some superficial and fragmentary knowledge from isolated practical subjects; at worst, it would give miseducation to a great number of Chinese, because the Republican government had
pledged to make education available for all.

On account of such defects, criticism of the "curriculum standard" came spontaneously almost from everywhere throughout the country. Then the addition of options and electives was made on the basis of experiment in various private schools. In 1923, following the change of the school system in 1922, a new "curriculum standard" was issued by the Ministry of Education. By this "curriculum standard" the subjects offered in the elementary schools began to be counted by the number of minutes instead of hours per week, and the credit system was adopted for the different subjects in middle schools. But the change of content of the curriculum for the elementary schools and the junior middle schools compared with the previous one was not much (see Appendix IIIB). Since the students of the senior middle schools, according to the newly adopted school system, were to be divided into two groups: the humanities and the sciences, therefore, the curriculum for the senior middle schools began to have three different divisions: (1) the general subjects (42%), (2) the subjects of concentration (38%) and (3) the electives (20%) (see Appendix IIIC). Obviously this new "curriculum standard" was made in accordance with the seven principles of the 1922 Educational Reform Act. In order to meet local needs and the individual interests of students, a number of different electives were included.

Five years later, in 1928, because the Kuomintang planned
to use education for party political indoctrination after the Russian style, once again there was a revision of the "curriculum standard" for the elementary and the middle schools in 1929. The teachings of San Min Chu I: nationalism, democracy and socialism (people's livelihood), were emphasized in both elementary and middle schools. The electives were dropped, and curriculum for schools at each level was uniformly prescribed by the Ministry of Education (see Appendix IIID). This "curriculum standard" was proclaimed as a tentative one, and its final and official form was not given until 1932. According to its official form, the credit system for counting the amount of class work in each subject was abolished because all students were required to stay in school for a definite number of years. Class work was again counted by the number of hours per week. There were thirty-four to thirty-five hours per week for the junior middle school students, and thirty-one to thirty-four hours for the senior middle school students. In order to camouflage the Kuomintang's intrusion in education, a course in civics was added to replace the San Min Chu I. Vocational subjects were dropped from the junior middle school curriculum, and for the students of the senior middle schools, a second foreign language was required.

In 1936, there was still another revision of the "curriculum standard". The number of hours per week for the junior middle school students was reduced to thirty-one, and twenty
for the senior middle school students; and vocational subjects were added again at both levels. Further, the students of the senior middle schools in their second year were divided into two groups: group A had more hours each week in mathematics, and group B had more hours in the Chinese classics and foreign languages.

"Trial and error" might be an inevitable way to carry out a new program. However, constant change would definitely make it more difficult for the program to bear any meaningful fruit. Moreover, a curriculum prescribed in the form of "standard" would hardly have been able to bring about, on the part of the different individual students, much initiative, which ought to be regarded as the paramount goal of education.

Another formidable hindrance to the progress of the new education and to the implementation of the new curriculum was the shortage of teaching materials, particularly in specialized subjects. A survey made by the Commercial Press, the largest publishing house in China, showed that in the field of general science, ninety-eight different kinds of teaching materials were needed, but there were only nineteen kinds available; in agriculture, eight kinds were available for fifty-nine needed; and in engineering, there were only ten for the one hundred and eighty needed. As a result, a large quantity of foreign books was imported. In 1927, for example, the amount of money which the Chinese paid for imported foreign books was 971,891 custom
taels of silver; in 1928, the amount increased to 1,179,748 taels; in 1929, it became 1,491,861 taels. Beyond the fact that foreign textbooks have foreign content, the language difference meant that the books could not be useful unless the students were proficient in the foreign languages necessary for using the books. But, as a matter of fact, the Chinese language has so far never been replaced in China by any foreign languages as a medium in the teaching-learning operation in the schools lower than the college level, except in a few missionary schools. Because of the language difficulty, students could learn very little from foreign textbooks, if anything at all.

The Instruction

Along with the transplanted school system and the imported textbooks, the teaching methods employed in numerous schools in China were also borrowed from abroad. During the early years of the Republic, Herbart's Five Steps of Instruction became popular, and in various schools the teaching activities uniformly followed the rigid division of the five steps. Later the Montessori Method was used experimentally in some schools. After 1919, following the new cultural movement, more new teaching methods—such as the Project Method, the Dalton Plan, the Gary System, the Winnetka System, and others—were

\[\text{\textsuperscript{14} Ku Mei, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol II, p. 240.}\]
introduced into China. Among these different methods, the Project Method was adopted more widely and lasted longer. At the annual conference of the National Federation of Educational Associations in 1922, a resolution was passed which recommended that this method be adopted by all elementary schools throughout the nation. This was regarded at the time as the best device to replace the rigid graded system of the Japanese model.

A second popular method was the Dalton Plan. In 1922, it was first experimented with in Shanghai by the Chungkuo Kung Hsueh (The China Public Academy) in its middle school division. Because of some similarity between this plan and China's traditional provincial academy, the Shu Yüan (House of Books), the Dalton Plan became well-known all over the country within a period of two years. Due to the insufficient number of schools to accommodate the overflow of students to experiment this plan, the enthusiasm gradually ebbed, and the traditional classroom methods were brought back into use again.

Despite the influx of new teaching methods and the variety of experiment centers, in a great majority of schools, however, the traditional method of book-teaching and book-learning remained the most common practice. The formal lecture method was used by teachers, and memorization was performed by students. The teacher in class presented the facts and the problems in the textbooks by lecturing, and the students were required to listen quietly and passively and were never encouraged to raise
any questions. So there was little occasion to provide time for the exchange of ideas between teacher and students. After class, the students studied the textbook and memorized it so as to be able to answer the questions asked by the teacher during the next class hour.

Owing to the scarcity of financial resources, the physical setting of most schools was far from adequate, and certainly this was apt to be a great hindrance to the effectiveness of teaching. Quite a number of educational buildings had been transformed from old temples or private residences. Rooms in such buildings were usually with small windows, and the natural light, upon which everyone depended in the absence of electric light, was very poor. Although in most of the city schools there were electric lights, the number of the lights was always much too small.

For the subjects in the field of natural sciences, such as physics, chemistry, biology and others, few schools could afford to have laboratories and special classrooms furnished adequately. Therefore in the science class, not much laboratory work could be done by the students in addition to the teacher's lecture. In a few cases, laboratory equipment was contributed by certain philanthropic organizations to some schools, but, quite often, the laboratories could not be put into use because of the lack of a supply of gas and running water which had never been available in that locality. The social and economic
conditions of a nation are the formidable factors in determining the quality of its education.

The Figures and the Facts

As remarked in another connection, the statistics in China in the past were not all accurate, so the figures which were used to interpret some facts were not all reliable. In the following tables and pages of text, an attempt is made to uncover some facts concerning the development of education in China in the early years of the Republic.

Table 1. The Number of Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary Education</th>
<th>Secondary Education</th>
<th>Higher Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>86,318</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,097</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,110</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>120,103</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>177,571</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,142</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,339</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>212,385</td>
<td>2,111</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>244,618</td>
<td>2,992</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>259,863</td>
<td>3,026</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>263,432</td>
<td>3,043</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>259,095</td>
<td>3,125</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>260,665</td>
<td>3,140</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>291,452</td>
<td>3,164</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>320,080</td>
<td>3,624</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures used are not complete, and since they have been
collected from various sources, they sometimes even contradict each other. Nevertheless, they can serve to show some of the problems and the general trends of China's educational development.

The significance of the figures in Table 1 is that they show how much influence the political development would exert upon the educational development in a nation. In a politically peaceful time, education can follow a regular pace to develop; otherwise, its development could be jeopardized by interruptions and hindrance caused by the political upheaval. During the first decade of the Republic, for instance, China was in an age of confusion. The wars among the warlords led the nation to a state of political anarchy and economic destitution. Education, under such circumstances, could not grow steadily, so the pattern of its development was very irregular. In the year when the war activities decreased, the number of schools increased. If the war activities increased, the number of schools decreased. By no means could such increase and decrease

45 The sources of the figures:
e) Shen Pao Nien Chien (Shanghai Daily Yearbook), 1933-1936.
follow a consistent pattern. After the warlords were defeated by the Kuomintang's Northern Expedition campaign in 1928, most parts of the country were brought under the control of the central government in Nanking. Therefore many aspects of national life gradually returned to normal, or close to normal, and the growth of education accordingly became steadier, as the figures of the year 1930 and following years clearly give evidence.

The figures in Table 2 show the number of teachers and students and the ratio between students and teacher in schools at the three different levels during the first two decades of the Republic of China. By the student-teacher ratio only, the quality of China's new education would seem not to be unsatisfactory. Again taking the year 1930 for example, in that year the student-teacher ratio in the elementary schools was 20:1; in the secondary schools 12:1; and in the colleges 6:1. By these figures, it would be easy to believe that China in that year had a very good number of teachers for schools at each level. But in fact the numbers are deceiving for the shortage of qualified teachers at each level was a very serious problem in China's education of that time. According to the regulation issued by the Ministry of Education, a secondary school teacher had to be a graduate from a higher teachers training institution or from the education department of a university; or a college graduate of the related disciplines such as philosophy,
Table 2. The Number of Students and Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary Education</th>
<th>Secondary Education</th>
<th>Higher Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>2,793,633</td>
<td>214,453</td>
<td>97,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>3,843,455</td>
<td>296,316</td>
<td>111,078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>6,601,802</td>
<td>264,818</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>8,820,777</td>
<td>407,044</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>10,788,582</td>
<td>568,484</td>
<td>514,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>11,720,596</td>
<td>546,032</td>
<td>536,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>12,223,066</td>
<td>557,840</td>
<td>547,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>12,383,479</td>
<td>556,451</td>
<td>559,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>13,188,133</td>
<td>570,434</td>
<td>541,479</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures are of the same sources as those in Table 1.
psychology and the like. At the beginning of the Republic, China was divided into six teachers training districts: Peking, Nanking, Wuhan, Canton, Chengtu and Sian. In each district there was a higher teacher training institution to train the secondary school teachers for the district; the elementary school teachers were trained in provincial normal schools in each province. In 1923-24, however, under the influence of a group of scholars who considered teacher education unnecessary, the higher teacher training institutions were therefore annexed to several universities respectively. Only the one which was in Peking retained its independent character, being reorganized into the National Peking Normal University, which was able to continue until 1937 when the city was overrun by the Japanese invasion. The source of qualified secondary school teachers was thus limited, but the ratio between students and teacher, as shown in Table 2, was never higher than 18:1. Clearly, the teaching force in the secondary schools in China was not completely made up of graduates of higher teacher training institutions. The number of graduates from higher teacher training institutions, in the whole nation, given by the Ministry of Education, was 626 in 1931; 476 in 1932; 780 in 1933; and 1,086 in 1934. These figures would be apt to tell the fact of the shortage of

qualified teachers in secondary schools.

The elementary schools suffered from the same problem of shortage of qualified teachers because the number of normal schools in each province was too small to meet the demand for teachers actually needed. The number of the existing normal schools was less than 10 per cent than what was actually needed. In 1933, it was estimated that there should have been 9,000 normal schools to meet the demand of elementary school teachers throughout the nation, but the actual number in that year in the whole nation was only 893.\textsuperscript{48} The village schools, which should be considered as the foundation of a nation's educational development, suffered the worst. Aside from the general shortage of teachers, no teacher ever wanted to go to the village. In a very great number of villages, consequently, school was non-existent. Some villages were financially able to afford schools, but they could not hire any teacher, even one not well qualified. A small number of villages had the fortune to have some old men with some of the old education to serve as the teachers of their schools. These old men might superficially know something about the Confucian classics, but they did not know anything about teaching, even very superficially. So they could teach the children very little, but they were rather able to bore the young minds very much, and quite

\textsuperscript{48}Li Ch’iao-ying, Chung-kuo shih-fan chiao-yü lun (Teacher education in China). Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1941, p. 38.
Table 3. Annual Expenditures on Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary Education</th>
<th>Secondary Education</th>
<th>Higher Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annual Total</td>
<td>Per Student</td>
<td>Annual Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>$19,091,109</td>
<td>$6.84</td>
<td>$6,361,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>7,448,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>8,481,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>22,840,084</td>
<td>5.95</td>
<td>8,757,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>31,449,963</td>
<td>8.76</td>
<td>14,024,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>64,721,025</td>
<td>8.15</td>
<td>35,988,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>89,416,977</td>
<td>8.17</td>
<td>48,713,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>93,625,941</td>
<td>7.98</td>
<td>54,055,942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>105,631,808</td>
<td>8.64</td>
<td>55,318,532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>106,805,851</td>
<td>8.62</td>
<td>56,644,838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>106,594,685</td>
<td>8.08</td>
<td>55,479,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>111,244,207</td>
<td>7.36</td>
<td>58,935,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>119,725,603</td>
<td>6.51</td>
<td>60,224,905</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49 The figures are of the same sources as those in Table 1.
often the children were scared away from their school. The shortage of qualified teachers would definitely damage the quality of an educational system, and it would also lead to a decline of its quantitative development. So the statistics compiled by the Ministry of Education in 1933 showed the total number of China's school-aged children was 49,401,443, and out of this number, 37,065,476 were not in school of any kind. An attempt to establish a new educational system without paying due attention to programs for teacher training could not help but result in a wastage of the national resources.

The figures for annual expenditures on education in Table 3 are exclusively those reported for schools financed by the government. By these figures it becomes clear that the educational policy in China was top-heavy. Too much attention had been paid to higher education at the expense of the education at lower levels. For instance, the annual expenditure for every elementary school student constituted only about one per cent of that for a university student. According to the 1930 statistics, out of every one million of the Chinese population, there were sixty university students (the students of the professional colleges were not included), eight hundred secondary school students (the students of various vocational schools were not included), and twenty thousand elementary school students. In China forty years ago, higher education was not unimportant, but what was more important was the
universal availability of education at the lower level. To a nation as a whole, "education is the key that unlocks the door to modernization", and to an individual, it would be the key to unlock the door to well-being. In fact, however, one who has more education can always have more opportunities for a better life, and a nation which can provide more education for more people can be as a whole more prosperous. In a country like China, where the high rate of illiteracy had caused the population to remain primitive in the techniques of production in their undertakings, chiefly agriculture, so that the majority of people were in a state of extreme poverty, the logical strategy of educational development would seem to have been to give priority to the education which would be directly relevant to the life of the masses of people. This could mean to have provided a means for them to diminish some of the pressure of their poverty.

Moreover, the central government in China was financially responsible for the national universities, but the financial resources of the central government totally depended upon the taxes paid by the people on the grass roots basis. So the university education was paid for by the masses of people, but it could be enjoyed by only the fortunate few who were

presumably to be the ruling elite as soon as they had left the university. Thus the university remained what it had been before: a royal machine operated to select the literary men as officials. As a "symbol of national prestige" and the monument of traditional culture, the university of such highly feudalistic nature could well serve its purpose, but for the welfare of the masses of people, it would serve nothing directly.
Chapter III
The New Education in New China--
An Ecological Review and Summary

The new education in the first two decades of the Republic of China failed to satisfy the expectations of the people at large, so it was generally considered fruitless and dysfunctional. The problems of education are usually found lying within the system, but the causes of the problems can never be isolated from the problems of the society in which the education exists. Therefore, an adequate evaluation of an educational system can not be made except in the context of its times. In order to have a more thorough understanding of the new education in China, and the oscillation of the effects between the new education and its environment, the current societal conditions ought to be examined. The following recapitulation of the previous survey of New China and of the new education may serve the purpose.

The Environmental Crises

The environmental crises for a nation's educational program are usually created by economic failure, political instability and/or cultural confusion of the time. Among these factors, economic failure may be the most formidable one because education and the national economic condition always
act upon one another. Economic development depends upon education to train the necessary manpower, and the growth of education needs financial support. The statistics of poverty during the early years of the Republic of China would help to explain in detail the inability of the government and of private individuals to support the programs of the new education, as well as the reason why the new education became a failure.

For instance, in 1913, Taka Hashi Hide Omi, a Japanese economist, made a survey of national total income of a number of nations. The following figures were a part of his findings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>National Total Income</th>
<th>Personal Annual Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>$216,000,400,000</td>
<td>$2,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>106,133,253,975</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>99,841,969,000</td>
<td>670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>25,140,389,576</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures above showed that although China's total national income was not the lowest among the major nations, but, because of her large population, the annual income of a single individual Chinese constituted only a little more than one tenth of each American; one third of each Russian; and one half of each Japanese. Moreover, within a period of seven years from 1922 to 1929, China's national income even showed

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The source of the following figures was from Ku Mei, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 393-396.
a tendency to decrease:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>USD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>19,087,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>19,164,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>18,615,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because of the insufficient financial resources, the public utilities in China, as a result, were far more inferior than many other major nations. On March 21, 1928, Hongkong Globe Daily published the following comparisons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cars</td>
<td>22,000,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highway (miles)</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railroad (miles)</td>
<td>260,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephones</td>
<td>17,000,000</td>
<td>570,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Offices</td>
<td>51,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In reading these figures one must bear in mind the fact that at the time when the comparisons were made, China's population was almost four times as much as that of the United States, and six times that of Japan.

Like the items in the category of public utility, education was equally beyond the financial ability of the government to take care of in China. In 1919, for example, the total budget of the central government was $647,691,789 (Chinese dollars), but the actual amount which had been made available was $398,471,501. Out of this sum, $269,099,583 was used in military spending, and only $5,028,846 was available for education. In 1927, there was an amount of only $5,028,846.

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$1,770,000 available for education. At the provincial level, in 1930, for instance, Kiangsu Province needed $33,470,000 for its education, but only an amount of $5,122,533 was available; Hopei Province needed $11,790,000, but only $3,983,818, available; Kwangtung Province needed $41,690,246, but only $2,273,109, available. 53

As a consequence of the inability of the government at each level, a large part of the expenses for education then became the burden of the parents if they wanted their children to have some education. But the costs per student for one year at that time were roughly estimated as $50 to $100 for the elementary schools; $100 to $200 for the secondary schools; and $500 to $1,000 for colleges and universities. The difficulties of the majority of the parents to pay for their children's education can be well understood if some facts relating to the individual income in China at that time come to light. A report on individual incomes, made by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce of China in 1930, showed that few families in China could have an income enough to meet their daily expenses. Some of the figures in that report would illustrate the poverty of the Chinese at large at that time. 54


54 Ku Mei, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 403
In 1923, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce of the national government in Nanking gave the following figures of the monthly income of various kinds of workers in China:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind</th>
<th>Monthly Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iron Worker</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miner</td>
<td>14.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weaver (male)</td>
<td>9.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weaver (female)</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silk Worker</td>
<td>8.50 (male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.50 (female)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the findings made by some experts in their researches, the annual income of a farmer was $44.25 (Chinese dollars). A farmer here represents a family of three on the average.

What was worse than the low income was the great number of the unemployed people. Statistics compiled in 1929, for example, showed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Unemployment</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laoning Province</td>
<td>15,979,404</td>
<td>1,694,551</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopei Province</td>
<td>27,809,152</td>
<td>4,161,046</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan Province</td>
<td>31,591,211</td>
<td>696,694</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanking</td>
<td>524,996</td>
<td>190,648</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canton</td>
<td>811,752</td>
<td>416,615</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the average, by these figures, the unemployed constituted approximately one fourth of the total population. So every

56 Ku Mei, op. cit., p. 69.
three money earners (including workers and farmers) in one way or the other had to share a part of their meager earnings to support one unemployed. A comparison of the proportion of total goods consumed by the people in the United States, in Japan and in China would help to understand better how the Chinese tried to manage their daily life.57

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Rent</th>
<th>Clothing</th>
<th>Fuel &amp; Light</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
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<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only a little more than sixteen per cent of their meager earnings were left after paying for the expenses to maintain a level of living even below subsistence. How could the majority of the parents afford to send their children to schools of any kind?

Because of the inability of the government as well as of the parents to pay for education, seventy per cent of the children between the ages of 7 and 16 were not in school. And only a fraction of those who were fortunate enough to complete their elementary school education could go to the secondary school. Therefore the ratio of elementary school students to secondary school students was 100:3 during the 1920's.

Furthermore, because of the availability of such facilities as housing, transportation and others, most of the

schools were established in the large cities. Thus, the opportunity of education for children in the rural areas was greatly limited. Those who wanted to have education had to move to the cities. But the expenses in the city, especially for room and board, were usually much too high for the rural people to pay for. As a consequence, most of the rural children stayed out of school.

A destitute environment would plague the development and the function of education, and the education in turn, because of its immaturity, could not do anything to improve the environment. Thus, there developed between the new education and its environment a "vicious circle" in New China.

The Inherent Problems of the New Education

Apart from the impact of the unfavorable environment which had ruinously damaged the opportunity for the new education to bear fruit, the new education itself was not without inherent problems. First, it was a hybridized system and underwent too many changes. The system was first transplanted from Japan; then some American branches were arbitrarily grafted onto it. Before the grafted system had been given sufficient time to grow, it was completely uprooted and replaced with a genuine American system. Undergoing so many drastic changes, the transplanted system could not take root in China's soil to become Chinese and certainly it was by no means able to serve
China's needs.

Second, the new education was saturated with too much of the old tradition, and the literary and general learning weighed too much in the curriculum. Particularly the secondary schools, which should have been given a greater vocational bias to meet the urgent needs of the great number of people, were still regarded as preparation for colleges and universities. As Becker and his associates wrote,

Such an educational system is highly injurious to the masses and dangerous because the carefully educated social elites not closely connected with general needs may become transformed into an unproductive clique, enclosed within the narrow bounds of its own interests.58

Of course, literary education itself needs not be an evil, but to the efforts for economic and social development of a technologically underdeveloped country like China, it would render no virtue.

One of the often-stated aims of China's new education was to elevate the standard of the people's economic life by giving basic knowledge and skills to them to promote their productivity. In order to attain this goal, education must be treated as an investment and the legitimate right and obligation of everyone. For the task of the formation of human resources, it must be understood that education is not

something which can only be obtained from schools. Practical knowledge and skills may sometimes be better learned from factories and farms. Therefore the general diffusion of education would not have to mean the increase of the number of schools. The failure in China to use education as a strategy for economic and social development can be said to have resulted more from the influence of the traditional concept of education than from an insufficient number of schools.

Third, the uniformity of the system and the central political control of educational practices retarded the suitability and the usefulness of the new education to a considerable degree. The school system was borrowed arbitrarily from abroad by the central authority, and it was applied indiscriminately to various localities throughout the country. The curriculums for each level of schools were uniformly prescribed by the Ministry of Education in the form of the "curriculum standard", and the teaching materials were fixed in "authorized" textbooks. Uniformity might be necessary during a period of chaos to achieve a common national ideal and habits, but how can an educational system which is expected to be organic and dynamic be also rigid and monotonous? Particularly in a country like China, diversity has been one of the characteristics of the population in terms of races and population density, and so are the forms of economic activities
and the behavioral patterns of the people. The imposition of a highly uniform system by the central authority, regardless of the facts of differences, would have meant that everyone was required to trim his toes to fit the ready-made shoes. Obviously, such a system could do more harm than good to the people.

Fourth, the inadequacy of the teachers training program gave rise to unprofessionalism in China's new education. The great number of unqualified teachers who did not know how to perform their duties professionally made the new education even more vulnerable to rejection by the people. On the other hand, the indifferent or even hostile attitude of the people toward the new education could be largely attributed to the top-heavy structure of the system, which gave too little emphasis and far too little support to the schools nearest to the people. The national universities, supported by a large proportion of the available funds, were beyond the expectation of the majority of the people simply because they could not see what benefit they could derive directly or indirectly from the university. Education, especially vocational and technical education, at the lower levels, badly needed by so many, was insufficiently provided simply because of the lack of sufficient money for it. Ultimately, the establishment of the new education seemed to be far removed from the people.
The Consequences

The consequences of interaction between a poverty-stricken environment and an educational system with many inherent problems inevitably were frustration and disappointment of the people. Some notorious instances of such outcomes are these:

First, the output of the new education could not satisfy the demands. The 1911 revolution brought to China a time of apparent hope, and in reality, a time of despair. The people had everything which they had been pledged not to have, and they had nothing which they had been promised to have. Under such disheartening circumstances, education became the focal point upon which people rested their hopes. It seemed as if all of their sufferings caused by the warlords and by the politicians could be cured by the trained minds and the disciplined conscience of the educated people.

The government of the new Republic, at the same time, wanted to set up a new order which would manifest a new era different from the imperial times. Education was then charged with excessive responsibilities, such as to eliminate illiteracy and poverty and to teach modern sciences and technologies. The demands for education were overwhelmingly great, but the resources for it were disappointingly low. The new education was not able to respond to these emergency calls because its own survival had been threatened by the severe conditions of the time.
Second, the outcomes of the new education showed no relevance to the social needs. Ever since the new education was first introduced into China, it had been conceived as "yang" (means foreign in Chinese) education, and the schools which were carrying out the programs had also been called "yang" schools. This obviously indicated that the school system and the education borrowed from abroad without professional sanction and appropriate adjustment had remained strange and irrelevant to the majority of people in China.

The new school buildings, for instance, were all built after the Western style which was architecturally different in many respects from the traditional Chinese buildings. Following the Japanese fashion, students were required to wear uniforms which were unknown to the Chinese before. As a result of the Americanization of China's education, students picked up the idea of freedom and democracy to replace the traditional moderation and submissiveness. America has always been regarded by the Chinese as the champion of democracy. The story of George Washington's falling the cherry tree could be found in the Chinese school textbooks as the best example of honesty, and the story of Abraham Lincoln's emancipation of American Negro slaves was appreciated as the symbol of freedom and equality. The students might enjoy what they had learned in school, but the greatness of Washington and Lincoln was too far beyond the knowledge of most of the students' parents and
neighbors. On the other hand, these parents and their neighbors were too busy in securing a livelihood to admire these great men famous but unknown to them. What they really wanted was to be honest to their stomach and to be free from hunger and to be equal with everyone else in the community. So the new education might be interesting to the students' innocent curiosity, but was not relevant to the needs of the masses of the people. What the new education did bring about was to widen the "generation gap" and to make the parents a "lost generation".

Third, the new education created a new unemployable educated class. Because most of the schools had been established in the cities, those who had had an education were living in the cities. Due to the distinct contrast in so many ways such as material comfort and patterns of behavior between the urban and the rural areas in China, once a person, even one originally from the rural area, became accustomed to the city life, he no longer had any desire to go back to the rural places. Moreover, the school education, because of its foreign origin, was actually helping to magnify the differences between the city and the country rather than to eliminate the differences. Consequently, the longer a student stayed at school, the more difficult it was for him to go back to the country because he had become a stranger both to the place and to the people there.
As the parents' financial ability was limited, and the competition of the entrance examination of a higher school was severe, so the chance for a great number of the rural youth to continue their education was very slim even if they had been fortunate to complete the school requirements at a lower level. Then the rural youth faced a dilemma when they tried to obtain employment: the education which they had acquired appeared far too little for them to secure a white-collar position in the city, and far too much for them to go back to the farm because for farm work no education was usually required. The outcome of such a dilemma was eventual unemployment for many.

Summary and Conclusions

Following the founding of the Republic of China in 1912 as the result of the 1911 revolution, every aspect of the national life began to move onto the road leading toward modernization. Accordingly, a new educational system was set up by borrowing successive models from abroad, first from Japan and then from the United States. But due to the difficulties of its environment at that time and some inherent problems in itself, the new education, after a period of more than two decades, proved impractical and fruitless.

The educational critics and the people at large in China often think that the new education failed simply because the system had been transplanted from abroad. An educational
system of foreign origin may not possibly be so good as the one which is created indigenously. But if and when a nation has decided to break with its own old tradition and to begin programs of modernization, it can be greatly benefited by taking the experience and knowledge which have been accumulated by others when they were pursuing such a course. Otherwise, the procedures of "trial and error" not only are expensive but can give no assurance of success. On that account, there is no necessary reason to consider the borrowing of a foreign educational system as an ill-advised practice.

Moreover, educational borrowing as documented in the history of education is not a new and unprecedented practice. Peter the Great of Russia, for example, by borrowing the scientific and utilitarian system of the West, directed the Russian school system away from the traditional scholastic formalism into vocational and professional channels. In 1701, he founded the School of Mathematics in Moscow after the model of the London Mathematical School. The presence of Pestalozzianism and the Herbartian Five-Step-Plan in American educational practices during the latter part of the 19th century is another historical evidence of the international travelling of educational thoughts and theories. Nevertheless, in the practice of educational borrowing, the suitability of a foreign system to one's own native environment can not be disregarded. The American educational system, for instance, has its roots
in the American culture, which is quite different from the Chinese. The possibility of growth of the American system on the Chinese soil ought to be studied carefully before the borrowing takes place.

The problem of China's new education was not that it was of foreign origin, but that the borrowing was made without choosing what was exactly needed by China at the time. When the parts for borrowing had been decided upon, the work of transplantation ought have been carried out through careful planning and experiments, not in haste. Although China at that time was financially poor, she possessed great assets of abundant natural resources which were unexplored and unlimited human power which was underdeveloped. Therefore, what China needed was not a greater number of literary elites but a great number of trained geologists and prospectors to explore and to map out her mineral resources, of agricultural experts to help the farmers to improve their crops, of foresters to protect and develop forests, and of scientifically trained merchants and commercial experts to handle the products of the mines, farms, forests and factories. All of these experts can be well-trained even outside the formal schools. The classrooms for training them can be in the mining fields, farms, forests and factories.

As a result of the inexpert borrowing, the destitude economic condition, and the unprofessional operation, the new education finally turned out to be a source of despair and
frustration. It produced one new class of "educated unemployables" and two "lost generations": the students after leaving school became lost in an area between their rural home base and the adopted urban center; the parents became lost in their bewilderment over the nature of the new education and its uselessness. Failure of the new education to fulfill its economic and social functions and to meet its obligations in these two aspects left no alternative except to create another new system as its substitute. The rural-mass education movement, of which a study in detail will follow, was an attempt to respond to such a call.
Part Two

The Rural-mass Education Movement

Against the remoteness from the people of the new education, which was adopted by the government of the Republic of China since 1912, and its inability to meet the people's needs, a rural-mass education movement took place in China in the early 1920's. It began with a literacy campaign aiming to make the illiterates of the population literate as new citizens for New China. After various experiments of a few years, the rural-mass education movement developed into a movement of educational reform. It attempted to create a new pattern of education, universally available and practically useful to the people in China, to replace the existing educational system, which was unable to respond to the demand of the people.

The significance of the rural-mass education movement was not only that its programs were practically and directly relevant to the life of the majority of people, but also its significance was philosophical for it led to a change from the traditional concept that education was to make scholar-elites toward the newer idea that education is an instrument for improving the life of the masses of people who can learn some rudimentary but practical knowledge and skills to increase their
productivity. Because there were a number of leaders and there were differences in their philosophies, the movement early split into several different groups. In order to have a comprehensive picture of the movement, a general review of its development should first be made. Then from among the numerous groups, according to their different approaches and programs, six representative models are singled out for detailed study. These six analyses in turn are followed by a study of the three important leaders of the movement. Finally, there will be a discussion of the problems and the promise of the movement.
Chapter IV

A General Review of the Development of the Movement

The rural-mass education movement during the 1920's and the 1930's created an unprecedented sensation and a nationwide crusade in China. The details of its beginning, its growth and the highlights of the movement are to be presented in the following pages.

The Beginning of the Movement

The beginning of the rural-mass education movement in China was ceremonially marked by the founding of the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement at Peking in 1923. Historically speaking, however, its origin can be traced back to 1904 when Mi Chien-san, a philanthropist, of Chai-ch'eng, an ordinary village in Tinghsien of Hopei Province (formerly Chihli Province), began his programs to try to improve the conditions of his village. As a philanthropist, Mi started his undertaking by establishing a village school to educate the youngsters of the village. He also organized his fellow villagers into an orderly community so that they could plan together to cultivate the wastelands around their village and collectively to protect their crops and property from plundering by outsiders. A few years later, the projects were
carried on by his son Mi Ti-kang, who had his education in Japan and acquired from the Japanese some new ideas of rural development.

One decade later, in 1914, Sun Fa-hsû, the magistrate of Tinghsien, heard of the programs and was interested in them. He then joined Mi and tried to help to expand the programs to cover a larger area under his jurisdiction. Soon, in each village which had been involved in the project, an administration headquarters was established to administer the programs of rural co-operatives, road-building, public security and community sanitation.

In 1916 when Sun Fa-hsû became the governor of Shansi Province, he introduced the programs there, where they soon won the help of Yen Hsi-shan, a well-known warlord of that province. From 1918 to 1927, within a period of nine years, the organization of village government, one of their programs, was successfully implemented throughout the province. Each village in the province selected a village head, under whom there were an arbitration council and a public security corps, organized according to the law enacted at the village general meeting. The ultimate goals of the programs were "no law-breaking in any village, but food surplus in every household." This was the

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1 For detail, see Yen Hsi-shan, "Ts'un ts'un wu sung, chia chia you yû", in Yen Pai-ch'uan yen-lun lei pien (Anthology of Yen Pai-ch'uan's speeches). The Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief, 2nd War Area, 1939, p. 267.
first rural reconstruction program, systematically planned on a large scale in China.

In the midst of the gun smoke of the civil wars and during the time of economic depression in China, only the people in Shansi Province could breathe some fresh air and enjoy a relatively peaceful and progressive life as the province was almost the only spot free from disturbance in the country. So the Shansi programs attracted nation-wide attention and aroused the interest of a great number of people, many of whom were so much impressed that they thereafter became dedicated workers in the campaign of rural reconstruction, each hoping that his own local place might become a Shansi.

As for the ideological background of the rural-mass education movement, it was probably influenced by the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and by the May Fourth Movement in China, for each of these events had made a tremendous impact on the growth of the idea of democracy and the recognition of the strength and the significance of the common people in the efforts to build a new society. Henceforth, equal educational opportunity for all became a common goal among the Chinese intellectual public in the effort for social development, and setting up people's or popular schools to educate the common people became a widespread concern.

In 1920, James Y. C. Yen, an American-trained Chinese scholar, returned to China from Paris where he had helped in
welfare work for the Chinese laborers who were sent there during World War I. From his experience in working with the Chinese laborers, Yen realized that the illiterate people were by no means ignorant. Their inability to read and write was not a fault of their own because they were never given a chance to develop that ability. Inspired by his realization, Yen in Paris worked out a text containing one thousand Chinese characters which were the most frequently used ones in daily life, and he taught the thousand characters to the Chinese laborers there with great success. Shortly after his return to his homeland, Yen, under the sponsorship of the Y. M. C. A. in China, began to preach the gospel of his thousand-character text, first in Shanghai and then in some of the large cities in the interior part of China. By 1923, Madame Hsiung, wife of the premier of the Republic, Hsiung Hsi-ling, together with Yen and Tao Hsing-chih, a radical educational reformer, founded the Mass Education Association in Nanking. Subsequently chapters of the Association were set up in many large cities in the country, and in August of the same year, the headquarters of the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement were established in Peking, with Yen as the first Director-General of the Association.

In 1926, Yen moved the headquarters of the Association to Chai-ch'eng in Tinghsien, Hopei Province, where Mi Chien-san had initiated a program of rural education and improvement
twenty-two years earlier. Beginning at first by establishing some people's schools in the area, the Association within three years had converted all of Tinghsien into an experimental area, with programs which extended far beyond education for literacy—the famous Tinghsien Experiment. To root out the perpetual problems of the rural areas, the Association developed a formula of four types of education: livelihood, culture, health and civics, to be carried out through three channels: home, school and society.

In the same years, Yen's colleague Tao Hsing-chih vigorously conducted campaigns for mass education in several other areas of China, both in the region of Inner Mongolia and also in the central part of the country. In addition, he ventured to carry the mass education program into the army of Chang Tso-lin, a leading warlord in Manchuria, with the hope that the "army peril" might be turned into a constructive force for rebuilding the nation. Tao believed that poverty, ill-health, illiteracy and misgovernment were only the symptoms of the chronic illness of the nation, and the true causes of such misfortune were the failure of the prevailing social, political and economic systems. He insisted that the whole system and the whole tradition of China must be reformed if the nation was to be vitalized. To this end, he launched in 1927 an Experimental Rural Normal School at Hsiao-chuang in the suburbs of the national capital, Nanking, to experiment with the "Living Education", which he
defined as "an education of life, by life, and for life."^2

Tao, a favorite student of John Dewey at Teachers College, Columbia University, was profoundly influenced by Dewey in shaping his beliefs in education and his educational philosophy, but he had shown his own intellectual power as he created his educational theorems of "life is education", "society is school", and "teaching, learning and doing go together" by revising Dewey's dicta of "education is life", "school is society" and "learning by doing". The Hsiao-chuang Experimental Rural Normal School was a pioneer of rural teacher education in China, but unfortunately it was closed in April, 1930, on the order of the National Government in Nanking. The reason given at that time was "personal misunderstanding," but later the true story was shown to be that the organization and conduct of the Hsiao-chuang School were so completely different from traditional schools that it was suspected of not being a school at all. The campus was more than five square miles in area, and nowhere within its limits could a regular classroom be found. The school schedule and activities, in order to meet the practical needs of the rural community, bore little resemblance to those of traditional schools. On one occasion, when Chiang Kai-shek happened to visit the school, he did not

receive any sign of warm, official welcome as he usually had when he went elsewhere. He also saw no classes in session, nor could he distinguish the teachers and the students from the janitors. This gave him good reason to believe that what he had seen was definitely something other than a school, possibly a harbor for revolutionaries. The soldiers who were ordered to come to seize the school, it was said, were puzzled because they could not find the school even though they had already been in it.

The Growth of the Movement

Since the programs combining education with the real life of the rural community were so enthusiastically received throughout the country, governmental as well as private agencies, especially the universities and the middle schools, all at one time in the late 1920's became interested and began to be engaged in the work of either mass education or rural reconstruction or a combination of rural-mass education. According to the government statistics of 1935, the number of the organizations, which in one way or the other were involved in the programs of rural-mass education, had already reached six hundred, and the number of the experiment stations was over one thousand. The programs which are considered comparatively significant are sketchily listed in the following pages.

In northern China. Besides the Tinghsien Experiment and the
programs of village self-government in Shansi Province, there was also in northern China a Rural Self-government Institute established in Huihsien of Honan Province in 1929. Financed originally by the Honan provincial government, in less than one year, the Institute lost its support because of political changes in the province, but the following year, 1930, the whole staff was invited by the governor of Shantung Province to establish the Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute in Tsouping Hsien of that province. The Institute aimed to combine education with administrative and economically productive activities and therefore evolved a new kind of school in China, one which had not only its educational function but was also responsible for the conduct of local administration.

In 1933, Liang Shu-ming (1893-1966?), a Chinese Confucian philosopher, was appointed to head the Institute. Liang believed that the only hope which China could entertain lay in the success of rural reconstruction. And he thought that the task of rural reconstruction could be successful only if it began with the revival of the traditional Chinese social order and the rejection of the Western culture, because the Chinese society had been ruinously corrupted by the appearance of the Western culture in China.

In addition, several universities in northern China also sponsored projects in relation to either mass education or rural
reconstruction. The Sino-French University in Peking began in 1923 to support a Rural Reconstruction Experiment Center in Wenchuan in the western suburbs of the city, with the aim of improving agricultural production and spreading farmer's education within the area. The university also established a rural middle school to teach the farmers in the surrounding area to modernize their farming skills, to improve their facilities for public health, and to improve the techniques of their home industries. A few experimental farms and orchards were also established by the center.

In 1927, Cheelo (Chilu) University, a missionary institution in Chinan, Shantung Province, started at Lungshan Chen (township) in that province a Rural Service Center to teach rudimentary scientific knowledge to the farmers to improve their

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3 For details of the minor programs to be mentioned in the following pages, consult:
farming skills, and also to conduct a program of literacy education. In the field of rural economy, the Center helped to organize some rural cooperatives. A free medical service for the public, as a part of the social service of the university, was also made available.

A few years later, two similar Centers were established near Peiping (formerly Peking) by universities located in that city. The Experiment Center of Yenching University, a missionary school, was founded in 1930 in Chingho Chen under the sponsorship of the Rockefeller Foundation. At first, a general social survey of that area was made, and then the programs covering rural public health and rural service were worked out by the sociology department of the university. Likewise, in 1933, the National Peiping Normal University established a Rural Education Experiment Center in a western suburb known as Hsishan (Western Hills), more directed toward school improvement. The main work of the Center was to run the people's schools in that area and to study the principles by which the teaching materials for rural schools were to be selected.

In eastern and central China. In Kiangsu Province, besides Tao's Hsiao-chuang School, the Chunhua Chihye Chiaoyü She (The Chinese Vocational Education Association) played a very significant part in the efforts toward improving the rural communities and promoting rural education in China. The Association, founded in 1917, was at first primarily concerned with
vocational guidance and the operation of vocational schools in cities. For instance, in 1918, a vocational school under the auspices of the Association was founded in Shanghai, the first one of its kind in China. In 1929, the Association started a vocational supplementary school for in-service workers to have more education so as to increase their efficiency. This school introduced the idea of "study while working" into China and exerted great influence upon work-study programs and part-time schools which were founded later in many areas in China and which have in fact continued in strength to the present day.

In 1925, the Association, together with the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, the Chinese National Association of Mass Education Movement, and the Department of Agriculture of Tungnan (Southeastern) University, started an experiment station at Hsü-kung Ch'iao in K'unshan County of Kiangsu Province. The local civil war and the shortage of funds caused the program to be closed in less than a year, but the Hsü-kung Ch'iao project was resumed by the Association acting alone.

The Kiangsu Provincial College of Education was an educational institution wholly dedicated to the work of rural-mass education. It was the only government institution for higher education in China designed exclusively for the purpose of training rural educational workers. Founded in 1928 under the name of Popular Education College, its name was changed in 1930
to the present one. The college, situated in Wuhsi, had, in addition to the Department of Mass Education and the Department of Rural Education located there, several experiment stations within the province, such as Huang-hsiang, Pei-hsia and Hui-pei. As it was believed in the college that rural-mass education would mean the improvement of the rural life as a whole, so the programs in this college included all major aspects of rural community life, not only schools for both children and adults, but also practical experience in village self-government and improvement of the rural economy.

In Chekiang Province, the rural education program of the Hsianghu Normal School in Hsiao-shan Hsien attracted great attention among interested people throughout China. Its programs were started in 1933 and were carried out not in the traditional form of classes, but in a Youth Corps composed of youths who had already completed their elementary education, and now followed an intensive, practical program of education for two further years. Upon their graduation, they were to be sent back to teach in the village school in the village from which they had come. Their training courses in the Corps included carpentry, construction work, painting, cooking, tailoring, laundering, printing, cooperatives and the farmer's dialects. Obviously, by such training, the youths could feel more at home when they returned to teach in the village school; the people in the village would feel that the teachers were
members of the community, not a special class of elites.

There was also the Young Girls Corps in this school. The members of the Corps spent half of their day receiving training in language arts, music, arithmetic and industrial arts, and the other half of the day they taught the women at their homes in that area.

In the same province, there was another program—the Tunghsiang Self-government Movement in Tunghsiang, a subcounty of Hsiao-shan Hsien. The programs were led by Shen Hsuan-lu, a faithful and fanatic member of the Kuomintang, who intended to use the subcounty as an experiment area to try out Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People. In a very real sense, it was a Kuomintang experiment because every program was made according to the Three Principles of the People and was supervised by the local party. In February, 1928, at Yachien, Shen's home village, a Self-government Association was founded to be the groundwork for a county self-government to replace the traditional hsien government and to demonstrate the suitability of Sun Yat-sen's principles of democracy and people's livelihood to the country. Under the auspices of the Self-government Movement, a farmers' association, a merchants' association, a construction workers' union, a transportation workers' union, a porters' union, and a women's league were respectively organized, and the preparatory work for land reform, land survey and a population census of the area was
also conducted.

The progress of the work was remarkable, and the area was so well organized and became so different that it appeared as if it were an autonomy, independent from any government. Absurdly, however, because of its magnificent success, suspicions of the purpose and the final direction of the program arose. As a consequence, Shen was assassinated at his home village on August 28, 1929. In memory of Shen, the government permitted the programs to be continued for one more year, and then they were terminated.

In southern China. The movement reached the southern provinces of China in the 1930's. A Department of Special Education, established by the Kiangsi provincial government in 1933, was primarily designed to meet the needs of rural rehabilitation after the defeat of the Communists in that area. In the following year, an experimental center was founded in Nanfeng Hsien, which was previously occupied by the Communists. Within the center there were six people's schools whose programs included education, agriculture, public health and home industries.

In Fanyü Hsien of Kwangtung Province, there was a Hsintsao Rural People's School, established in 1930, whose curriculum

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was rural reconstruction work because the school shared the belief that rural reconstruction could be possible only through education. Teachers and students of that school were required to work together on the farms and also to live together with the rural people in the villages. The programs of this school involved three phases: protection, education and production. For protection, the work included rural community survey, community organization, community sanitation and public health. In the field of education, there were people's schools, adult make-up classes, kindergarten, folk arts museum, natural science laboratory, public playground and custom-reform committee. For production, the programs included farming improvement, cattle-breeding, home industries and cooperatives.

In Kwangsi, the provincial government, in 1933, established a People's Fundamental Education Research Institute to study the problems of carrying out the programs of people's fundamental education within the province. Fundamental education by definition was not elementary education, but rather, it was an education which was fundamentally needed by everyone in his daily life, and it was in effect a combination of elementary education and adult education. The provincial government set the goal that every village must have a people's fundamental education school, and every subcounty must have a central school. It was hoped that ultimately there would be no illiteracy in
in the province.\(^5\)

In western China. The western or the interior part of China, because of its geographical, and sometimes its political, conditions, appears somehow isolated from the rest of the country. Therefore outside influence of any sort always comes slowly to this part, as was true of the rural-mass education movement. Up to 1933, there was only a Pa-Hsien Rural Reconstruction Experiment Center in Pa-hsien of Szechuan Province, which had been developed from the former Nanch’Man Rural Normal School. There were three experimental schools and one people’s school under the direction of the Center, whose chief interests were the promotion of popular education and the increase of home industry products.

Despite the fact that the rural-mass education movement had spread so widely over the country, the efforts of the central government in this regard were at best insignificant if indeed the government was not totally indifferent. In May, 1928, at the National Education Conference, called by the central government in Nanking, twenty-four bills to promote rural-mass education were introduced, but none of them was passed.\(^6\)

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\(^5\) Huang HeM-ch’u, Kwang-si chien-she ying-kai tsou-te lu-hsien (The road that should be followed for the reconstruction of Kwangsi). Kweilin, Kwangsi Proincial Government Printing Office, 1930, p. 48.

However, in subsequent years, programs in relation to mass education, such as mobile libraries, itinerant teachers, touring educational troupe and mobile audio-visual education team, were organized in various provinces and municipalities by the order of the Ministry of Education. But the performances of these groups were more perfunctory than practical.

The Climax of the Movement

The climax of the movement was the National Convention of Rural Reconstruction Workers, which took place annually in three consecutive years from 1933 to 1935. Sixty-three leaders representing forty different organizations, both governmental and private, convened on July 14-16, 1933, at the Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute in Tsouping, "to exchange experiences, to discuss the problems which had been confronted by various groups, to improve the techniques of carrying out programs to come, and to lay the foundation work for cooperation of different groups."\(^7\) Besides reports regarding the progress of the programs at various places, the main points of the conclusion of the discussions at the convention were: (1) Rural reconstruction workers should do everything inside the society but outside of politics; (2) They should be creative and cooperative but not competitive; and (3) Do not ruin the

rural community as a result of carrying out a reconstruction program in haste.  

The second convention, at the headquarters of the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement in Tinghsien, lasted for three days also. The number of attendants became a hundred and fifty-one representing seventy-six different organizations from eleven out of twenty-eight provinces of China. The keynote speaker of the convention was Liang Shu-ming, head of the Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute, who argued that agriculture had long been the foundation of China's economy, and that the first priority of rural reconstruction programs should be given to agriculture. Only when success in agriculture had been assured, could industrialization be given consideration. The prosperity of urban areas depended upon the prosperity of the villages; therefore, cities and villages in China should be given equal attention simultaneously. After he spoke, the convention was divided into seven discussion topics: (1) farm taxation, (2) rural public health, (3) village self-government and self-protection, (4) rural economic reconstruction, (5) rural cooperatives, (6) rural education, and (7) rural workers training. The members of each

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8 Ibid., pp. 23-27.
10 Ibid., p. 34.
group seemed more interested in listening to reports on the factual situations of various localities than in discussion, so the discussions produced little in the way of conclusion.

The third convention, opened on October 10, 1935, at Kiangsu Provincial College of Education in Wuhsi, was again of three days' duration. The number of participants was somewhat smaller than in the previous year: ninety-nine representing seventy-one different organizations, but there were also about two hundred spectators each day the convention was in session. The keynote speaker at this convention, James Y. C. Yen, Director-general of the Tinghsien Experiment, said that rural reconstruction was primarily a task of, by and for the people of rural areas, and it must, therefore, begin with organizing and training rural people. The way in which the rural programs were to be carried out must be scientific and cooperative.  

Discussion was emphasized at this convention; reports could only be made in the form of a progress paper distributed after general meetings. James Yen, Liang Shu-ming and Kao Chien-szu, the president of the Kiangsu Provincial College of Education, were asked to form a symposium and be ready to talk with anyone who wanted to exchange ideas with them in the evenings.

The discussions were arranged in four groups: (A) Politics

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and Policies, (B) Education, (C) Economics, and (D) Others. The topics discussed and the conclusions reached were important in themselves and are highly significant and illustrative of the whole meaning of the rural-mass education movement. The programs, as it was reported at that time, shows clearly that this third convention was the climax of the movement.\textsuperscript{12}

Group (A) Politics and Policies

First Day - October 10, 1935

Chairman: Ch'\text{en} Chiung-shan of the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement

Topics: (1) How to make village self-government effective? (2) How to make use of the good points of the integration of politics and education, and to avoid its shortcomings? (3) The basic training of the rural people.

Second Day - October 11, 1935

Chairman: Wang Hsun-chang of the Chekiang Provincial Government

Topics: (1) How to make the village school teacher the main force in the efforts of rural reconstruction? (2) How to strengthen the organizations of "Pao" and "Chia"? (3) How to train the rural public health worker? (4) Should or should not China adopt a system of a government medical care? (5) How to organize and to train the rural women?

Summary of the conclusions of the discussions:

To make the village self-government more effective: a) The self-government should be made relevant to

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 28-47.
the people's economic life.
b) The planners of the self-government must have a thorough knowledge of the real situation of the village.
c) The personnels who are in charge of the organization of the village self-government must be carefully selected.
d) To encourage the people to have initiatives.
e) To explain the significance of self-government to the people.

Group (B) Education

First Day - October 10, 1935

Chairman: Chuang Tse-hsuan of Chekiang University

Topics: (1) Rural education should take nationalism as a focal point.
(2) Rural education for whom, the youth or the children?
(3) How to make use of people's superstition?
(4) The problems in compiling the teaching materials for citizenship education in the rural area.

Second Day - October 11, 1935

Chairman: Ym Ch'ing-tang of Kwangsi People's Fundamental Education Research Institute

Topics: (1) What kind of mass education can be the most economical and the most effective to be put into nation-wide practice?
(2) What is the most suitable agent to carry out the programs of mass education?
(3) How to run a village school?
(4) Problems in making curriculum and teaching materials for the village school and the women's class.
(5) How to make the village school curriculum to meet the people's practical needs?
(6) How to make the funds available for the village schools?
(7) The problems of training village school teachers.
(8) How to utilize the "Pao-chia" system to promote the village education.
(9) The problems of the co-educational system in the
village schools.

(10) How to enable the elementary school graduates in the village to continue their education?

(11) The problems of using the Romanization system of the Chinese language in literacy education.

(12) The rural education should put stress on moral teaching first.

Summary of the conclusions of the discussions:

1. Training of the rural youth
   a) The rural leadership can be selected from the trained youths.
   b) Many rural youths move to the city to seek education. It must be stopped because the city education does not meet the needs of the rural youth.
   c) The training methods: general training in the village school, and intensive training by setting up special classes.
   d) The contents of training: knowledge and skills in agriculture, public health, cooperatives and home industries.
   e) Everything in the training must be made in accordance with the practical needs of the youth as well as of the community.

2. The village school teacher must play the role of a leader in the matter of organizing the rural people.

3. The village school must be financed by the village in which it is located.

4. The "Pao-chia" system can be used as a tool to mobilize the people to go to school.

5. The teaching materials in the village school must be related to the daily life of the rural people, and must also contain scientific knowledge so as to enable the students to apply it to their productive work.

Group (C) Economics

First Day - October 10, 1935

Chairman: Hsu Shih-lian of the Ministry of Industry

Topics: (1) How to urge the rural people to use native goods?
(2) The main work of the rural reconstruction must
be centered on the people's livelihood.

(3) How to promote the application of the irrigation facilities?

Second Day - October 11, 1935

Chairman: Hsu Shih-lien

Topics: (1) How to make a feasible plan for the rural economic improvement?
(2) How to improve the cooperative organizations and how to make the landless people able to join them?
(3) The collective ownership of land as practiced in Shansi Province.

Summary of the conclusions of the discussions:

1. To mobilize the people to cultivate the wastelands.
2. The distribution of land should be made according to an individual's ability to work, not sex.
3. Land reform can only be conducted by a strong government.

Group (D) Others

First Day - October 10, 1935

Chairman: Liang Shu-ming of the Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute

Topics: (1) The research work of rural reconstruction should or should not be concentrated on a few centers.
(2) Who should be responsible for the rural social development?
(3) In what manner should the various rural reconstruction agencies cooperate with each other?

Second Day - October 11, 1935

Chairman: Liang Shu-ming

Topics: (1) Can the rural reconstruction work have a rigid timetable for its completion?
(2) The rural reconstruction work should cooperate with the political authorities.
(3) How to reduce the birth rate and the death rate of
the rural population?

Summary of the conclusions of the discussions:

1. The responsibility for the social development in the rural areas should be shouldered by:
   a) The village leaders.
   b) Intellectuals from within and without the community.
   c) The farmers.
2. The local leader must be an educated and respectable person.
3. A university student should be a person with a farmer's body and scientist's mind.

By and large, the rural-mass education movement was a very magnificent event in the history of Chinese education, and it was also a necessary step and a necessary direction in the efforts to reform the existing educational system. Only, its development was slowed down by the increasing pressure of the Japanese invasion and the preparation for the war of resistance against the aggressor. A great number of the experimental centers were in fact terminated when the war broke out in 1937. Although the programs of rural-mass education were not able to replace the current educational system, the underlying philosophy of this movement has exerted great impact upon the policy-making as well as the practices of China's education during and after the war years. The ideal of universally
available and practically useful education is still alive in contemporary Chinese education.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{13}For the description of the Chinese Communists' earlier educational policies and practices in the so-called "liberated areas", see Michael Lindsay, \textit{Notes on Educational Problems in Communist China}. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1950.
Chapter V
Six Models of the Movement (I)

From the foregoing general review of the development of the rural-mass education movement, the impossibility of making a study in detail of each of the numerous programs becomes obvious. However, there are six programs which deserve to be singled out and treated in considerable detail, as six representative models of the movement. Three of these programs were of great importance both because of the stature of the men who were their chief motivating forces and because of the widespread attention and influence which they excited. These three models will be presented in this chapter and the following chapter will present three other models which are chosen in part because of their variety and their uniqueness, but quite as much because they show quite well the scope of the rural-mass education movement.

The Tinghsien Experiment

The Tinghsien Experiment of the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement was the first and the largest undertaking of rural-mass education in the country at that time. Its purposes were "to explore the potentialities of the masses,
and to find a way of educating them not merely for life but to remake life." The experiment began with literacy education aiming "to eliminate illiteracy and make new citizens for China". The Chinese, generally speaking, are a tradition-bound people, and China, a poverty-stricken country. It would be a very challenging task to try to turn such a people into a constructive force to reconstruct such a country. The new citizens of China required for rebuilding the country must be equipped with a mentality ready to accept changes and with the competence to participate in the activities of national reconstruction. As change to most of the Chinese does not mean progress, but decay or destruction of the perfect system which has been accumulated through a long period of time, so a "reconstruction mentality" of the people seems to be a prerequisite for the task of national reconstruction. The Tinghsien Experiment was ready to meet such a requirement.

China in the 1930's consisted of eighteen hundred and thirty-five hsien, and each hsien comprised, on the average, one hundred villages or more, in which the millions of peasants have lived for centuries, preserving a tranquil and stagnant "village culture". Tinghsien, selected at that time by the Hopei provincial government as a model hsien of the one hundred-twenty

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hsien of that province, had an area of four hundred and eighty square miles, lying a hundred and twenty-eight miles south of Peking. According to the count made in 1931, the population of this area was 408,300 living in four hundred and fifty-three towns and villages and one city, the hsien seat.

Among the villages of Tinghsien, Chai-ch'eng was a model village because it was the only one in that hsien in which the schools had been made available to the people of the village. Moreover, the roads around the village had been built well by Mi Chien-san as early as 1904, whose philanthropic endeavors had been described above. (see pp. 113-114) In 1926, the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement, at the invitation of Mi's family, moved its headquarters from Peking to Chai-ch'eng, and began the Tinghsien Experiment under the directorship of James Y. C. Yen. 15

Mass education in Chinese is "Ping-min chiao-yü". "Chiao-yü" means education and "ping-min" literally means the ordinary people or the common people. Therefore mass education means an education for the ordinary people or the common people. In the Chinese society, those who have acquired a certain amount of education are usually regarded as a class on a level with nobility, and those who are unschooled are always regarded as ordinary people or common people. Semantically, the word "ping"

also connotes the meaning of "equality". So the Association defined the mass education as an equalizing education or an education to make the people equal with each other.\textsuperscript{16}

The primary concern of the experiment at its beginning was literacy education. After a short period of literacy campaign, however, it was found out that the people wanted to learn more and needed to know more when they had learned something from the literacy education. So the Association came to be convinced that although literacy was necessary, "literacy alone was not enough. Literacy isn't education—it is only a tool for education, a means to the end."\textsuperscript{17} In other words, to teach the farmers merely to read and to write did not actually help them much. The words which the farmers had learned had to bear some meaning to their daily life and some relation to their life improvement. Otherwise the literacy education would be simply useless.

Based on such an idea, the programs of the experiment were expanded beyond literacy programs, to include those of rural economy, public health and citizenship training, and were in fact


\textsuperscript{17}Pearl S. Buck, Tell the People: Talk with James Yen about Mass Education Movement in China. New York: John Day Company, 1945, p. 22.
grouped into four divisions:

1. Cultural Division
   - Literature
   - Art
   - Drama
   - Historical-personalities
   - Radio Broadcasting

2. Economic Division
   - Village Industries
   - Economic Organization
   - Training Farmers Institute
   - Technical Supervision
   - Vital Statistics
   - Sanitation
   - Public Health Education

3. Health Division
   - School Health
   - Communicable Disease Control
   - Maternity and Child Health
   - Birth Control
   - Medical Relief
   - Rural Reconstruction (studies of socio-political nature are taken up by the)
   - Hopei Provincial Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction

4. Political Division

In 1930, at the request of the hsien leaders, the Association moved its headquarters from Chai-ch'eng Village to Tinghsien City, the hsien seat, and the whole hsien was turned into a unit for the laboratory study of many aspects of the community life in that area. The hsien was divided into four research districts,

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in each of which there were research villages. In addition, there were several "experimental center villages". For the implementation of the programs, a ten-year plan was worked out. July, 1930, to June, 1933, was to be the first period, during which special emphasis would be placed upon literacy education as it was believed that literacy education was the foundation of all other lines of improvement. From July, 1933, to June, 1936, the second period, the work was to be focused on agricultural improvement and economic reconstruction. July, 1937, to June, 1940, would be the third period, during which a special emphasis was to be placed upon the programs of village self-government and citizenship education.\textsuperscript{19}

Obviously, the order of the experiments was made on the basis of assumption rather than of experience. It was hoped that by the end of the first two periods, the rate of illiteracy in the area would have been reduced, and the general economic condition would also have been improved, thus the foundation of a modern democracy would have been well built. Ultimately, a modern democracy with new citizens would come into existence.

In addition, there was a program of social research which was conducted very intensively and very successfully. The most significant result of the research was corroboration of the fact that illiteracy, poverty, ill-health and misgovernment had been

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., p. 4.
the four fundamental weaknesses of the rural communities in China, and that all these weaknesses were interlocked. The cure of one would depend on the cure of the other. Poverty, for instance, depriving people's educational opportunity resulted in illiteracy. The illiterate people not able to gain enough knowledge and skills necessary for work always had a relatively low income, and therefore they stayed poor. Poverty and illiteracy were very often the cause of ill-health, and without a good government, the improvement of any of these weaknesses of the people's life was most unlikely of any accomplishment.\(^20\)

In order to try to find a way to remove these fundamental weaknesses of the people's life in China, the Association worked out a formula of "four types of education through three channels". The four types of education were those implied by the four divisions of the educational program: cultural education, economic education, health education and civic education. The three channels were school, society and home (see Appendix IV). A detailed study of the programs will show how they were designed to carry out the formula.\(^21\)

\(^{20}\)Ibid., pp. 13-35.

\(^{21}\)Sources:
Four Types of Education

Cultural Education. Language, literature and the arts constituted cultural education which was to provide intellectual and spiritual nourishment for the people, and to help them to rediscover the soul of China.

In the area of literature, efforts had been made in (1) language study, (2) collecting and editing people's literature, and (3) publications. The complexity of the writing system of the Chinese language presents a formidable obstacle to mastering the language. In order to make the language more accessible and relevant to the rural masses, a group of thirteen-hundred characters which had been considered and proved useful and meaningful to the rural people was selected on the basis of their frequent usage in more than two hundred different types of literature, magazines and business papers. From the total number of the Chinese vocabulary, estimated by some linguists to be about fifty-thousand, this selection led to a basic vocabulary for functional literacy. People's Readers were prepared, using this basic vocabulary. After completing these readers, a man was expected to be able to read newspapers and to write simple personal letters as well as business letters.

In addition, a People's Pocket Dictionary, containing about four-thousand Chinese characters, including the thirteen-hundred used in the People's Readers, was compiled. The pronunciation of each word in the dictionary was indicated by the "national
phonetic script" and the definitions of each word were given by using the words contained in the People's Readers. The dictionary was made primarily for the use of the graduates of the schools in the experimental area.

When these tools had become available, the program of creating a people's literature was started so as to provide reading materials for the students as well as the graduates of the schools in the experimental area. China is one of the nations which have produced a great amount of literary works, but most of these works were written in the classical style and are beyond the comprehension of the common people. The newly created people's literature covered a very wide range of subjects, such as Chinese history, stories of national personages, general information about New China, descriptions of methods of improving agriculture and general knowledge about preventing disease. All of these subjects were presented in the form of essays, plays, poems and songs in the vernacular style.

Tinghsien had been famous for its folk songs—the real living literature of the people. They were passed on from generation to generation by the folk song singers, and none of these songs had been written down. For the preservation of this part of the people's cultural heritage, some well-known native singers were employed to recite the songs. While the singer was singing, the words of his songs were written down by someone else. As a result of such an effort, two volumes of the folk songs of
about half a million words were published. Some of the songs were rewritten into stories by using the available thirteen hundred characters. All of these songs represent the best quality of the Chinese people's literature.

Drama, painting, music and radio broadcasting were the principal areas of the arts which were developed, and the chief of these was clearly the drama. To the illiterate and plain village masses, the traditional drama always has a very strong appeal, and tremendous persuasive power. It can help to preserve some good and useful tradition, and can also perpetuate some undesirable ones to hinder progress. In order to use drama as a constructive force, the Association invited some playwrights to write new plays to replace the traditional ones. The contents of the new plays were all connected with the real life of the village people, and these plays aroused the people's enthusiasm and proved dynamic enough to lead them to change some of their customary ways of life. From 1932 to 1934, eleven people's drama clubs were organized, and a number of performances was given by the drama clubs during the Chinese New Year and on some other occasions.

Recognizing the fact that color and imageries were the effective media for the inculcation of new ideas to the rural unschooled people, the Association prepared thousands of pictures, posters and cartoons to help carry out various programs of the movement. All these materials could be used at the same
time as a means to awaken the rural people's latent ability of artistic appreciation. In order to call the people's attention to the importance of folk art, a group of Association members made an intensive study of the wall painting in the temples, of the designs on private houses and public buildings, of sculpture and pottery, and of the symbolism of festivals. Then the Association together with the local people remade or repaired some of these relics so this part of the people's cultural heritage could be preserved.

Because so little attention has been given to painting and music, China's education, as well as the Chinese people as a whole, has long been criticized as colorless and soundless. In addition to the efforts made to preserve the folk songs, the Association, trying to make the silent masses more vocal, initiated programs of making music instruments and publishing songbooks, and also encouraged the schools in the experimental areas to have singing contests.

Certainly, radio can be used as a very effective instrument for mass education. The Association conducted a radio broadcasting experiment which consisted of a number of different programs:

1. Education—to teach methods for rural reconstruction. The broadcaster was a native who could speak the local dialect.
2. Activities—to report the achievements of villages or individuals in connection with the rural reconstruction programs.
(3) News—current events, national and international, and market reports.
(4) Recreation—community singing, records of Chinese opera, jokes and conundrums.

Along with the broadcasting programs, the Association maintained a workshop to manufacture four-tube receivers with loudspeakers, inexpensive enough for the village families to buy.

Economic Education. The aims of economic education were (1) to develop the knowledge and the skills necessary for the rural people to increase their agricultural products, and (2) to train the people to manage and use farm cooperatives so as to be able to improve economic life in the rural areas. The scope of economic education included farmer training, cooperative systems, plant production and animal production.

Farmer Training. The basic philosophy that guided the work of farmer training was to make leading farmers, not farmer leaders. In other words, the training aimed to make a new kind of farmer who would have acquired some new knowledge and skills of agriculture when he went back to work on the farm, not to make a few schooled farmers to lead the rural community. Training was conducted in travelling schools, organized so as to enable the farmers to have their training immediately relevant to their current needs. The schedules and curriculum of the travelling schools were made in accordance with the farmer's calendar. A year was roughly divided into three periods: during the first period, from March through June, the courses were related to
plant production; during the second period, August through September, courses in connection with animal production were given; and during the third period, from November through February of the following year, training was centered on techniques of developing village industries and rural cooperatives. At the place where the travelling school was stationed, a certain number of farmers were asked to practise what they had learned on their own farms. Those whose results were judged satisfactory would be assigned as "demonstration farmers". After the travelling school had left for other places, the "demonstration farmers" were asked to teach the farmers in the village.

The courses in plant production which were taught were: soil conservation, fertilizer application, seed selection, promotional techniques, plant nursery, control of plant diseases and pest control. In animal production, instruction was offered in animal breeding and feeding, animal disease control, and new techniques in animal production. For rural industries, cotton spinning, cloth-weaving and rug-weaving were taught.

Cooperatives. In this aspect of the economic education, there were three different kinds of organizations involved:

First, there were Self-help Societies, which were temporary organizations for bringing some financial relief to the farmers. It was in fact the preparatory experiment of cooperatives. Two banks, the Bank of China and the Kincheng Bank cooperated with
the Association in this project. The banks dealt directly with the societies and assisted the farmers in selling their products when the market became favorable. Within the whole hsien, there were two hundred and seventy-six self-help societies, of which twenty were eventually transformed into cooperatives.

Second, there were Cooperatives. In addition to financial convenience, this economic system, based on the principle of mutual cooperation, was expected to help to form new habits and a new mentality of the farmers and enable them to reconstruct their own life as well as their community. The cooperatives conducted the activities of credit and purchasing, and some of them also carried out the activities of production and transportation. There were fifty cooperatives in the whole hsien, and most of them conducted the activities of extending credit.

Third, there were Integrated Cooperative Societies. In order to unite the individual village cooperatives into one organized economic system, a number of Integrated Cooperative Societies were organized. There were hsien Integrated Cooperative Societies and subhsien societies. These societies, whose objective was to serve the village in its major economic activities, extended credit to their members when they needed money for purchasing, production and marketing.

Members of an Integrated Cooperative Society were required to be active producers who were literate and had had some kind of previous training in the work of cooperatives. A small number
of the selected members were given specialized technical training, such as bookkeeping and management.

Plant Production. A project for improving plant production could not accomplish concrete results unless it was repeated through a certain number of years. Efforts were first made to improve cotton production, and then the program was extended to include millet, wheat, kaoliang and corn. Efforts were also made to improve the secondary crops, such as cabbages and grapes.

Animal Production. Based on the principle "to build on what they have", the experiment of improving animal production began with pigs, and thereafter extended to poultry. The breeding and feeding experiments were successfully carried out with the native stock in combination with certain foreign breeds. The "Poland-China" pig, for instance, became very popular. The same result was achieved by crossing the native hen with the white leghorn. Such experiments then became widespread throughout the hsien.

Health Education. The aims of health education were (1) to evolve experimentally a country-wide public health system that could be adopted elsewhere, and (2) to make rudimentary medical relief and health protection available for the masses in this area. The health education program in Tinghsien was carried out at three different levels in keeping with the local administration system: there were village health workers, subhsien
health stations and a hsien health center.

Village Health Worker. The village health workers were the foundation on which the Association attempted to build a hsien health system. The health workers were members of the People's School Alumni Association of the village. One who had already had an intensive training at the subhsien health station could become a village health worker. Although working only part-time, because he had his own farm to attend to, he received regular supervision, once a week, from the physician at the subhsien health station. He worked in his village at regular hours each day:

(1) To record the births and deaths in the village.
(2) To give vaccination against smallpox and cholera.
(3) To give simple treatment out of his "First Aid Box", which contained ten essential and safe drugs, such as ointment for the treatment of trachoma, disinfectants and some sterilized bandages.
(4) To recommend the patients whose ailments were beyond his ability to treat them to the subhsien health station for treatment.
(5) To maintain sanitary wells in the village according to the approved design to minimize the danger of water pollution.
(6) To give health talks with demonstrations as a "health agent".

Subhsien Health Worker. To provide a higher type of medical service in an area with a population of approximately thirty thousand, there was a Subhsien Health Station, which was staffed with a physician and a nurse, to carry out health services, both curative and preventive. In addition to the daily clinic work at the Station, the workers were also charged with the following duties:
(1) Supervision of the village health workers.
(2) To train the native midwives.
(3) To study the rural health problems.
(4) Epidemic control.
(5) School health. Within a radius of six miles from a typical station, there were 25 village primary schools operated by the Association. In these schools, 58.5 per cent of the children had trachoma, and 26.2 per cent had ringworm on the scalp. Treatments for these diseases were given by the teachers and the nurse from the station. The station also helped the schools to construct drinking wells and latrines with roofs.

Hsien Health Work. In Tinghsien City, the hsien seat, where the headquarters of the Association was situated, a Health Center, housing a hospital with fifty beds and a laboratory, was established. It was in fact the headquarters of the hsien health system because it provided all necessary help to the subhsien health stations. The hospital in the center was to accept only the patients recommended by the subhsien stations. The average length of stay in the hospital was fifteen days, and the average costs per patient per day were about $1.79 (Chinese dollars), of which the patient paid only 40 cents, so the service was well within the economic reach of the people. Besides the hospital, the Center was also charged with the duties of epidemic control, school health, maternity care and child health, and the training of physicians and nurses.

Within the framework of the public health system, the most successful work was the vaccination against smallpox. The treatment for trachoma which was conducted by teachers in various schools was also very effective. Moreover, the vital statistics made by the village health workers perhaps were by
far the most inexpensive and accurate in the nation.

Civic Education. The aims of the civic education were (1) to foster among the people public-mindedness and a cooperative spirit, and (2) to develop a strong sense of responsibility to the community so that the people would be able to improve the community collectively. The program in civic education included (1) research, (2) compilation, and (3) civic activities.

In order to discover the common characteristics of the Chinese people, the Association made an intensive study of the daily life of the people in the community. As a result of the study through three years, both the strong points and the weak points of the characteristics of the people in the area of Tinghsien were discovered. The people, in general, were courteous, industrious and persevering, but they also showed their weak points, such as incooperativeness, unpunctualness, unscientific-mindedness and selfishness. Probably these points, both strong and weak, could represent the general characteristics of the Chinese people as a whole. Against the weak points the Association made an outline of the civic education to teach the people in the community in order that the new citizens of new China would have a new kind of behavior and morality. The outline included such items as general morality, personal morality and human relationship. Understandably, the outline was made of Confucian virtues colored with Christian spirit.

In addition, the Association compiled (1) general works,
such as Fundamental Principles of Citizenship, Chinese Ethics and Community Life, and (2) textbooks for the schools in the experimental area, such as Chinese history, civics, introduction to the Three Principles of the People, family life and village self-government.

Civic activities, which were regarded as the most important part of civic education, include:

(1) Women's league
(2) Youth club
(3) Exhibition of home improvement
(4) Activities of the People's School Alumni Associations
(5) Organizations of the villagers
(6) Improvement of the public recreation places
(7) Participation in festival celebrations
(8) Observance of citizenship week

Three Channels

School. The schools, operated under the auspices of the Association, were of various kinds. For children between the ages of 4 and 14, there were township experimental schools; for those between the ages of 8 and 14, subhsien experimental schools and village experimental schools. For the youth between the ages of 14 and 25, there were elementary people's schools and advanced elementary people's schools, each of which for two hours a day, and for a term of four months. There were also youth make-up classes. For adults, there were adults' schools, which, as a rule, were composed of agricultural classes, home economic classes, public health classes, cultural classes and civics classes.
The size and the organization of the people's schools varied in different localities. Most of them were of the form of one-room-school, with one person assigned to the school. Some were of two rooms, and the largest were of three rooms, where three persons were put in charge. The curriculums of the schools were organized on the basis of the contents of the four types of education. In the elementary people's schools, cultural education constituted forty-six per cent; economic education, twenty-two and half per cent; health education, twenty-one and half per cent; and civic education, ten per cent. In the advanced people's school, cultural education constituted fifty-seven per cent, and civic education, twenty-five per cent, while economic education and health education were eleven and seven per cent respectively.

The work in cultural education concentrated heavily on reading, character-writing and composition by using the words which had been learned from the People's Thousand-Character Readers. For economic education, abacus, agriculture and home industries were taught. The treatment of trachoma and the promotion of personal cleanliness constituted the main content of health education. For civic education, the Three Principles of the People was the main teaching material, and sometimes demonstrations of voting were given in class.

The people in the village were responsible for setting up schools in the village, and the necessary funds were collected
from the people, too. The first step of establishing a people's school was to count the number of illiterates in the village. Then a school board, consisting of three to five members, was selected to assume responsibility for building schoolrooms and raising funds. But the expenses of the schools which had been established for experimental purposes were paid by the Association.

Society. The social channel of the four types of education was mainly the activities of the People's School Alumni Association. Everyone, upon graduation from the people's school, was obliged to join the Alumni Association. By the by-laws of the Association (see Appendix V), the member must try to help, in one way or the other, to carry out some of the programs initiated by the Association. It was the belief of the Association that the enlightened and organized farmers must become the nucleus for the extension of the rural reconstruction program.

The village People's School Alumni Association was designed with two purposes. One was to enable the people's school graduates to continue to learn from each other. Because they had had a sense of fellowship, it would be easier for them to get together to help each other and to learn from each other. The other was to band them together as an organized force for rural community reconstruction. In the hsien as a whole there was a Federation of the People's School Alumni Associations. The headquarters of the Federation published a weekly newsletter
to circulate among its members. Practically all activities of cultural and health education were carried out by the village Associations. Village health workers, for instance, were chosen by the village Association. Other activities, such as the meeting of village heads, athletic contests, opera performances and other recreational activities, frequently took place under the sponsorship of the village Association. The most consistent and most useful activity was the "wall news", i.e., to write the important news of the day with chalk on a wall which had been painted black for this purpose. The operation of radio broadcasting each day at a regular hour was another widely welcomed program, by which the farmers could be informed about the activities of farming improvement, child-care, cooperatives and other things. In addition, such activities as tree-planting, road-repairing, exhibition of agricultural products, anti-narcotics campaigns and anti-gambling programs were all initiated by the village Alumni Association, which proved to be a very useful channel to implement the educational programs in the villages.

Home. Home was a very effective channel through which some of the programs of mass education, particularly health education, could be carried out. In order to encourage the individual home to recognize its social responsibility to the community, in each village the People's School Alumni Association organized a Family Association. The aims of this organization were (1) to
study the real problems in each family, and (2) to build the foundation for village self-government. Under the Family Association there were family heads' clubs, housewives' clubs, youth corps, girls' clubs and others. Through these clubs and corps the educational programs could reach those who had not had the opportunity to go to the people's schools. The Family Association also sponsored a program of model home demonstration. A model home was selected according to the record of its accomplishment in such areas as children's education, health and sanitation, and various social activities. After a model home had been elected, it would be recommended by the Family Association to the village head by whom an award would be given on behalf of the village.

At its beginning, the Tinghsien Experiment set up a ten-year plan, which was divided into three periods, and in each period one program was supposed to be completed at one place. But soon it was found impractical because a society is an organic whole, and it can not and should not be improved compartmentally. By July, 1932, before the completion of the first period, the whole ten-year plan was abandoned, and a six-year plan was then worked out as an alternative to cover the period from July, 1932, to June, 1938. Again the six years were divided into three periods. But this time the division was made on the basis that the whole series of the four types of education through three channels would have been completed in one locality within one
period before it was extended to another locality. The pro-
grams of the four types of education for the first period began
with a village, and they were expected to be implemented
successfully through the three channels by the end of a period
of two years. During the second period, the experiments of the
same kind of programs would cover an area of a subhsien of
sixty-two villages. In the third period, the experiment would
cover the whole hsien. The ultimate goal of the six-year plan
was not only to make Tinghsien a modern hsien, but also to use
Tinghsien as a model for the task of reconstruction of the re-
mainig eighteen hundred and thirty-four hsien of the nation.
A Mass Education College was at the same time proposed to become
a center for training rural workers to meet the nation-wide needs,
but the plan did not materialize.

Following the change of the ten-year plan into the six-
year plan, the administrative organization of the headquarters
of the Association was reformed (see Appendix VI). The new
organization broke all the previous departmental lines, so the
programs of the four types of education through three channels
could be carried out simultaneously in one locality. According
to the decision made at the headquarters, Kaotou Village was
taken as the first experimental village. The area of a village
was certainly smaller, but it was an organic whole. If the
programs were put into practice at the same time in a village,
then the village would have a balanced development in various
aspects. Then the experiment, with some adjustments, could be expanded to the subhsien and even to the whole hsien.

The six-year plan had been in practice for five years when the second Sino-Japanese War broke out in July, 1937. Due to the unexpected interruption of the work because of the war, the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement itself was virtually disbanded. Therefore no report on the progress of the experiments during these five years was ever made available. So it is impossible to make an objective evaluation of the programs in terms of their suitability and effectiveness.

By and large, however, Yen's experimental approach to try to improve the rural conditions in China was scientific and practical and it ought to be plausible. Nevertheless, under China's depressed economic condition of that time, the experiments as viewed by many seemed somehow too expensive. Even if the experiments were all successful, they would still appear impractical when and if they were applied to one place after another. China at that time, a large, old and very poor country, was like a huge, rotted trunk of an old tree. A few sporadic shots of vitality would seem too little and too slow to revitalize it.

The Hsiao-chuang School and Tao's Other Programs

Owing to its revolutionary, idealistic and sometimes poetic nature, Hsiao-chuang School has written a very colorful and
impressive page in the history of Chinese education. If the phrase of "educational romanticism" had been coined, it would be very appropriate to use such a phrase to describe the school. In the Chinese language the pronunciations of the character which means "small" and that which means "dawn" are identical—they are all pronounced "hsiao". Hsiao-chuang (Village) was previously known as a small village; but now by changing the written form of the prefixal sounds, it meant a village at dawn. It might possibly, by designation, mean that the morning of the village began to dawn, and soon would come its bright days.

The school at Hsiao-chuang was started on March 15, 1927. It was, at the beginning, named Hsiao-chuang Experimental Rural Normal School, and it was the first school to commit itself to the task of training rural elementary school teachers to bring education to the rural areas. The principles on which the school was founded were that the prerequisite of rural reconstruction was rural education, and that the success of rural education depended entirely upon good rural teachers. This school was therefore designed as the place to train good rural teachers. The graduates of this school were expected not only to be able to teach rural children, but also to be able to act as leaders to develop rural communities. A teacher, as believed by the school, was not a schoolmaster, but a life advisor and a social counselor to the rural people and to the rural community.
Wherever he goes, in one year, he has made the school refreshing and lively; in two years, the school has been attached with the good faith of the people in the community; in three years, there has been evidence of improvement in agriculture through scientific methods; in four years, village self-government has come into being; in five years, the "living education" has become universal; and in ten years, the bare mountains have been covered with forests, and every previously idle person has become a productive worker.22

Breaking with the Chinese tradition, the Hsiao-chuang School adopted a dramatically new structure, a new curriculum organization and new activities of teachers and students. The school attempted to develop an "education-centered community" through the medium of a "community-centered school". Therefore, everyone in this school was required, first of all, to become a member of the community and to share every aspect of the life in the community. It was believed that true and useful knowledge could be obtained only from practical life. "Take our departure from the natural rural life to approach our destination of a utopian world" was the slogan of the school. Around the school there was no wall or fence; the whole society was the school, and every aspect of the actual life of the community was the subject matter to teach and to learn. Nor was there a mark to distinguish the teacher from the student. The belief held by the school was that no teacher could be omnipotent and omniscient.

Anyone who knew should teach those who did not, and anyone who did not know should learn from those who knew. Thus, a teacher might become a student of his student, and a student might become a teacher of his teacher.

The school was started with a piece of bare land and thirteen students. The opening ceremony was held on March 15, 1927, in the sunshine on the open ground. The teachers and students put up four tents and borrowed one table with a few benches from the farmers in the village as their preliminary school "building". Thereafter, they began their idyllic life together in the rustic land. During the daytime they worked together on building the earthen walls and thatched roofs of the rooms; at night, they made their beds on the earthen ground under the cover of the tent. Within one year, they had successfully built their workshops, laboratories, dining hall and library, which was named "Hall Not-for-Bookworms". Ploughing, seeding, planting, road-building, purchasing and cooking were the required courses for everyone in the school.

The school was, at the beginning, divided into the elementary teacher training section and the nursery teacher training section. All the graduates from both sections were supposed to stay to teach in the rural communities. In addition, there were four central elementary schools and four central kindergartens for student-teaching practice. These elementary schools and kindergartens were situated in old temples with a few pieces
of simple furniture and were strikingly different from the "yang" (foreign) schools in the cities. The name "central school" meant that the schools were centers for both teaching practice and social reform. The students in the Hsiao-chuang School were always encouraged to establish elementary schools or kindergartens by themselves in the rural community. As a result, in three years, there were eight additional elementary schools and four kindergartens established in the area. Tao and his colleagues believed that China would have been well-reconstructed as soon as one million village schools were established throughout the country.

When the traditional pattern of the class was discarded, various new organizations were created. The rural Education Pioneer Corps, for instance, encouraged its members to habituate themselves to the collective or communal life. The responsibilities of the members might be different, but everyone stood on equal ground, and no one was subordinate to anyone else. The members knew and would obey the laws which were made by themselves, but not the authority of any one individual. The final objective of the Corps was to transform each member into a person with a farmer's body, a scientist's mind and a reformer's vision so as to be able to meet any situation which might confront him.

The Friends Club, in which every student was required to take part, was designed to give students an opportunity to go
to the village to make friends with the farmers. The students usually went to visit them at their homes in the evening when the farmers came back home from their work. As a result, the distrust of the farmers in the new education which they usually conceived of as something "yang" was removed, and the gap between the school and the farmers was bridged by the friendship between students and farmers. Thus the farmers began to trust the students, and the students knew better how to help the farmers.

The Central Tea House in the village was both a center for social education of the school and a recreation center for the farmers. The students and the teachers usually used storytelling as a medium to teach the farmers how to change some of the undesirable customs and the life habits of some individuals. It was said that the operation of the tea house, by the effect of attracting farmers to receive their rudimentary education, was very successful.

The Carpenter Center was organized as a workshop for the students, and also as a center to teach the rural carpenters to improve their skills. All the furniture used in Hsiao-chuang School and the elementary schools and the kindergartens in this area was made in this center.

The Village Union was of a somewhat political nature. It was organized originally for the purpose of protecting the people in the area from disturbance by bandits. Then, the Union became able to sponsor such activities as the annual
inter-village athletic contests, and a Fire-prevention Club to train the people how to organize themselves into units. For giving the people the basic knowledge of law and politics, a political and law symposium was organized by the Union to explain to the people what the government should do for them and what it should not do. The Hsiao-chuang School, ever since its beginning, announced that everyone in the school would be an enemy of the oppressive local gentry and warlords, and a sincere helper to the farmers.

The Hsiao-chuang program was a very imaginative innovation of education, and the founding of the Hsiao-chuang School magnificently revealed Tao Hsing-chih's creativity in education. What had been practiced in this school became the guiding principles for rural education development at that time in China, and it also gave a significant demonstration of how to use the native community resources to make a useful educational program. Furthermore, the school pointed out the fact that educators who were interested in or engaged in the activities of rural education must not only go to the rural areas, but must also go to the rural people and share the way of the people's life. Only thus could the actual rural problems be discovered, and the answers to the problems could then be found.

Following Tao's belief that the school of teacher education should be built on a foundation made of central schools, a series of rural schools was established in the area. For four
or five villages there was a local elementary school, which was designed to render educational, social and other kinds of service to that area. For every four or five local schools there was a central school that was responsible for helping the local schools to carry out their programs. The programs in the elementary teacher training section were decided according to the actual needs of the central schools. For the kindergarten teacher training section, there was a series of kindergartens to decide its programs. Hsiao-chuang School was the first in the history of Chinese education to use community resources to organize its curriculum. The "school reached out into the community and brought the conditions and problems of the community back into its curriculum." The contents of the curriculum at every level of schools were therefore the real life of the people in the community.

Since this school aimed exclusively to train rural teachers, the requirements for the admission of a student to the school was different from any other traditional schools in the country. In addition to the scholastic achievements made at his previous schools, a prospective student was required to show his readiness to undertake whatever a farmer could do in a village and his determination to devote himself to rural education. Each applicant was asked to spend one day doing farm work, such as ploughing, fertilizer-spreading, or taking care of cattle, chickens and pigs. Fluency in speech was also important for a
rural reformer, so every applicant must take an oral examination and make a five-minute extemporaneous speech.

The students were heterogeneous in background. Some had had two years of college education, some had had two years of senior middle school education, or junior middle school education, before they were admitted to this school. Such heterogeneity naturally enhanced the necessity of an unusual working schedule. So the teaching and learning activities in this school were conducted in four different forms:

1. Individual learning. Every student was required to make a daily, weekly, monthly and yearly learning plan according to his own personal interests and needs, and the plan must be approved by the teacher with whom the student had been assigned to work. Accordingly, every student had to make a daily, weekly, monthly and yearly report on what he had learned.

2. Group learning. This was limited only to the general subjects, such as natural science, social science, and language and literature.

3. Group discussions. For this purpose, there were daily morning meeting and discussion, and weekly meeting and discussion.

4. Group activities. These included community service, services within the school and recreation activities.

The organization and the operation of the Hsiao-chuang School completely reflected the educational creed (see Appendix VII), which was drafted by Tao and passed unanimously at the teachers' meeting on November 21, 1926. The meeting, attended by the teachers from four elementary schools in the suburbs of Nanking--Yaohuamen School, Patoushan School, Yentzuchi School, and Chu Don-chean, Patterns of Education for the Developing Nations, Tainan, Taiwan: Kaochang Printing Co., 1966., p. 94.
and Mingling School, was sponsored by the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, of which Tao was the Director-general.

In order to practise village self-government, the school was organized in the form of a township, under which there were villages. In the villages there lived the students and the teachers. Each village had its village head, and from among these village heads, a town head was elected. There were a few laws which were made at the town meeting, so everyone in the town was expected to obey them. For the violators, the punishments were made according to the seriousness of the case. The punishments included warning and detainment. If the case was very serious, the violator was to be ostracized. However, the act of ostracizing could not be carried out unless the decision was unanimously agreed upon by every concerned office in the school; and the person to be ostracized had the right to appeal to the town meeting.

As Tao once proposed that the teacher education institutions in the nation should have adopted such a principle as "one who can not plant vegetables is not a student, and one who can not cook can not graduate," so the student's time at Hsiao-chuang was spent, in addition to their academic pursuits,

\[24\text{Ibid.}, p. 82\]
performing the following activities:  

First, some of the students of the elementary teacher training section went to have their practice-teaching in the elementary schools; some were sent out somewhere to set up temporary classes or to look for a place to set up a permanent elementary school; still a part of them were asked to stay in the school to make plans for those who had been sent out. The activities in relation to the work of elementary schools took one-half of a student's time every day.  

Second, the operation of Hsiao-chuang School depended entirely upon the labor of the students. Every student had to take part in the work of running the school. The work of the dean, the secretary, the janitor and the cook, for instance, were all done by the students. This took 15 per cent of every student's time.  

Third, every student at Hsiao-chuang had to rent a piece of land of one-half mow (three mow make an acre) from the school and to pay two dollars to the school for the annual rent. The student might plant whatever he liked on his own piece of land. The school had two committees in charge of directing students to do their farm work. The advisory committee was

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Sources:
composed of the experienced farmers from the nearby villages, and the planning committee was composed of the farm experts from the University of Nanking and the National Central University in Nanking. The farm work took twenty per cent of every student's time. Of course, during the summer season, more time was needed; however, it took less time during the winter season.

Fourth, every student, in addition to his school work and his farm work, was assigned to take part in community activities, such as rural cooperatives, road-building and various activities in the village union. Such an assignment is aimed to give each student an opportunity to see and to understand the actual conditions in the rural areas. This took fifteen per cent of each student's time.

We insisted that mental work must be based on physical activity. The whole life in this school is the processes of teaching-learning-doing. In other words, we believe that the way of teaching is decided by the way of learning; the way of learning is decided by the way of doing. Therefore our actual life is our curriculum. We get up before dawn every day, and we have a morning meeting for about 15 minutes. After the meeting, there is a short period of physical exercise. After breakfast, everyone begins to read books. Part of the books have been assigned by the teachers, and part of them are by the student's own choice. The afternoon is spent on farming, tool-making or going out to help the peasants. In the evening, everyone is busy with the people's evening classes or making reports of the activities of the day. We want to find out China's real problems by participating in the real
rural life, and to try to solve the problems by actual doing and working.26

As a continuation of his abortive experiment in Hsiao-chuang School, Tao conducted two more educational experiments elsewhere: the Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan in Shanghai and the Yu-tsai School in Chungching. These two experiments were equally significant for the mass education movement.

Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan

After the closing of Hsiao-chuang School in 1930, Tao moved to Shanghai and lived in the French Concession quarter because it had been rumored that the government wanted to arrest him. Two years later, in 1932, he resumed his educational experiment in a suburb of Shanghai. The experiment then became known as Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan (working-learning-organizing) which can be translated as "Labor, Science and Union". The definition of such an organization, given by Tao himself, was:

"Kung" means to labor or to work. Let the people use their own labor to support their own life. "Hsüeh" means science or to learn. Let the people study social science to enable them to know why they have been suffering from poverty and from exploitation by others, and let the people study natural science to overcome their superstition and to promote their productivity. "T'uan" means to organize. Let the people be organized and united, so they can protect their natural rights from being deprived.27


Tao might have intentionally used the equivocality of the single syllable word in the Chinese language. "Tuan" could also be used to mean "group", so "Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan" could also mean a group of people working while learning. Linguistically, it would be more familiar and more acceptable to the Chinese if the "Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan" was interpreted as a "working while learning group" and used as a title of an organization.

Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan had the attributes of a small factory, a small school and a small society. Its programs was a union of productivity, progress, cooperation and self-protection. It was believed that such a combination of factory, school and society would generate a new vitality necessary for social reconstruction. Manifestly it was a new experiment of Tao's theory of "society is school" and "life is education", and also significantly it was a shift of Tao's interest in mass education from peasants to factory workers. Such a shift was not accidental. After his earlier school in the country was closed by the government, Tao had moved to the largest industrial city in China, where the illiterate masses were mostly factory workers. By his keen observation and constant contact with the factory workers, Tao realized that the living conditions of the factory workers in the city was no better than those of the farmers in the rural areas and that the importance of the workers as a constructive force in the efforts of national reconstruction was no less than that of the farmers. Thereupon, Tao came to
believe that China could be well reconstructed when and if the farmers in the rural areas and the factory workers in the cities came together to form a joint force. He had been so deeply convinced that he added two lines: "New China is in sight/ when hoes and machines unite" to his famous poem "Dance of the Hoe".  

Kung-Hsueh-T'uan was a school without limits, and an education without school. It was simple in its plan, so it was easy to be established. Its education could take place wherever group life existed. Moreover, the student's work would not have to be interrupted when he wanted to have his education. A newsboys' Kung-Hsueh-T'uan, for instance, was organized, and the teaching and learning activities were conducted at the street corner.

The education offered by Kung-Hsueh-T'uan included (1) general military education, (2) productive education, (3) science education, (4) literacy education, (5) citizenship education, and (6) health education.

The methods used to carry out the six different kinds of education were basically different from the traditional schools. In many cases, the school was isolated from society; but Kung-Hsueh-T'uan took the society as school. The traditional teaching materials were mostly irrelevant to practical life, but

28Ibid., p. 106.
Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan took the approach that "life is education". In the traditional schools, teacher's teaching was not by doing, nor was student's learning; in Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan, teaching and learning all centered on doing. In the traditional way, a student usually had to spend a number of years to study before he was able to go to work, but, in Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan, the principle was that knowledge could be obtained only from doing. When one was working, one was actually engaged in learning. So one who came to join Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan for learning had to go to work. Furthermore, the enrollment in the traditional schools was always limited only to those who had passed the entrance examination, but Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan enrolled everyone who wanted to join.

The first Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan was founded on October 1, 1932, with twenty children in a small house at Menchia Mu Ch'iao in suburban Shanghai. One year later, in 1933, the number of students had increased to three hundred, and then the shortage of teachers became a serious problem. Through a one-year experiment, the problem was solved by adopting a program of using students to teach other students: this was the beginning of the "little teacher" system in China. To have a larger space to house the students, neighborhood temples were borrowed and used as classrooms. In order to raise funds, a productive cooperative was organized. Thus a new form of education had its foundation established.
The most significant outcome of the experiment of Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan was the "little teacher" system. It was soon proved to be a very effective weapon used to combat illiteracy. Actually, children can teach adults many things, but this system was considered new, at least by the Chinese, when the children were recognized as "little teachers". The "little teacher" by definition was a child who took the teacher's place to teach others, or who brought home what he had learned at school to teach his relatives or neighbors. In Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan, each child was encouraged to teach two persons outside the school, and to teach not only children but also adults. The system, in effect, was the most useful and the most economic tool in the efforts to make education universally accessible.

According to Tao, a social reformer or a leader of the rural-mass education movement was not a philanthropist. He must not try to do anything for the farmers or the factory workers, but rather, to teach them the idea of "do it yourself". China could not be expected to make any significant progress until the people began to do things by themselves. Tao believed that everyone, young and old, could be a teacher to teach someone something, and everyone in turn had something to learn from others. At the beginning of the Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan, for instance, it was decided that every child for his own use in the classroom must first of all learn how to make a chair. But the problem which arose immediately after the decision was that the teachers
who had been recruited had no knowledge in the matter of making chairs, and none of them was therefore able to teach chair-making. Then a few carpenters were employed, and they certainly knew how to make chairs, but they did not know how to teach their skills to the children. At last, the teachers and the carpenters were asked to work together to teach chair-making to the children. In two weeks, the teachers became teacher-carpenters, and the carpenters became carpenter-teachers, and the children began to know how to make chairs and how to teach chair-making as well. Based on this experience, the children in Kung-Hsüeh-T'uan were charged with double responsibilities: to learn for themselves and to teach others what they had learned.

Tao firmly believed in the usefulness of the system of "little teachers". In fact, the "little teacher" system had shown great advantages in carrying out mass education programs. For instance, the "little teacher" could help women to have their education where women's school was not available and when the custom frowned upon men-teachers for girls and women. So knowledge in the hands of the "little teacher" was not considered a commodity for sale, but a free gift to everyone who liked to have it, and the "little teachers" could deliver education everywhere. Therefore, the system of "little teachers" became very popular in China in the 1930's and its existence still continues.
The Yu-tsai School

Out of his great love for children and his firm faith in education, Tao in 1939 founded the Yu-tsai School in the suburb of Chungching, the war-time national capital of China. The name of the school meant literally a school for developing special talents. It was designed to give the war orphans a favorable environment to develop their latent talents. The founding of this school was "a crusade against waste—waste of high intelligence and special aptitude because of lack of opportunity to develop them."29

Having been inspired by the story of Thomas A. Edison's (1847-1931) boyhood and the story of Michael Faraday (1791-1867), Tao paid great attention to the education of the deprived children in China. He believed that if China expected to have some prominent scientists, there must be someone, like Edison's mother and Faraday's employer, who had deep compassion for children and tried to provide opportunities for their full development. During the second Sino-Japanese war, a great many children in China lost their lives because of the Japanese wanton bombing on Chinese villages. Those who had survived either lost their parents and were put into the orphanages, or together with their parents stayed in the crowded war-refugee camps. Children in these places had no opportunity for

29 Chu Don-chean, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
education. In response to the urgent need of these children, Tao used these orphanages and war-refugee camps as the only sources from which he selected students after the Yu-tsai School had been established.

The school was set up in Ku Sheng Szu (Ancient Saint Temple), which contained forty-six rooms, on the top of Feng-huang Shan (Phoenix Hill) in the northern suburb of Chungching. As in the Hsiao-chuang School, the teachers, the older students and the janitors in the Yu-tsai School used their own hands to transform the old temple into a school. The whole school included one theatrical stage, four platforms, four research rooms, three playgrounds, one vegetable garden and one farm. The people in the school were all proud of their creativity, and they planned to create on the Fenghuang Shan (1) a durable castle, (2) an artistic and healthy environment, (3) a productive place, and (4) an academic atmosphere.\(^{30}\)

Tao profoundly believed in people's creativity. He thought that everywhere could be the place for creation, every minute could be the time for creation, and everyone could be a creator. A religious zealot could create a god to worship; an artist could create a statue to appreciate; and an educator could create a good person as a leader to reform the society. In other words, the success of a teacher would be his successful

creation of a person who would be able to make contribution to the welfare of mankind. Despair, to Tao, was nothing but the excuse for cowardice; courage and creation would be only what was needed when one had reached a dead end. Yu-tsai School might be a manifestation of Tao’s creativity and courage after he had experienced various kinds of frustrations and dead ends.

The true aim of founding Yu-tsai School is to prevent the young buds of talents from fading away, and to provide the necessary sunshine, air, and water for them to develop. We are to lead students to seek nothing but truth; to be self-aware of each one’s responsibilities as a human being; to learn to use both their hands and their brains; and to unite the students as a group of little warriors against outside aggression. But we are not to cultivate one-sided little experts; nor are we to make a special class of “little specialists” over and above the masses of people. On the contrary, the children came from the underprivileged families, and they are expected to go back to their original places to help to improve the conditions there. Finally, the school intends not to develop any kind of special talents at the expense of mass education.31

By using the devices of intelligence and aptitude tests, a group of experts in various fields, such as natural science, fine arts, etc., selected students from orphanages and war-refugee camps. It took four months for the experts to select the students. The first group which had been admitted to the school were one hundred and fifty-two (eighty-three boys and

sixty-nine girls) from fifteen different provinces. According to their personal interests and talents, they were divided into six groups: (1) music, (2) drama, (3) literature, (4) painting, (5) social science, and (6) natural science.

Although Yü-tsai School was primarily designed as a specialized school, yet the courses offered by the school focused mainly on general education, and only one fourth of each student's time was spent on special studies to develop his or her special talents. Nevertheless, the creative spirit of everyone was always encouraged. There was a "Creative Scholarship" for students, teachers and janitors who had created individually or in collaboration with others something unique and significant. In the field of general education, Chinese, foreign languages, mathematics and science were offered. These courses were regarded as four keys to open the secret of the universe; every student in the school was asked to pay great attention to them indiscriminately.

In addition, everyone at Yü-tsai School was expected to be competent in what had been called the twenty-three abilities:³²

1. Secretarial work—Chinese calligraphy, taking care of files, writing social letters, taking notes at meetings.
2. Language arts—conversation, explanation, public speech, social dialogue.
3. Conference—to make speech, to make proposal, election, to be chairman.

(4) Social activities— to entertain guests, conversation, guide-tour, to serve tea and dinner.
(5) "Little teacher"— to teach janitors and schoolmates, to teach farmers.
(6) Bookkeeping— personal and official.
(7) Library work— cataloguing, book circulation.
(8) To use dictionary— Chinese and foreign languages.
(9) Cooking— dinner party, picnic.
(10) Washing and sewing— clothes must be washed at least once a week.
(11) Gardening— to plant vegetables, flowers, and trees.
(12) Decoration— living room, bedroom, classroom, conference hall.
(13) Repairing— wooden work, bamboo work, roofing, and siding.
(14) Swimming.
(15) First aid.
(16) Singing— solo, chorus.
(17) Car-driving.
(18) Typing— Chinese and foreign languages.
(19) Shorthand— Chinese and foreign languages.
(20) Translation and interpretation— Chinese into foreign languages and vice versa.
(21) Extemporaneous speech.
(22) Electricians' work.
(23) Leadership.

Such requirements obviously aimed to discover and to develop children's potentialities and to provide opportunities for self-expression.

Tao's programs of mass education were imaginative and fascinating, but it seemed too difficult for anyone to carry them out if one does not have the same imaginative and creative mind as Tao had. Therefore the programs could be considered too idealistic and somewhat impracticable.

The Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute and Its Experiments

The rural-mass education programs, under the supervision
of the Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute and conducted by the graduates of the Institute, placed more emphasis on moral teaching than practical training. The primary purposes of establishing the Institute as stated in its constitution were to study the problems of village self-government and rural reconstruction, and to train personals to implement the programs of rural reconstruction in Shantung Province. But because of the influence of the beliefs of Liang Shu-ming, who became the president of the Institute in 1933, the Institute tended to believe that the foundation of which a new society in the rural areas of China could be built was the Chinese moral philosophy—the Confucian ethical relationship, which is usually cited as the "San Kang" (three bonds) and "Wu Chang" (five constant relations). The five constant relations were the relation between emperor and subjects, parents and children, husband and wife, brothers, and friends. Of these five relationships there were three bonds to fasten the relation by delineating the moral duties of the subjects to the emperor, children to parents, and wife to husband.

According to Liang's view, the focal points of the programs of rural reconstruction should be to increase the economic strength, to reinforce the political power and to

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33 Shantung Rural Reconstruction and Tsouping Experiment. Shantung: Publishing Division, Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute, 1936, p. 8.
restore the cultural tradition of the village. Once he said:

Although the task of rural reconstruction is many-sided, yet it can be roughly classified into three sections: economics, politics and education or culture. These three aspects actually constitute the whole life of the village. The work of the rural reconstruction can therefore begin with any of these three aspects. As soon as one aspect has been started, the other two will certainly follow. If the rural reconstruction begins with politics, for instance, it must first of all organize the village self-government, through which the educational programs and the programs of economic development can be simultaneously carried out. If it begins with education, through education, the village self-government can be organized, and the programs of agricultural improvement and economic development can be put into practice. But by natural order, however, economics should be given the priority. There seems to be no necessity and no possibility of political and educational development before some progress in economic development has been made.34

The Institute was completely financed by the Shantung provincial government. It was in fact a provincial organization. The Institute was composed of two divisions: the Division of Rural Research and the Division of Rural Service. But the scope of its work included four areas: (1) research, (2) training, (3) social survey, and (4) experimental farm.

The establishment of the Research Department aimed to attract the city intellectuals back to the country to take part in the research of the real problems of rural China. It was, in a sense, the first graduate school of its kind in China. One

of the requirements for admission to the Research Department was the completion of the education of a college or of the equivalent institutions. The research programs were of two different kinds: (1) general research—the fundamental principles of rural reconstruction, and (2) specialized research—the assignments of the research was made on the basis of the academic background of the researcher. A graduate from an agriculture college, for instance, was encouraged to do his research in the field of agriculture; a graduate from a college of education was usually advised to study the problems of rural education. The resident requirement for each research student was two years. However, if one submitted a thesis as the result of his specialized studies during the research period, and the thesis was considered satisfactory by the advisory committee, he might leave the Institute before the end of the two-year period.

All of the research student were provided free room and board and a monthly allowance of ten Chinese dollars by the Institute. In 1931, there were thirty students, and all of them were residents of Shantung Province. By 1934, the number of students was reduced to eighteen, and one-third of them were non-residents of Shantung. In order to combine learning and practice and to have the effect of learning from practice, the research students were required to spend four months in the Institute to pursue their fundamental studies and to learn the
basic research techniques. Then they would be sent to the experiment centers to take part in the actual activities.

Most of the research students upon graduation were invited to join the experimental work in the experiment centers which were operated by the Institute. A few of the graduates became teachers of some normal schools elsewhere, or advisors to the rural reconstruction experiments in some other provinces.

The aim of the Training Department was to train rural workers exclusively for Shantung Province. Therefore one of the requirements for the students was that they must be permanent residents of the province. The academic requirement for the applicants was that they had to have an education equivalent to that of a junior middle school. Before they were admitted to the training program, an agreement, stating that they must go back to their respective native places to serve the rural community after the completion of their trainings, was signed.

The length of the training period was one year. During the training period, each student received a monthly subsidy of five Chinese dollars from the Institute. The courses offered for the training included:
In 1932 when the second training class began, the one-year training period was divided into two sections. The first section was of three months for basic moral and military trainings. The second section was of nine months. During the second section of training, students were divided, according to their needs and interests, into five groups: (1) village self-protection, (2) Chinese language and literature, (3) study of rural problems, (4) Chinese culture, and (5) well-drilling. Each group received its specialized trainings respectively.

In June, 1934, when the third training class began, the programs of training were completely revised. The courses concentrated on four areas: (1) crop improvement, (2) village self-protection, (3) rural cooperatives, and (4) rural medical service. The distribution of time of the one-year training was thus made: (1) three months for general moral trainings, (2) five months for rural education, and (3) four months for the selected courses. The trainings were divided into three
stages:

(1) First stage, from July through September, was for basic training. The subjects for this stage of training included:
   (a) moral training
   (b) problems of rural reconstruction
   (c) military training.

(2) Second stage, from October through February of the following year, was for general training. The subjects for this stage of training were concentrated on rural education. October and November were used to make preparations for field work; December and January were used for field work of rural education; and February and March were used for discussion of the field experience.

(3) Third stage, from April through June, was for specialized training. The subjects for this stage of training included:
   (a) village self-protection
   (b) rural cooperatives
   (c) agriculture
   (d) rural medical service

From 1932 through 1935, the number of students who had received this kind of training was about one thousand, and most of them went back to their respective native places to serve the rural community. However, this number of trained persons seemed too small to try to revitalize the decaying villages of the whole province. So the rural reconstruction programs in Shantung Province failed to produce significant result.

In July, 1931, the Institute invited two professors from Yenching University in Peiping to come to direct the work of social survey in Tsouping-hsien. The following year a Social Survey Department was established under the Executive Committee of the Institute to direct the students to conduct the social survey. A survey of the economic conditions of four hundred
and eighteen families in Tsouping-hsien was conducted and completed by twenty-nine students from the Training Department, and a survey of the general conditions of the villages of the whole hsien was also made and completed by a hundred and thirty-six students.

The establishment of the experimental farm was for extension work and research. The extension work included (1) cotton improvement, (2) silkworm-raising, (3) forestry, (4) weaving machine improvements, (5) hog-raising, and (6) poultry-raising.

The research work in the experimental farm contained (1) husbandry, (2) animal disease prevention, (3) silkworm-raising, (4) crop improvement, (5) gardening, (6) farming machine, and (7) well-drilling.

In addition, there was a Graduates Supervisory Committee. The members of the Committee consisted of the president and the vice-president of the Institute, department heads, two advisors to the research students and a few research students. The function of the Committee was to help the graduates to start people's schools in different localities and to supply teaching materials for the teachers of the people's schools. From 1932 to 1934, one hundred fifty-three classes in the people's schools with fifty-five hundred and sixty students were established under the direction of the Committee. A teaching materials compiling office was organized in July, 1933, under the direction of the Committee, and four different kinds of textbooks for the people's
schools were published by this office.

In 1934, the Committee incorporated with the Education Department of Shantung Provincial Government was reorganized into the Shantung Rural Education Supervisory Committee to supervise the programs of rural education over the whole province.

In order to collect information of the graduates who were scattered in different areas within the province, a program of graduate correspondence was started under the direction of the Committee in January, 1935. Each graduate was urged, for the purpose of keeping in constant communication with the Institute, to make reports to the Institute regularly. The contents of the reports were suggested to contain (1) work report, (2) problems and proposals, (3) local conditions, and (4) special problems. In response to the reports, the Institute published a monthly newsletter to be circulated among the graduates. The newsletter regularly carried (1) personal news of the graduates, (2) information of the rural reconstruction movement, (3) questions and answers, (4) book review, (5) news of the Institute, and (6) selected articles concerning the rural-mass education movement.

Tsouping Experiments

The Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute had two experiment centers, Tsouping and Hotse. But because the headquarters of the Institute was established in Tsouping, and the whole hsien of Tsouping was assigned by the Shantung
provincial government to the Institute as an experimental hsien for rural reconstruction, so the main programs of the Institute were experimented in this hsien. Therefore, the Tsouping Experiments could represent every aspect of the work of the Institute. For this reason, the experiments conducted in Hotse is left off in this study.

Based on the difference of nature of the Tsouping Experiment in the course of its development, the study of the Experiment would be more feasible if the Experiment is divided into two periods: (1) from March, 1931, to June, 1933, it was the period of rural reconstruction experiment, and (2) from July, 1933, to 1937 before it was taken over by the Japanese, it was the period of hsien political reconstruction experiment. At the time Tsouping Hsien had an area of eight hundred seventy-four square miles, and it was about sixty miles east of Chinan, the provincial capital. There were three hundred thirty-one villages in the whole hsien with a population of 165,735, and most of the people in this area were farmers. It was a typical agricultural area with relatively little influence of city industry and commerce.

During the period of the rural reconstruction experiment, most of the extension work in the fields of agriculture and rural economy followed the model of the Tinghsien Experiment. But in the field of rural education, the Institute created a system of "Hsiang-nung Hsüeh-hsiao" (country-farmer school).
Its name was sometimes abbreviated as "nung-hsiao" (farmers' school). This kind of school was a very significant contribution of the Institute to the rural-mass education movement. From November, 1931, through February, 1932, three hundred students and teachers of the Institute in this area established ninety-six country-farmer schools with thirty-nine hundred and ninety-six country-farmer students.

The country-farmer school was a new kind of school in China at that time. As projected by the Institute, in each village which had more than two hundred and less than five hundred families, there would be a country-farmer school. In each subhsien, there would be a central country-farmer school as a liaison station of the schools in the villages. The central school was directly connected with the headquarters of the Institute. Most of the rural reconstruction programs initiated by the Institute were planned to be carried out through the country-farmer schools. The establishment of these schools was finally proved very useful and even seemed indispensable to the implementation of rural reconstruction.

The country-farmer school supported by the farmers in the village was, on the one hand, a people's school; on the other hand, it was a social improvement center, and also an economic cooperative. It was therefore a comprehensive organization combining educational, political and economic activities.
The aims of the education provided by such schools are not merely to teach the farmer the Chinese characters and the simple knowledge and skills of agriculture, but also to take care of the farmer's whole life. The whole range of problems and activities of a farmer's life will be the problems and activities of the school. In short, the country-farmer school cannot be independent from the programs of rural reconstruction. Rural reconstruction without country-farmer school cannot be implemented successfully, and the country-farmer school without rural reconstruction will be devoid of sense and useless.

Rural reconstruction depends upon the propelling force which the country-farmer school can generate, and the country-farmer school depends upon rural reconstruction to demonstrate its usefulness and meaningfulness. However, it would be wrong to think that the country-farmer school is a means and rural reconstruction is an end, or that the country-farmer school and rural reconstruction are two separate things. In fact, one is an integral part of the other.35

Each country-farmer school had a school board, the members of which were the village elders appointed by the Hsien Government. The principal of the school was appointed by the school board. The teachers of the country-farmer schools, who were in effect the rural workers, were the graduates of the Institute. Everyone in the village was eligible to enroll in the school, but the adults had the priority.

Because of the variety of the village inhabitants and their lives, the grouping of students in the country-farmer schools was made on the basis of various factors. For instance,

(1) On the basis of previous education, there were:
   Advanced classes—for those who graduated from elementary schools.

35K'un Hsien-hsiung, op. cit., p. 28.
General classes— for those who attended but did not complete elementary school.

(2) On sexes
   Men's classes
   Women's classes

(3) On ages
   Children's classes
   Youth's classes
   Adults' classes
   Elders' classes

(4) On time
   Whole-day classes— during the winter season.
   Half-day classes
   Morning classes and evening classes
   All-day service— for information and letter-writing.

(5) On seasons
   Spring classes— for agriculture extension work.
   Summer classes— for community health campaign.
   Autumn classes— for rural cooperatives.
   Winter classes— literacy education, village security. 36

The schedule of school activities varied at different times and in different places. For instance,

(1) Daytime activities— children's classes, women's classes, farming demonstration.
(2) Nighttime activities— adults' classes, movies, moonlight-night concerts, village patrols.
(3) Continuous activities— literacy classes.
(4) Temporary activities— farm products exhibition.
(5) Stationary activities— cooperatives, hospital.
(6) Mobile activities— mobile library, visiting doctors.
(7) Indoor activities— silkworm-raising, weaving.
(8) Outdoor activities— well-drilling, farming, forestry. 37

Due to the complexity of the way of grouping students and the flexibility of the school schedule, a country-farmer school was bound to be an all-day and all-purpose service station to the people in the village. So the class attendance was not compulsory.

36 Ibid., pp. 30-32.
37 Loc. cit.
However, despite the diversities, literacy education, music, and moral training were uniformly offered to every student by every country-farmer school. Literacy education was necessary because most of the farmers were illiterate. Music was expected to be the tool by which the Chinese taciturn attitude could be changed. The moral training had been deemed most important among all other subjects by the Institute. It was believed that China had suffered not only from economic deterioration but also from moral corruption. The old cultural tradition had been completely destroyed under the storm and stress of the new thought movement, and the new culture had not yet been built up. Therefore everyone seemed to have lost his value judgment. Moreover, the constant civil wars and the natural disasters had taken away people's courage and confidence. If there could be any hope at all to rebuild the rural communities, efforts must be made, first of all, to restore people's courage and their confidence in their own future before they could be taught any new knowledge and skills to improve their life.

In addition, some specialized subjects were offered according to the actual needs of the different localities and of the special seasons. In an area, for instance, where the people had been often disturbed by bandits, the subject to teach the techniques of self-protection would be the most needed, so it must be offered by the school. In the mountainous areas, forestry was always the main subject taught in the country-farmer
school.

The ultimate aim of establishing the country-farmer school, as announced by the Institute, was to try to transform the rural community into a rural school, of which everyone in the village was a member. Thus the villagers would become a well-organized unit, and the improvement of the community as a whole could be expected to happen.

As of July, 1933, the Shantung provincial government decided to make Tsouping a hsien-government experiment hsien, and the Institute was asked to take over the whole hsien for the experiment of hsien political reconstruction. Henceforth, in addition to the existing experimental programs, the Institute had to begin to concentrate its efforts on (1) the reform of the hsien government administration according to the blueprint made by the Institute for the experiment, (2) the promotion of local self-government, and (3) the programs of social reform.

Liang and his colleagues thereafter began to have the authority as well as the responsibility to take care of the affairs of an entire hsien. Inappropriately, however, none of them had had the experience in the practice of politics although their aspiration was very high. Neither a political scientist nor an expert in government affairs could be found among them. They were but a group of conservatives with a strong sentiment of xenophobia and Sinophile. To them, the Western democracy was a luxury for China's illiterate masses, and the Russian system
was too bloody and fearful. What they were attempting to do was to build a society predominated by a "village culture". The maintenance of the social order in this society would depend upon no law but the scholar-aristocrats of the Confucian style. Only these scholar-aristocrats, as Liang believed, had the wisdom and the power to rule and to direct the masses.

Following such a philosophy, the farmer school system with some modification and change of name of the schools was adopted to replace the traditional local government organizations. Thus one member of the Institute was selected to take the place of the hsien magistrate, and the structure of the hsien government administration was accordingly reshaped. The traditional bureaucratic structure was replaced with the system of educational administration, and the local government officials were replaced by educators. The Institute decided that at each level of government educational persuasion rather than legal action must be used in dealing with the people in that area. Then, according to the geographical condition and the social customs, Tsouping Hsien was divided into fourteen hsiang (subcounty) and three hundred and thirty-six villages. In each hsiang, there was a "hsiang-hsüeh" (subcounty school) to replace the traditional subcounty government. In each village, there was a "ts' un-hsüeh" (village school) to replace the former village government. So far as only the rural-mass education was concerned, the evolvement of the system of "hsiang-hsüeh" and "ts' un-hsüeh"
seemed to have not much difference from the country-farmer school system. But such a combination of school system with politics was a new experiment in modern China. Regarding this new experiment, Liang Shu-ming gave his explanation and his hope:

The subcounty school and the village school are essentially a subcounty government and a village government. This kind of organization represents the Western idea of progress and that of group life. The organization itself is progressive, but it is different from the Western political system. It is a compromise between the Western idea of progress and the Chinese ethicalism. The school system is an organization in which people work together for their community betterment, not for the satisfaction of personal political ambition. Within the system an individual respects the decisions of the group, and the group respects the rights of the individual. Minority respects majority, and majority respects the opinions of the minority. The essence of ethicalism is that one should forget oneself to respect others. This is contrary to individualism. In an ethical society, unlike in the Western society, there will be no argument about socialism and individualism. People respect each other. No one has the idea that you should respect me and I do not have to respect you. Nothing can be better than to organize a village in the form of a school, in which people work together for the public progress, and through which new ideas and new knowledge can be learned from the outside, too. 38

The governmental organization system in Tsouping Hsien has been changed into a form of educational organization, and the political executive power would be therefore changed into education. Since our intention is to make social reform, thus, all organizations within the hsien would be social reform agencies. The only means to the end of social reform is education. The lower the status of the office is, 

38 Liang Shu-ming, (Selected educational essays of Liang Shu-ming), op. cit., pp. 221-222.
the more similar it should be to an educational organization because the lower office is closer to the masses of people. So it should use more educational persuasion and less political power. If a village is organized in the form of a school, it will be an educational agency rather than a political organization.39

Obviously, this meant that the people's political affairs were to be handled in the educational way. Perhaps this was a good way to encourage the villagers to take part in the village activities, and thereby the strength of the village could be gradually developed.

Each school, subcounty and village, had its school board, which was made of three to five village elders for the village school, and of the same number of elders selected from the whole subcounty for the subcounty school. The members of the board at each level were appointed by the hsien government. The chairman of the board was at the same time the executive officer of the school, and he was also the officer of the village or the subcounty charged with the responsibility to handle the orders from the government of upper levels. So he was the person who incorporated the business of politics and education of the locality into one unit. The principal of each school, upon the recommendation of the school board, was appointed by the hsien government. His responsibility was educational affairs, and at the same time he was the counsellor of the

39Ibid., p. 216.
people in the locality. The teachers of each school were employed by the principal, and most of the teachers were the graduates of the Institute. In addition, in each school, there was a supervisor sent by the hsien government to oversee the school as well as the local politics. Thus the hsien government could exercise its full authority to control every aspect of the activities within the hsien. The student body was made of the people in the village, regardless of age and sex so that the school was really by the people and for the people. It was no off-limit, but an open place for everyone in the locality.

The programs carried out by the schools were of two kinds: (1) school education was to give the necessary knowledge and skills to the students so as to enable them to participate in the activities of community improvement, and (2) social education was, by using proper occasions, such as New Year's Day, to urge the people to change some of their outmoded customs so as to elevate the cultural level of the locality.

As an effect of the ambivalent attitude of Liang Shu-ming, the president of the Institute, toward the old tradition and the new culture, although the school system was designed as an instrument for the task to create a new society, the spirit of the training provided by the school seemed much too traditional. The idea that decision should be made by the agreement of the majority, for instance, was discouraged in the school because
it was regarded contrary to the Chinese traditional moderation and the reverence of elders and of the learned men. In discussion, the majority was respected but not at the expense of the opinion of the minority—the elders and the learned men. No one in the school was thought to have the right for freedom of anything because individualism and the idea of individual rights, at least to Liang Shu-ming's interpretation, were not in accord with the traditional Chinese ethicalism. Students were therefore encouraged to pay more respect to the advices of their elders and teachers than to the laws and regulations. Manifestly, it was Liang's basic philosophy that to rule by the wisdom of scholars of the Chinese style was better than by the regulations made through the foreign democratic process.

The magnitude of the programs of the Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute were so impressive that educators and local administrators from other provinces who were interested in the programs of rural reconstruction seemed all to have come to visit the Institute. Therefore, Tsouping, the seat of the headquarters of the Institute, all at once became a center of pilgrimages. But the achievement of the programs, as evaluated by the visitors, was not very significant. Particularly, the educational programs and their practices demonstrated nothing different from the so-called "old formula", namely, to teach the traditional Chinese moral principles in a new physical setting. It may not seem unfair to say that the Institute had
the right kind of idea to try to popularize education in the rural areas by establishing the various kinds of schools, and to try to use education as a means to achieve the goal of rural reconstruction, but it failed to offer the right kind of education.
Chapter VI
Six Models of the Movement (II)

Along with the three gigantic and impressive programs which have been presented in Chapter V, there were three minor ones. Comparatively speaking, they were smaller in magnitude, but their significance as well as their influence upon the movement of rural-mass education in China was not small in any way.

The Chinese Vocational Education Association and Its Rural-mass Education Programs

The Chinese Vocational Education Association, known in Chinese as Chunghua Chiye Chiaoyu She, originally had its emphasis on the activities of vocational education. Most of its programs were concentrated on the training of students in large cities, particularly in Shanghai. Since 1926, amidst the excitement of the rural reconstruction movement all over the country, the Association also started its own rural educational programs. As the philosophy of its vocational education was to train the people and to enable them to secure an occupation and to be competent to hold the job, so the philosophy of its rural education meant to give the rural people a proper training and to enable everyone in the rural area to become a productive worker. An ideal village, as envisioned by the Association, was
a place where no land was wasted and no one was unemployed. Everyone had an opportunity for education and every family in the village would be free from poverty and hunger.  

A field approach was adopted by the Association when its rural-mass education program started. First, an area of about forty square li (three li make approximately one mile) was selected for experiments. After understanding the actual situation of the area through a survey, a minute plan and a schedule for carrying it out were worked out. According to the plan, the programs in each experiment area, after a certain period of time—mostly for six years, was expected to be taken over by the local people.

The programs of experiment were of three phases: culture, economy and community organization. In the cultural area the programs included to establish elementary schools to serve the school-age children in that area, and, the people's schools for the illiterate adults. For people's recreation, various clubs, such as Friends Club and Opera Club, were organized. The people in that area were encouraged to believe in any religion of their choice, but they were discouraged to believe in superstition. In the field of economy, besides the experiment farms, the people were urged to open the wastelands around the villages, to run cooperatives and to build the country roads and bridges to

\[40\] K'ung Hsiu-hsiung, op. cit., p. 141.
facilitate transportation. For the improvement of the rural community organization, the Association led the people to organize the self-protection corps, the firebrigade and the youth corps.

The Association chose Hsü-kung Ch'iao as an experiment area, about forty square li with forty villages, in which the inhabitants were about forty-five hundred. Half of the people were farmers, and the rest were workers and merchants. Only five per cent of the whole population in this area had their elementary school education or beyond. In order to facilitate the implement of the programs a Hsü-kung Ch'iao Improvement Committee under the sponsorship of the Association was formed. A part of the members of the Committee were selected from the Association, and some were the local leaders. At the beginning, the programs covered two areas: people's education to teach the people to improve their productivities, and social improvement to persuade the people to correct some of the outmoded local customs.

In Hsü-kung Ch'iao, five elementary schools were set up. One was designed exclusively for the experiment of a system of people's education. The students in this experimental school, according to their free time to come to school, were grouped into whole-day group, a half-day group, and a part-time group. The part-time group had their classes in the evening only. In addition, in this experiment area, there were schools for the
adults from 17 to 30 years of age; a people's education center, which was divided into a recreation room, a reading room and an agricultural exhibition room; and three tea houses used as places to conduct the programs of social education.

For agricultural improvement, there was one experimental farm to improve rice planting, and three cooperatives to train the people how to save and how to borrow money from the cooperatives for improving their farms. In the spring of each year there always was a town fair, in which the crops exhibition and the demonstration of using new farming machines were the important events.

In order to carry out the programs of community organization, the town of Hsü-kung Ch'iao was divided into different areas for different purposes, such as market center, cart parking place, recreation center, park and cemetery. There were one hospital and one police station, and the headquarters of the firebrigade was in the town. In each village around the town there was one group of firemen under the command of this headquarters.

By applying the experience of the city vocational education, the Association successfully created its programs of rural-mass education. And the programs exerted great impact upon many of the regular schools in the city. As a result, the practical subjects began subsequently to appear in the curriculum of various schools in many cities.
The Kiangsu Provincial College of Education and Its Mass Education Programs

Although the Kiangsu Provincial College of Education was a traditional by-name, the contents of its work were unprecedently different from all other colleges of education in the nation. To research and to experiment on the problems of rural-mass education were its major concerns, and the ultimate goal of its work was to foster the habits and the ability of the masses of people to live in an orderly organized society. It was believed in the college that the rural community improvement and the economic development could be obtained only by having the people in the community organized into a united force, and that the form of the people's organization must be determined by the practical needs of the locality.41

The educational programs of this college were of three dimensions: research, training and field work. There were the Department of Mass Education and the Department of Rural Education. For research and training, three experiment centers were established for students' field work. The students of this college were all required to spend a part of their time in classrooms and library to study China's rural problems and to try to find the best answers to the problems. They were also urged to spend a great amount of their time in field work in order that they could understand China's rural problems more

thoroughly, and on the other hand, they could combine their learning with practices.

The student's work in both research and experiment was required to concentrate on the real life of the rural people. The rural people within the experiment centers were encouraged to participate in the experimental programs. To have new ideas and to invent new theories and new methods of rural-mass education were always encouraged in this college.

In accordance with the practical needs of the rural people, the programs for experiment in each experiment center included political education to organize and to train the rural people; economic education to improve the people's productivity; and cultural education to liberate the people from illiteracy.

Of the three experiment centers which the college had, the Huang-hsiang Experiment Center was a village with a population of 800. Half of the people there were farmers, and half were workers in factories. Only 9.28 per cent of the population in the village could read and write the words which were needed in their daily life. The experiment in this center underlined the programs of mass education, which consisted of public health, home industries, civics and language arts. After a period of three years, as planned at the beginning, the programs were handed over to the local people. According to the statistics
made by the college, the result of this experiment was very good.\textsuperscript{42} The percentage of illiteracy in the village, for instance, in March, 1929, was 67.81; by June, 1931, it became 49.0. The number of elementary school graduates constituted only 9.23 per cent of the whole population of the village in March, 1929; by June, 1931, it became 46.5 per cent.

The Pei-hsia Experiment Center was an area of about one hundred and forty square li, including four towns and more than three hundred villages. The population of the area was 27,164. The center was set up to experiment the programs of village improvement. It was also planned to use education as a task force to build the foundation for village self-government, to increase agricultural production, to reform the economic system, and finally to raise people's standard of living.

The processes of carrying out the programs in this center, as planned in advance, began with each village separately and ended with a total improvement of all villages which would have already been organized in the form of village union. The programs included (1) people's organization, (2) self-government preparation, (3) people's school, (4) health education, (5) agriculture extension, and (6) cooperatives. All of these programs were also planned to be handed over to the local people after a period of three years.

\textsuperscript{42}Bulletin of Kiangsu Provincial College of Education, 1935.
The Hui-pei Experiment Center was originally designed for students' experiment of rural-mass education. The center included thirty-two villages. From 1932, the experiment, in addition to student-teaching, was extended to involve programs of economic development. In the area the center established five trust cooperatives, three savings organizations, one transportation cooperative, one fish-raising cooperative, seven village improvement committees, three demonstration farms and eight people's schools for the experiment of a system of compulsory education.

In the history of Chinese education, this college was the first institution of higher learning fully financed by the government to undertake the experiments of rural-mass education. Under its influence, in such provinces as Honan, Hopei, Anhui and Kwangtung, schools for training rural-mass education workers were subsequently founded. Besides its academic approach, research and experiment, the most valuable contribution of the college to the rural-mass education was that the system of people's education center which was widely spread all over China was produced as a result of its experiments.

The Kwangsi People's Fundamental Education Research Institute and the People's Fundamental Education Programs

As an integral part of the whole reconstruction program of Kwangsi Province, the people's fundamental education program was designed to educate all of the people, particularly the adults
in the province. The fundamental education, as defined by the authority of that province, was a combination of elementary education and adult education. The aim of evolving such a program was to turn Kwangsi Province into a place where illiteracy became non-existent; everyone in the province would have a higher degree of political consciousness, and no one would suffer any more destitution. In order to study the problems which might inconvenience the implementation of the programs of people's fundamental education, a Kwangsi People's Fundamental Education Research Institute was founded. The Institute, in addition to studying the methods of implementing the people's fundamental education programs was also delegated with the authority to prepare the teaching materials for various schools within the province.

As it was planned that the attendance of the people's fundamental education schools was compulsory. Children before the age of 8 must be sent to kindergarten. Those between the ages of 8 to 12 would have to stay in school for two years; those between the ages of 13 to 18 for one year; and those between the ages of 19 to 45 for six months. The schedule for the implementation of the program of setting up the people's fundamental education schools was made by the provincial government. The program started in 1933; by 1936, as was expected, there would have been one school in each village throughout the whole province; by 1937, one central school in each subcounty; and by
1939, there would have been no one who was unschooled in the province. The source of teacher supply depended entirely upon the Provincial Military Training Corps because every teacher was required to have had the basic military training before he was assigned to a school to teach. This implied clearly that a teacher could become a military unit leader if there came a war of any kind.

Following the form of the trinity of politics, economy and education, the contents of the fundamental education were made to underline village organization, local self-government and cooperatives. The details of the programs for each school were uniformly prescribed by the Institute under the direction of the provincial government. Therefore, uniformity was the characteristics of Kwangsi fundamental education programs, but the rigidity of the schedule to implement the programs effectively accelerated the progress.

At the time, Kwangsi, politically, was a self-governing province virtually independent from the central government of the nation. The programs were carried out at a provincial scale under the direction of a strong and responsible provincial government. So the Kwangsi people's fundamental education programs, and the full governmental support and supervision, made a new model of the rural-mass education movement in China.

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43 Huang Hsiu-ch'ü, op. cit., p. 48.
Unfortunately, the programs were interrupted by the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 before it could have borne result. Moreover, because of the unusual political situation, there was little material concerning the programs available outside the province, so the programs can not be adequately evaluated.

The selection of the six models of the rural-mass education movement in China was made though arbitrarily but not randomly. The bases upon which they were selected were that the programs of each of them were equally relevant to both rural reconstruction and mass education, and their experiments were of a relatively large scale and a long term plan, and above all, each of them showed a unique characteristic in their approaches and philosophies. Of various programs which became available to this study, the difference in the aspects, as discovered through careful analysis and scrutiny, did not go beyond the extent to which these six models could represent. For preciseness, the salient characteristics of each of the six models are recapitulated concisely:

The Tinghsien Experiment stood for experimentalism. It intended to adopt the Western scientific methods through experiments to improve the conditions of the rural areas in China. Education was employed as a means to the end through the medium of literacy. Although the programs as a whole somehow failed to meet public expectation, its influence as a leader of the
movement in promoting mass education was undeniable.

The Hsiao-chuang School showed the originality of a new educational philosophy, imaginative and idealistic. It was a kind of "educational romanticism". The school attempted to create a utopia—an education-centered community made by community-centered education. The school gave a new meaning to democratic education, and also significantly inspired the young educators in China to try to create a new pattern of education.

The Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute, under the directorship of Liang Shu-ming, assumed that the solution of the problems in China's rural areas rested on the efforts to restore the genuine Chinese culture. In other words, the reconstruction of China's rural community simply means to remove the foreign influences and to regain the lost Chinese tradition. The experiment of combining politics with the programs of rural-mass education captured nation-wide attention, but the Japanese invasion destroyed the possibility of realizing Liang's philosophy of nativistic revivalism. Therefore the appropriateness of Liang's approach to rebuild China, although controversial, can not be assessed on the ground of its outcomes.

The Chinese Vocational Education Association believed that the problems in the rural areas of China could be solved by giving the rural people a proper training to enable everyone to become a productive worker. The application of the theories of the city-centered vocational education to the rural areas obtained
considerable success. This vocationalism of mass education exerted great impact upon the regular schools to reassess the usefulness of their current programs.

The Kiangsu Provincial College of Education aimed originally to train teachers for rural-mass education. The programs in this college were carried out by the processes of research and experiment. Through this college the college academicism—learning through experiment—found its place in the field of rural-mass education.

The Kwangsi people's fundamental education programs demonstrated the effectiveness of authoritarianism. The programs were carried out merely by the order of the authority at the top of the provincial government. Uniformity, rigidity and efficiency were its feature. Authoritarianism of a responsible government could be helpful in the efforts to promote people's welfare.

As none of the above six programs of the rural-mass education movement in China bore any significant fruit, it could mean that none of them alone was good enough to answer the needs of China at that time in solving her rural and educational problems. For instance, the Western scientific experimentalism adopted by the Tinghsien Experiment somehow alienated the local people; while the efforts made by the Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute to restore the Chinese cultural tradition did not help the people much in solving their practical
problems. A synthesis of these different characteristics might have been able to make a program fruitful, because such characteristics as scientific and experimental methods, the creativity of native educators, the native cultural background and the help from government were all indispensable in order to make a program of rural-mass education workable.
Chapter VII
The Three Leaders of the Movement

Among the leaders of the different groups involved in the rural-mass education movement, James Y. C. Yen of the Tinghsien Experiment, Liang Shu-ming of the Shantung Rural Reconstruction and Research Institute, and Tao Hsing-chih of the Hsiao-chuang School were most outstanding and most influential. So they have always been regarded as the three leaders of the movement as a whole.

Although none of them alone was remarkably successful in his efforts in the promotion of rural-mass education, yet each of them had made great contributions to the rural-mass education movement in China. Each of them had his unique viewpoint concerning rural-mass education, such as Yen's Westernism, Liang's nativistic revivalism and Tao's compromise of two extremes of Yen and Liang. Each demonstrated his good faith in what he believed and held his belief so persistently that the movement finally became a "troika" with three forces pulling not in a harmonious team but in three different directions.

Some observers of the rural-mass education movement in China showed their admiration of each of these three leaders for his intelligence and courage to challenge the problems of education in China at that time. But others criticized them for...
their lack of "cooperative spirit" and for their "individual heroism" by which the whole movement was fatally jeopardized.

Since these three leaders were so important to the movement, perhaps it would be impossible to understand the movement thoroughly without a comprehensive understanding of these three figures. In the following pages, an individual study of the three leaders, with respect to each one's personal background and personal philosophy in connection with the rural-mass education movement, is to be made in as much detail as possible.

James Y. C. Yen (1893--)

A Biographical Account of James Y. C. Yen

Born to a wealthy and scholarly aristocratic family, and having taken the work of promoting mass education as his lifelong profession, James Y. C. Yen, as of today, has become an internationally renowned expert in the field of mass education. He was born in Paching of Szechuan Province in western China in 1893. When he was young, he, like many other children from the wealthy families in China, studied Chinese classics under his private tutor at home. Yen received his modern-school education first in Hongkong, and then in England and the United States. He earned his B. A. degree from Yale University in 1919, and his M. A. degree in political science from Princeton University in 1920.

During the First World War, Yen was sent to France by the
Y.M.C.A. in China to help in the welfare work for the Chinese laborers who were sent there as China's contribution to the allies in the war. In Paris, Yen, in order to teach the illiterate Chinese laborers, prepared a one-thousand-character textbook and also published a Chinese Laborer's Weekly, of which he was the editor.

In 1921, he returned to China and became the director of the Education Department of the Y.M.C.A. in China. Using the devices which he had created in Paris, he then under the sponsorship of the Y.M.C.A. began to be engaged in the undertaking of teaching the illiterate masses in a few large cities. In 1923, when the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement was officially organized in Peking, he was elected the Director-general of the Association. Later, in 1929, when the Association started its Tinghsien Experiment in Tinghsien, Hopei Province, Yen was elected the Director of the Experiment. In 1934, in addition to the directorship of the Experiment, he concurrently became the president of the Hopei Provincial Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction in Tinghsien.

Shortly after the second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, the Tinghsien Experiment was terminated. In the following

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year, 1938, Yen was offered a position as the director of the Hunan Provincial Public Administration Institute by the governor of that province. The Institute was designed to train the county magistrates, bureau heads and village leaders of that province in order to facilitate the mobilization of the people if and when the war extended into the province.

During the later years of the war, Yen was in Szechuan, his home province. In 1940, he became the president of the College of Rural Reconstruction, a newly founded college in the suburb of Chungching, the war-time national capital of China. This might be the realization of his earlier plan made in Tinghsien.

After the war he joined the work of the China-United States Joint Commission of Rural Reconstruction as a committee member first in Nanking, then in Taiwan, from 1948 to 1951.

In 1952, Yen helped to form the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, which began with an area of two hundred villages. Then in cooperation with the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, he founded the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction in the Philippines in 1960. This international organization was founded to supply technical information concerning rural reconstruction and to train rural workers. The Institute has been asked to train hundreds of rural workers for a number of developing nations. In 1965, for instance, the
Colombia Rural Reconstruction Movement was started, and sixteen Colombians were sent to receive their training from the International Institute in the Philippines. After their return to Colombia, they started a program of rural reconstruction in Cogua, a one-hundred square-mile area containing thirteen villages in the state of Cundinamarca in Colombia. According to the report made in 1968, the programs in Cogua had been carried on very well and were very successful. As of today, Yen is still busy traveling in developing nations and serves as a rural-reconstruction consultant to several developing nations in Asia and Latin America. Now he is the president of the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction in the Philippines.

Yen's Experimental Philosophy

As a practitioner, not a theorist, Yen is pragmatic rather than idealistic in his philosophy, and his approach, in dealing with problems, is to experiment. Before he shows his starting power, he always tries to make sure that he has the necessary staying power. So none of his programs, in respect to mass education, was started merely by the inspiration of an unexperienced idea, but rather, most of his ideas came out of what he had done with satisfactory results. After having had contacts with the Chinese laborers in France, for instance, he began to believe that the illiterate people were not unintelligent and that their potentialities could be developed easily and fully if
they had been given necessary opportunities. He then began to devote himself to the efforts to develop the potentialities of the common people. In the efforts of achieving social betterment, he believes in gradual improvement, or reform, but not revolution. As he has had a background of Chinese classics and also some connection with Christianity, it is, therefore, understandable that his crusading spirit, expressed in a rather modest manner, is the combination of Confucian doctrine and "Christian ethics".

Yen has acquired world-wide fame as a pioneer of mass education in China. His fame can be well regarded as the fruit of his experimentalism because his decision of taking such a career was first made out of the experience of teaching Chinese coolies in France during the First World War.

Coming from a family of generations of Confucian scholars, I have never associated with laborers before the war, but in the laborer camps, I learned something of fundamental importance, which I could never have learned in a Chinese or an American university— the terrible need of education among my illiterate fellow countrymen, and also their tremendous potentialities and fundamental capacity. The "coolies" and "labor classes" proved to be most honest and able students. Their ability as well as their eagerness to learn made one rebel against the institution and tradition which had denied them an education. Then and there I resolved that upon my return to China, I would dedicate my life to the education of the millions of illiterate men, women, boys and girls, especially those who had
passed the school age, and who had no normal opportunity for school.\textsuperscript{45}

At the beginning, according to Yen's belief, mass education in China meant only a literacy campaign aiming to eliminate illiteracy and to make new citizens for the new Republic. In the light of such a fact, the purpose of mass education, initiated by Yen, was not directly for the good of the masses themselves, but rather for the nation to have a democratic government which usually depends upon a literate mass of people. Understandably, it was the general feeling of the intellectuals in the years immediately after the downfall of the monarchical system in China. As one of the well-educated young people, Yen thought that he had the responsibility to change the people's indifferent attitude toward political affairs of the new Republic.

China today faces a great problem of organization and consolidation. On one hand, the overwhelming majority of her leaders and the educated men and women want no other government than the democratic form for China. On the other hand, there is the great mass of people, who are illiterate and unschooled, and are hardly competent to participate as citizens of a modern republic in local and national government either directly or indirectly. This situation presents a great challenge as well as an unprecedented opportunity to China's educators and patriots. It is their bound duty to accept the challenge and seize the

opportunity to educate China's illiterate millions for democracy. It was for this purpose that the Chinese mass education movement has been organized with the slogan, "Eliminate illiteracy and make new citizens for China". 46

Ever since the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement took Tinghsien as an area to experiment its programs, an intensive research of several aspects that constituted the life of a community had always been conducted before a new program took place. After a period of four years, 1926 to 1930, of experiment in Tinghsien, Yen once told Pearl S. Buck about his experience.

We soon began to see that when the minds of the people were liberated, they wanted more and they needed more. We recognized that literacy alone was not enough. Literacy isn't education—it is only a tool for education, a means to the whole end. 47

Yen therefore redefined the ultimate objectives of mass education as to "raise the economic, intellectual, social and moral level of the farmers." At the same time he began to recognize the complexity of rural problems.

Our experience convinced us that the four fundamental weaknesses of Chinese life were ignorance, poverty, disease and civic disintegration; that they mutually reacted upon one another in the life of the people; and that all must be tackled in a correlated manner if any one is to be overcome. 48

46 Ibid., p. a.
47 Pearl S. Buck, op. cit., p. 22.
48 James Y. C. Yen, op. cit., p. 5.
The findings of the "dynamic research" conducted by the Tinghsien Experiment had led Yen to believe that the problems of the peasant's life were not limited only to Tinghsien. The problems encountered by the people in Tinghsien were in fact reflecting the general picture of the rural communities throughout China. The Association, under Yen's directorship, therefore made a four-pronged program—the four types of education through three channels—as a national pattern of the programs for rural reconstruction, and hoped that the programs of this pattern could be applied to any area within the nation. He believed that

... it's more scientific, more economical to do things thoroughly in one place first and then extend them. This in the long run is more time-saving. We stuck to that first human laboratory (Tinghsien) for six years. Once the pattern was worked out, we knew other districts and provinces could take it up with great rapidity.49

Through the experience as he had had in Tinghsien, he was finally convinced that it would have been more significant to develop the people's strength to improve their living conditions by their own hands than to do anything for them.

Throughout this period our central concern has been the development of human potentialities in village communities. This has been based on our conviction that the paramount need of the peasant people is not relief, but release—release of their own

49Pearl S. Buck, op. cit., p. 15.
potential power for individual growth, economic production and social and political responsibility. Unfortunately, the second Sino-Japanese War deprived him the opportunity to experiment his belief.

After World War II, he made an exploratory trip through Asia and Latin America. What he had seen in a number of different countries, such as Cuba, Mexico and the Philippines, impressed him and made him believe that the basic needs of peoples in the world were of great similarity and little difference, and that the basic problems they confronted were identical, too. This greatly reinforced his belief that of the rural-mass education the basic principles and methods which had been developed and tested in one part of the world for solving rural problems could be applied to the other parts where similar problems were existing. Such a belief broadened Yen’s horizon to world-wide, and his consciousness gradually became world consciousness. So he said:

I am afraid the moment the war is over, and the pressure and tension are removed, they will fall back again into their old grooves and think the same way and do everything the same way, each for himself and his own nation only, and in another twenty years we will commit again the same crime against humanity. Yet we must not think of nations as units—we must think really internationally of peoples. 


51 Pearl S. Buck, op. cit., p. 14.
Under the influence of the traditional Chinese democratic thought that people is the foundation of a nation, and if the foundation is firm, then the nation will enjoy tranquility, Yen could logically suppose that people are the foundation of the world; as long as three-fourths of the people remain illiterate, the foundation of the world is weak and there would be no chance to build a better world on it. For this reason, Yen thought that the rural-mass education must become a worldwide movement, and it would be a global responsibility to carry its programs out.

It is absolutely my conviction that after this war (World War II), no movement that is of any significance in one nation can be carried out successfully and effectively without having it linked to a similar movement in every other country, so that all people are marching along together.\textsuperscript{52}

So at the time when the government of the Philippines was eager to start a rural reconstruction movement to solve the problems of poverty and illiteracy in the Philippines, Yen introduced the programs of the Tinghsien Experiment to the Philippines. This might well be regarded as an instance of the internationalization of his rural-mass education programs.

As of today, Yen is still engaged in the efforts to preach the miracle of his formula of the four types of education through three channels in the developing countries because he believes that no nation can be secure alone when its neighbors are

\textsuperscript{52}Loc. cit.
hungry, and that no nation can be healthy alone as diseases
and germs know no national boundaries or racial lines. It would
be true, as Yen has predicted, that the best way to eliminate
the phenomena of poverty, illiteracy, ill-health and misgovern-
ment in the world today must be first of all to mobilize the
world's available resources to work cooperatively and simulta-
neously toward such a common goal.

Based on his observations over the conditions in the
developing nations, Yen's belief as of today is that the needs
of the people in the developing nations are "not relief but
release". If they can be helped to release their potential
power, then they can create their tomorrow. Furthermore, he
believes that his formula would be the best to withstand the
threat of the Communism of today. Not long ago, he prophetically
gave the world such a warning:

We lost China because we concentrated on the
battlefield and forgot the rice field. The free
world can not afford to go on making the same mis-
take. The world's two billion peasants are clamoring
for better life. They will work for it today, if
shown how. If not, they will fight for it tomorrow
with the communists directing the battle.53

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53 Clarence W. Hall, "For the World Forgotten: A Long
Proven Down-to-Earth Program", Reader's Digest, September, 1968,
p. 168.
Liang Shu-ming (1893–1966?)

A Biographical Account of Liang Shu-ming

Liang Shu-ming, a restless Chinese classics scholar and an impulsive social reformer, was born in Peking in 1893. His family was a typical Chinese scholar-aristocratic family—intellectually rich, but materially not affluent. Liang’s father was an official in the Peking imperial government. The old Liang was so much irritated by the corrupted political and social conditions of his time that he committed suicide. Liang Shu-ming, as he himself said on many occasions, was greatly affected in the development of his mentality by this tragedy. Upon his graduation from the Shuntien (Peking) Middle School, Liang was admitted to the Chihli College of Law and Political Science in Tientsin. But he did not go to that college; he participated in the activities of the revolution against the Manchu government instead. When he was in the middle school, as he later told others, he had a very strong inclination toward the reform movement, so he spent almost all of his time in reading the revolutionary newspapers and magazines. At the age of 20, he became interested in socialism and wrote a book titled She-hui chu-yi ts’ui yen (The fundamentals of socialism).

When he was 24 years old, in 1917, Liang joined the faculty of Peking University and taught Indian philosophy. He was always proud of himself, a middle school graduate, having become
a Peking University professor of philosophy. Liang used to label himself as a self-educated scholar. Self-education, as he defined it, was not only that one read books without teacher's teaching, but rather, that it was a lifelong upward effort for self-strengthening, so that knowledge was not the end of self-education, and one must learn as long as one could live. In self-education, the ability to read books was not very significant; what was essential was to know how to apply the knowledge learned from books to real life.54

In 1924, out of his frustration caused by the indifference between students and professors at Peking University, Liang resigned from his teaching position at that university and went to Tsaochou in Shantung Province to establish a middle school there. In his opinion, to run a school would mean to make friends with the young people, and to be friend of the young people had to mean to lead the young people to look forward and to go forward. He conceptualized that to a person education should mean to learn to live, so it must embrace all aspects of a person's life. But in only one year, with bitter disappointment, he left Tsaochou and returned to Peking, and then he organized a youth commune in the western suburb of the city.

In 1927, he was appointed the principal of Kwantung

Provincial First Middle School in Canton. His educational philosophy at that time was that a student's intellectual activity must be combined with his physical activity so as to enable him to manage his own life after he had left the school. Based on his belief, he tried unsuccessfully to reform the educational programs of that middle school. Then he returned to Peking again in 1929.

Immediately after his return from Kwangtung, he was invited to start the Honan Village Self-government in Huihsien of Honan Province. After only one year, the Institute was terminated because of political change in that province. In 1933, he became the president of the Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute, and concurrently the political advisor of the governor of Shantung Province, Han Fu-chü, an unschooled warlord who depended on his "natural wisdom" to govern the province. One of the well-known stories told about Han's "natural wisdom" and his simple-mindedness was that during the middle 1930's, the central government tried to correct some of the ways of the Chinese life and urged the people throughout the nation to walk on the right side of the street. Han sent a telegram to the central government in Nanking to protest by saying: "If everyone takes the right side, what is the use of the left side of the street?"

During the war years from 1937 to 1945, Liang became active in politics. In 1941, he joined the Democratic League, a
Chinese liberal intellectuals' organization, and then he was elected the Secretary-general of the League. Since the Chinese Communists' take-over of China in 1949, he had lived in Peking and became a member of the People's Political Consultative Conference from 1951 to 1959. Liang's main works included: *Yin-tu che-hsüeh kai-lun* (An introduction to Indian philosophy), *Tung-hai wen-hua chi ch'ü che-hsüeh* (Civilizations of the orientals and the occidentals and their philosophies), and *Chung-kuo min-tsu tze-chiu yun-tung chi tsui-hou chüeh-wu* (The final awakening of the Chinese for self-salvation movement).

Liang's "Ideology and Utopia"

The complexity of Liang's personality and the inconsistency of his beliefs constituted a great obstacle to understand him and to classify him in terms of professional line and the school of thought although he was generally regarded as a philosopher. His beliefs varied from one extreme to the other. He was often mentioned as a philosopher, a Buddhist and a Confucian scholar, but he himself had said that none of these titles could fit him well, and that each of them would be enough to camouflage his real person. Liang once showed his great admiration of Hu Shih (1891-1962) because Hu had predicted that Liang would be a revolutionist. In fact, Liang had long labeled himself a social reformer. However, so far as his philosophy of rural-mass education was concerned, it would be fair to regard Liang as a traditionist or a nativistic revivalist. His ideal society
was the one in which the law and order were all made in line with Confucian ethics. He believed that the only way by which China could have achieved self-salvation was to disparage the foreign influence and to restore China's own cultural tradition, and that the new buds of China's culture would come out of the roots of the old tradition. The growth of the new buds according to Liang, would entirely depend upon the education that was not borrowed from foreign lands, but created by the Chinese and cultivated on China's native soil.

At the earliest stage, Liang's thought, as he recalled, under the influence of his father was something like instrumentalism.

In my mind there has been some criterion by which I often evaluate things. The value of someone or something is always determined by his or its usefulness. The greater his or its usefulness is, the higher his or its value would be. If someone or something appears useless to me or to others, there would be no value. Conversely, if it is the most useful to me or to others, it would be the most valuable.\textsuperscript{55}

He attributed most of this thought to his father's influence.

To my father, the cause of the deterioration of China's conditions was entirely due to the fact that all of the educated people in China were only able to write the verbose poems and essays irrelevant to the real problems of the time. Therefore, he always looked at the belletrists with contempt because he preferred practical doing to theoretic talking.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{55}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 29.

\textsuperscript{56}\textit{Loc. cit.}
In a period of five years from 1906 to 1911, during his teens years, Liang became involved in the discussions of replacing the Manchu imperial government by gradual reform or by radical revolution. In the discussions he favored a constitutional monarchy, and he thought that it would be better to have the Manchu government reformed than replaced with a republic government. But shortly after the 1911 revolution, he actively took part in the revolutionary activities. And soon, he inclined to believe in socialism.

It was in 1913, one day I happened to see a book at home; it was titled *The Essentials of Socialism* translated from Japanese. The discussions in it on "capitalists" and "laborers" did not interest me at all. What deeply impressed me was the discussion on the system of private ownership. It made me ponder on the problems over and over again. Finally it led me to oppose violently the private ownership system as I was deeply convinced that the cause of all evils in the human world was that system. Happiness and bitterness, death and living are all determined by the power of money. Whoever has more money, has more power, and can do whatever he wants to do. The only way to change this insane society is to abolish the system of private ownership. Individual's problems must be taken care of by the government. At that time, my knowledge about socialism was very limited, but I was enthusiastic about it nevertheless.57

Perplexed by the problems concerning China's future, Liang then turned his attention to the comparative study of the eastern and the western cultures and philosophies. He concluded that the Chinese culture was like a plant stagnant and unaggressive while the western culture was like an animal dynamic and

57Ibid., pp. 41-45.
aggressive. Each had its own characteristics. One could learn something from the other, and no one could be used to replace the other.

Through his comparative study, he ambivalently admitted that the "idea of progress" in the Western culture had produced the splendour of science and democracy. But his strong attachment to the Chinese tradition and the strong feeling of Chinese cultural supremacy nonetheless led him to believe that the Western grapes had been too sour to be good. During the time when China was searching for a new direction, which had been known in modern Chinese history as the "new cultural movement", Liang showed a very strong anti-foreign sentiment. According to his view, the misfortune that China had experienced in the past decades resulted from the attempt of the Chinese intellectuals to break with the Chinese tradition and to adopt the Western culture.

To Liang's knowledge, in the West, there was but a materialistic civilization, and the spirituality of the people had been far underdeveloped. Therefore the Western nations were technologically advanced and aggressive. They were able to conquer nature and other peoples as well. So the Western civilization

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was also a power civilization. Strife, exploitation, changes and destruction were the characteristics of the Western civilization, and all of these characteristics had been manifested by the international and the civil wars in the West. He concluded that the drama of conquest had been spectacular; it was barbarous and cruel nevertheless.

As a defender of Confucian tradition, Liang ridiculed those Chinese intellectuals who advocated to introduce Western culture into China. He thought that those intellectuals did not understand the true meaning of Confucianism because they lacked profundity in scholarship. So he urged them to turn their attention from West to East. "If I am allowed to say something, my first sentence would be that it is a dead end to go westward."\(^{59}\) China's future, according to Liang's belief, rested on the restoration of Confucian tradition, not on the adoption of Western materialistic civilization. Having been long and deeply cultivated with the Confucian ethics, as Liang believed, the Chinese had the virtues of moderation, tolerance and compromise. Perhaps he whole-heartedly accepted Bertrand Russell's remark: "If my nation in the world could ever be too proud to fight, that nation would be China."\(^{60}\)

\(^{59}\)Ibid., p. 22.

Liang maintained that the attempt to westernize China was not wise because there had been nothing worthwhile to learn from the Western civilization.

The first political dead end for China is the Western democracy; China's second political dead end is the Russian Communist totalitarianism. China's first economic dead end is the Western capitalism; the second dead end is the Russian Communism. 61

The only road that would lead China to a brighter prospect was a crusade of self-salvation. This would mean, according to Liang, that China's political reconstruction should begin with village self-government, and the economic reconstruction should begin with the improvement of agricultural production. And the only reliable means to both of these ends would be education.

Although Liang was never regarded as a professional educator, he had made a great number of merciless attacks on China's new education. Out of his strong anti-foreign sentiment, he thought that the total failure of the new education was caused by the fact that the system was transplanted from abroad, and that the curriculum of the new education did not contain enough amount of Confucian teaching for the young people in China.

61 Liang Shu-ming, (The final awakening of the Chinese for self-salvation movement), op. cit., p. 108.
School systems are borrowed from Europe and America. This has done great harm instead of good to our society. Education primarily means to develop the student's mental and physical ability. But the present school system makes our intelligent students ignorant, and the able students incapable of doing anything. Moreover, education can not be independent from the real society. On the contrary, it should be able to lead the society toward a correct direction. Our schools are not relevant to our real society. What is worse is that all schools because of the lack of high ideal, like our society, go downhill. The students have become an aristocratic class because what they have learned is far beyond the needs of the common people. Another serious problem is the unequal educational opportunity among the people. The present school system is being gradually commercialized. Only those who have money can go to school. The commercialized life in the present society has become an unbearable phenomenon, and our school is supposed to function as a social equalizer to eliminate the inequality of opportunities. In fact, however, our schools lead to the commercialization of our society. Still another problem is the uniform and rigid regulations in the schools. If a school depends upon only regulations, not education, then education itself would become meaningless.62

One of the shortcomings of the Western education, as Liang had believed, was that emphasis had been put on certain branches of knowledge, such as astronomy, physics and others, at the expense of moral teaching.

I firmly believe that the Western civilization will fail. The Westerners know almost everything but they do not know themselves; while the Chinese who are equipped with Confucian teachings know who they are. The Westerners use wisdom outwardly as tools to make facilities for life; at the end, life still remains not intelligent. So they make planes and

62 Abstracted from Liang Shu-ming, (Selected educational essays of Liang Shu-ming), op. cit., pp. 123-126.
bombs to control nature and to destroy human beings. The Chinese use wisdom inwardly to enrich and to beautify life. They do no know how to control nature, but they know how to control themselves. For this very reason, I positively believe that the Western civilization will fail, and the Chinese civilization will prevail again some day.63

Paradoxically, Liang had a very high respect for John Dewey, one of the most influential leaders of the Western education. He recommended Dewey's *Democracy and Education* as the best book and believed that everyone who was interested in education could not afford not to read the book. It might be true that Liang's recommendation of John Dewey was a kind of self-recommendation because he took Dewey as one of his contemporaries and fellow-philosophers. "Dewey and I (Liang) have some points that can illuminate each other. Dewey had a very good background in biology, and the development of my scholarship was under the influence of Henri Bergson (1859-1941)."64

In 1928, Liang paid a visit to Tao Hsing-chih's Hsiao-chuang School, and of what he had seen in the school, he expressed his consent so fully that he took the school as an exact realization of his educational ideal. To him, the programs at Hsiao-chuang School gave true education to the students, and this kind of education was what China had long needed.

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63Ibid., p. 32.
64Ibid., p. 6.
I believe that students should be urged to use their hands and their minds to work for their own life. They should take part not only in the individual's life, but also in public affairs. Thus they can "learn by doing". They should use their own intelligence and ability to acquire the true knowledge which they really need. I am not satisfied at all with the present educational system which has made the student's mind and hands inactive. Everything in the school has been taken care of by someone other than the students. Consequently, the students become passive and useless. As it is well known that the primary aim of education is to develop a capable person. If one wants to be capable, he has to try to use his mind and hands intelligently at the same time. Only so will he not be at a loss when he confronts problems. These are the principles according to which the present educational system should be reformed.65

Obviously, Liang's educational philosophy was a combination of the principle of his self-education, and that of Dewey's "learning by doing" and the "teaching-learning-doing" programs carried out at Hsiao-chuang School. So when he was the principal of Kwantung Provincial First Middle School, he tried to reform that school after the Hsiao-chuang model, but he failed. In short, Liang's ideology was deeply rooted in the Chinese tradition, but not free from the influence of Western philosophy and culture although he exhibited, frequently, a very strong anti-foreign sentiment. And his utopia was a society of which the fabric was Confucian ethics and in which the "village culture" was the way of the people's life.

65Ibid., p. 113.
Liang's Theories of Rural Reconstruction

For his coining of the new term "Ts'un chih" (village self-government), and his fanaticism of restoring the ancient "village culture" in the form of village self-government, Liang was widely regarded as one of the leading figures in the rural-mass education movement. To him, rural reconstruction was not a supplementary program to the efforts made by the government for national reconstruction, but rather, it was the last chance for China to struggle for survival after various attempts which all resulted in failure. China, as he believed, was a composition of an immense number of villages; a prosperous society in China depended only upon the improvement of villages. Otherwise, China, as a whole, could not be expected to have any new hope.

During the heyday of the rural-mass education movement, a great number of journals and newspapers discussed the usefulness and the purpose of the movement in general and some of the experiments in particular. Some labeled the movement as a "rural socialism" movement, and others thought that it was only a literacy campaign, or an illusionary attempt to improve the agricultural production. However, Liang, according to what he had believed, gallantly came to the defense of the movement and worked out a systematic theory of China's rural reconstruction.

Why Rural Reconstruction? To this question, Liang's answer was
that the urgent need of rural reconstruction in China was the result of increasing deterioration of the rural communities in the country. The factors which had made China's rural communities deteriorating were threefold: (1) politically, the civil wars, political anarchy, and excessive taxation; (2) economically, the invasion of foreign economy into the rural communities; and (3) culturally, the replacement of Chinese tradition with foreign cultures. Accordingly, rural reconstruction must begin with the organization of village self-government, the improvement of rural economy and the rebuilding of Chinese culture. Since China's economic and cultural roots, as Liang believed, had long been deeply planted in the villages, if the village could be successfully reconstructed, then the Chinese culture and the rural economy would be reconstructed.

The Meaning of Rural Reconstruction. According to Liang's theory,

... from the surface, the meaning of rural reconstruction is to rescue China's villages from their degenerating conditions. But its true meaning is to create a new culture for China. A new culture must not be the one that is transplanted from abroad; rather, it is the one which has been germinated from the old roots of Chinese culture.66

In other words, "rural reconstruction means to create a new culture in China by way of revitalizing the old villages."67


The prerequisite for the success of rural reconstruction, as pointed out by Liang, would be (1) the villagers' awareness, and (2) the village organization.

Villagers' awareness meant that the villagers must know the seriousness of the degenerating conditions of the village and to try first to stop the degeneration and then to improve the degenerated conditions. The task of revitalizing a village, according to Liang, would entirely depend upon the villagers themselves. They could not and should not rely on any help from outside. A village, for instance, which had been suffering from a certain kind of disaster, might be relieved temporarily by accepting help from outside. Such relief, however, could not last long. The only reliable and inexhaustible resources for relief rested upon the villagers' efforts to relieve themselves. If the villagers could be aware of the conditions of the village and of their responsibilities to the village, then not only the occasional disasters could be easily overcome, but also the village, as a whole, could be permanently reconstructed.

Against the Chinese traditional unorganizedness, the village organization would be the first step in the efforts of rural reconstruction. A joint force is always much more effective than any kind of individual efforts. The village organization would be an evidence of this truism, particularly in such activities as custom reform and the cleanliness of environment. Moreover, only through organization, each member of the village
could have the opportunity to participate in the various activities of the village. The village organization could also act as an agent to promote inter-village relations, by which the villages could learn from each other in the matter of rural reconstruction.

The Implement of Rural Reconstruction. The most effective instrument of rural reconstruction, as Liang conceptualized, was the schools of various kinds in the village. He thought that the schools would be the most feasible way to attract the city intellectuals to the country. If the city intellectuals could come back to the country and mingle with the rural masses, then the knowledge and the vision of the rural people would thereby be elevated and broadened. Such a blending of brain power of the intellectuals with the brawn strength of the rural masses would become a new vitality of the village. By such a blending, the chronic illness of the rural communities could be cured, and a new society could be expected to come. This new society, according to Liang's vision, would be humanistic, unselfish, creative, educational and aesthetic.

Liang's endeavor to reconstruct China's rural areas by combining education with politics drew a considerable amount of criticism. His critics accused him that his intention was not to reconstruct the rural communities, but to satisfy his own hidden political ambition. Furthermore, his programs for rescuing the rural masses from poverty and illiteracy seemed to
have paid too much attention to the outmoded moral trainings and politics, and too little to the practical knowledge and skills by which the state of poverty and illiteracy could be improved.

**Tao Hsing-chih (1892-1946)**

A Biographical Account of Tao Hsing-chih

Tao Hsing-chih, originally named Tao Wen-chün, was born on November 16, 1892, in a farm village of Hsi-hsien in Anhui Province in central China. His father, Tao Jen-ch'ao, was a farmer, and his mother, like any other ordinary village woman in China, took care of all kinds of household chores and also sometimes worked on the farm to help her husband. When the young Tao was six years of age, he began to read the Chinese classics for a period of about ten years. He entered the Ch'ung-yi School, a missionary middle school belonging to the "China Inland Mission", when he was fifteen years of age. Being brilliant and industrious, he was never surpassed by any of his fellow students in academic achievements in the school. Upon his graduation from this middle school, he was admitted to the University of Nanking, an American missionary university. Under the financial support of Mr. G. W. Gibb, the principal of Ch'ung-yi School, Tao's alma mater, he was able to complete his studies at that university. He took Chinese literature and philosophy as his major field of study, and he also participated very
actively in various extracurricular activities. He was the editor of Chinling Kuang Hsueh Pao (The Journal of Nanking Academic Light), and also an organizer of a public speech club in the university.

When he was studying Chinese philosophy at the University of Nanking, he was so much interested in Wang Yang-ming's (1472-1529), a Chinese philosopher, discourse on the "unity of knowing and doing" that he changed his name into Tao Chih (knowing)-hsing (doing). Later when he came to believe that "doing" must be the beginning of "knowing", he reversed the order of the words of his name into Tao Hsing-chih (doing then knowing).

In 1914, he graduated with honors from the University of Nanking, and in the fall of the same year, having borrowed some money from his friends, Tao came to the United States to do his advanced studies. First, at the University of Illinois, he majored in political science and earned his M. A. degree there in 1915. Then he transferred to the Teachers College of Columbia University to study education and soon became a favorite student of Paul Monroe, John Dewey, and William H. Kilpatrick.

In 1917, he returned to China from the United States and was appointed professor and Dean of the National Nanking Advanced Normal School (teachers college). During his tenure of the office, he made many innovations in respect to the practices of teaching and learning.

The Chinese National Association for the Advancement of
Education was founded in 1921, and Tao was elected its Director-general. Under the sponsorship of this Association, such American scholars as John Dewey, W. A. McCall and George R. Twiss were invited to teach in Chinese universities for one or two years in order that some new ideas in education could be introduced into China. For expressing his ideas in regard to the problems of China's education, he constantly contributed articles to the New Education, a monthly journal. This was the beginning of his career as an educational reformer. In August, 1923, together with James Y. C. Yen and Madame Hsiung Hsi-ling, he organized the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement in Peking, and he himself carried the programs of mass education into several provinces.

In order to experiment the education which he had created according to his beliefs, in March, 1927, under the auspices of the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, Tao, together with Chao Shu-yü, another progressive Chinese educator, started the well-known and somewhat controversial Hsiao-chuang School. There he tested his principle of "teaching, learning, and doing go together" and developed the theories of "life is education" and "society is school". Based on these theories, he opened a new horizon for China's education.

As the continuation of his experiment of Hsiao-chuang School education, in 1932, in the suburb of Shanghai, he initiated a program known as "kung-hsüeh-t'uan" (Working-learning-
organizing). In the following year, 1933, he created the "little teacher system" as an instrument to implement his idea of the universalization of education. This creation was regarded as an epoch-making event in the history of Chinese education. The plan of "sending education to the door of those who were not able to go to school" was carried out by the "little teacher system" with great success. His ideas in education were then widely read through the *Living Education Journal*, of which he was the editor.

In 1936, he made an around-the-world trip through Asia, Europe and America. He visited twenty-eight different countries during the trip. The purpose of the trip was to tell the peoples of the world of China's crises resulted from the Japanese aggression and to urge the overseas Chinese to help their mother country to resist the Japanese invasion.

After his return from the trip, he, in 1939, founded the Yü-tsai School (school for developing special talents) in the suburb of Chungching. From 1945, he became a member of the China's Democratic League, which was a political organization of the liberal intellectuals in China. This organization played a very important part in the attempt of establishing a coalition government including all political parties in China at that time. Since then, he devoted his energy in the promotion of democracy in China. After the second Sino-Japanese War, in April, 1946, he returned to Shanghai from Chungching to make necessary
preparations for moving the Yü-tsai School to Shanghai. But on July 24, 1946, he died of a cerebral hemorrhage in Shanghai.

Of his works, the most influential ones were Chung-kuo chiao-yü kai-tsao (The reconstruction of China's education), Ku miao ch'iao chung lu (Records of bell-tolling in an old temple), Chai-fu tsu-yu tan (School janitor's talks), Hsing-chih shu-hsin (Letters of Tao Hsing-chih), and Hsing-chih shih chi (Anthology of Tao Hsing-chih's poems). 68

Tao's Philosophy and Educational Ideas

Tao's philosophy and educational ideas were first derived from Wang Yang-ming, a Chinese philosopher, and then fully developed under the influence of John Dewey when he was doing his graduate work at Columbia University.

Tao's philosophy. The main points of Tao's philosophy were two-fold: the theory of "doing" and "knowing", and the principles of "democracy". In the long past, the Chinese philosophers maintained that "doing" and "knowing" were two separate entities, and that to know was easier than to do. This mentality could possibly be one of the factors which had arrested the progress of Chinese civilization for such a long period of time. In the 15th century, a Chinese philosopher, Wang Yang-ming, developed his theory of the "unity of knowing and doing".

Knowing is the beginning of doing; doing is the completion of knowing. One may then speak solely of knowing; doing is already automatically included therein; or one may then speak solely of doing, knowing is already automatically included therein. There is no such thing as knowing which cannot be carried into practice.  

When Tao was studying Chinese literature and philosophy at the University of Nanking, he industriously studied Wang Yang-ming's theory of "knowing" and "doing". After he entered Teachers College of Columbia University, he continued his pursuit in the problems of "doing" and "knowing" under John Dewey. Of the problems of "doing" and "knowing", Dewey said:

The most direct blow at the traditional separation of doing and knowing has been given by the progress of experimental science. If this progress has demonstrated anything, it is that there is no such thing as genuine knowledge and fruitful understanding except as the offspring of doing. The analysis and rearrangement of facts which is indispensable to the growth of knowledge and power of explanation and right clarification can not be attained purely mentally—just inside the head. Men have to do something to the things when they wish to find out something.

As a consequence, in Tao's mind, Wang Yang-ming's theory was overshadowed by John Dewey's. He then came to believe that real knowledge must be based on experience.

In 1927, he published an article, "Wei chih-shih chai-chi"

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(Pseudo-intellectuals). The pseudo-intellectuals, as Tao
defined them, were those who had possessed knowledge without
experience. To Tao, knowledge not based on experience, like
the bank note without actual money deposited in the bank, was
false and of no value at all. He thought that personal expe­
rience was limited, but knowledge was unlimited because everyone
could use the knowledge derived from other's experiences.
According to Tao, any one who had his own true knowledge as
foundation could receive true knowledge from others, and could
make other's knowledge an organic part of his own. If, of some
knowledge, one did not have any experience, there would be no
way to turn it into one's own. For example, only one who had
the experience of facing a fire could have the knowledge of the
word "hot", and one who had the experience of touching ice or
snow could have the knowledge of the word "cold". Otherwise,
one was only able to read these words "hot" and "cold" in books
or to hear them from someone's lecture, and could even memorize
them without actual experience. But one could not know the
true meaning of these words "hot" and "cold". These words in
the book or in someone's lecture might represent a true knowledge,
but to one who had no experience of "hot" and "cold", the
knowledge he had learned from these words was false.

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71Tao Hsing-chih, Hsing-chih chiao-yü lun-wen chi
(Collection of Tao Hsing-chih's educational essays). Ta-lian:
Tatung Book Co., 1927.
As a conclusion of his intensive studies of this subject, Tao stated that "doing" was the beginning of "knowing", and "knowing" was the completion of "doing"; and "doing" was the combination of both mental work and physical activities.

Another point of Tao's philosophy was the principles of democracy. To Tao, democracy could not be regarded only as a political ideology; it was a way of life. He defined democracy as "everyone has a share or everyone shares. At time of misfortune, everyone shares the misfortune equally; at time of fortune, everyone shares the fortune equally." He further said:

One who wants to speak must allow others to speak, too; the best way is to discuss together. One who wants to work must give an opportunity for others to work; the best thing is to work together. One who wants to have something to eat must not let others starve; the best thing is that everyone has something to eat. One who needs security must know that the others need security, too; what is the best is that everyone is secure. One who wants to make progress lets others make progress, too; the best thing is that everyone can make progress.\(^\text{72}\)

Tao's concept of democracy was evidently influenced by John Dewey, who believed in the natural rights of human beings, the supreme worth and dignity of the individual person, the potentialities of human beings for self-improvement, the


\(^{73}\) Loc. cit.
responsibility of the individual for developing his own potentials and the necessity of the 'group work' undertaken by the individual.\(^4\)

In politics, Tao believed that China's future could not be bright unless and until a real democratic government came into being, and that only under a democratic government the people could be united; the civil war could be stopped; and then China would be able to set herself on the road leading to being a new and peaceful nation.

**Tao's Educational Ideas.** Like his philosophical belief, Tao's educational ideas bore the marks of the influence of both Wang Yang-ming and John Dewey. Tao's belief in the student's initiative had its roots in Wang Yang-ming, and his social thought of education mostly came from John Dewey. Wang Yang-ming showed his disapproval of Chinese traditional education in his *Chuan-hsi lu* (On pedagogy). Wang believed that children should be allowed to develop their individual personality freely. The responsibility of the teacher was to show the children the direction to their goals. Otherwise, constraint and compulsion would make a student look at the school as a prison and the teacher as an enemy. The student could pretend to be obedient, and then the habit of cheating would be formed. The school had aimed to teach them to be good; in fact, however, it led them

\(^4\)Chu Don-chean, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
to learn misdoings.

Tao's social thought of education was fully expressed in his creation of "living education". The key points of "living education" were that "society is school" and "life is education". "Living education", as Tao defined it, was "an education of life, by life and for life". "Living education begins with life and ends with life." His explanation obviously meant that one's education began from the time he was born, and it continued through his whole life, only his death could bring it to an end. "Society is school" in which, as Tao had envisioned, everyone could be a teacher, everyone could be a student, and the people as a whole were fellow students. Everywhere the people went they could have their living books and could obtain living knowledge and learnings, so "life is education". The aims of "living education", by Tao's designation, were to produce intellectual workers by giving workers opportunity of education, and to produce worker intellectuals by teaching intellectuals to work. Consequently, the distinction between the mental workers and the manual workers would no longer exist, and the classes of the scholar-aristocrats and the unschooled working-commoners would disappear.

"Teaching, learning and doing go together" was the method of the "living education". According to Tao, "teaching, learning and doing are one united action, not three isolated activities. Doing something by the teacher is teaching, and
doing something by the student is learning. Teaching by doing is effective teaching, and learning by doing is true learning. Thus one action upon a thing meant "doing", and it could also mean either learning or teaching.

The principles for curriculum organization of "living education" were "no life beyond curriculum, and no curriculum beyond life". The activities of "teaching-learning-doing" could take place in the fields, factories, library and home. According to Tao, the traditional education had concentrated on teaching students to read dead books and to read books till death. It was a dead education, a false education. It could at the most produce the educated man who was only able to sit down to talk, not to stand up to work with his hands. The dead education was therefore the formidable obstacle to a nation's development.

While the "living education" was to use living books and to use the books for life, the living books was not necessarily presented in the form of printed words, but rather, it was the real life which would lead the readers to act, to think and to create. The selection of the living books was to be made solely by the kind of life that the readers were living and by the kind of work that the readers were doing. Only the living books could be the real source of vital knowledge.

Another deep concern of Tao's was the democratic education.

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The meaning of democratic education, according to him, was two-dimensional:

... first, democratic education is the education of the people, by the people, and for the people; namely education must belong to the people, be conducted and managed by the people, and be established for the needs of the people. Second, democratic education is the education, to which people will contribute what they can and from which they can learn what they need.\textsuperscript{76}

Tao insisted that knowledge must not be regarded as one's private property for selfish purposes. The aim of democratic education was to make education for the public. Public education meant that everyone had equal opportunity for free education. If someone showed a special kind of talent, he must be given an opportunity to develop his talent to the greatest extent. However, such special talent must not be developed as an access to personal prosperity, but rather, as an asset for the public interest.

In China, particularly, as Tao believed, public education must be that which could be carried out at the lowest cost, and the teaching-learning activities could take place anywhere at any time so as to encourage the largest number of people to take part in it. As Tao strongly opposed the domination of education by politics, he insisted that education for political socialization could by no means be considered as democratic education. It could only mean that people's right to education was violated.

\textsuperscript{76}ibid., pp. 160-161.
by the political party. Education for political socialization was not for the people, therefore it must not be operated by using the money paid by the people in the form of taxes.

Tao’s Suggestions for China’s Educational Reform

As an educational reformer, Tao frequently expressed his critical views on the current educational system in China in various educational journals and in his lectures. He also made a few positive and concrete suggestions for China’s educational reform.

Teacher Education. Teacher education is supposed to teach teachers to teach, so teacher education involves obviously such questions as (1) what to teach, (2) how to teach, and (3) whom to teach. Teacher education cannot be considered adequate until these questions are answered. According to Tao’s answer to these questions, first, what to teach should mean that (1) in the schools of teacher education, the teachers must know what ought to be taught to those who are going to be teachers, and (2) the students of teacher education, when they are actually engaged in teaching, must know what ought to be taught to the students in their respective classes. Teaching materials might be different for different schools under different circumstances, but the general principles, according to Tao, would be that teacher must teach what is needed by the students in that locality. In other words, the contents of teacher education must be what is needed by the people in a locality, and must
not be the general philosophy and foreign principles irrelevant to the indigenous conditions.

Second, how to teach? Traditionally, teaching was regarded as an act of giving knowledge to the students. To Tao, however, the answer to this question was that the way of teaching must be based on the way of learning, and the way of learning must be based on the way of doing. Teaching, learning and doing are one corporated action. In other words, the way of doing a thing determines the way of learning it; the way of learning determines the way of teaching. Obviously, Tao had always been preoccupied with his ideas of mass education; his answer to the question of how to teach might be a very good principle of teaching, particularly teaching in schools at the mass level. It seems, however, not easy to adopt this principle in the schools of teacher education unless the school is organized after the style of the Hsiao-chuang School.

Third, the simple answer from Tao to the question of whom to teach was to teach everyone who had come to learn. But people are in many aspects different from each other. Different people ought to be given different materials of different quantity by different methods. So his answer seems much too theoretical and impractical.

Concerning the relationship between schools of teacher education and the schools at lower level assigned for teaching-practice, Tao offered his new idea. The school for teacher
education, according to Tao, must come after the existence of the central schools. A central school, by Tao's definition, would be a school of which the programs and the activities are centered around the community life and its natural environment, and it would also be the center of community reform. Thus a central school would be a union of natural life and social life of a community, and such a school must not only be able to adapt itself to its environment; it must also be able to change the environment. The function of teacher education would be to train teachers for the central schools, and its programs and activities must therefore be centered around these central schools. If there has been no central schools existing, there would be no ground on which the teacher education could begin and grow. In Tao's opinion, central schools, against the traditional concept, are not the affiliated part of the school of teacher education. On the contrary, they are the foundation on which the school of teacher education existed and grew. So the school of teacher education and its central schools are one organic unit instead of two separate entities.

By Tao's theory, a central school would change when its natural and social environments had changed; so would the teacher education. Reversely, teacher education could make the central school change; so could the central school change its natural and social environments. Therefore teacher education was the key to social change.
**Children's Education.** Against the rigidity and passivity of children's education in China, Tao advocated the theory of creative children's education. Creative children's education, by his definition, was an education that aimed to develop and to strengthen children's creativity. In China, a great majority of children were sharing poverty with their parents and they were growing in a world full of hardship. But to Tao's belief, children could create an amusement park for themselves outside the suffering world of the adults if they were free from the arbitrary interference of the adults and if they were given opportunity to develop their creativity. Tao urged the educators as well as the parents to free the children.

First, the children's thinking must be free. Children's creativity, as Tao believed, was very often and very easily barred by superstition, prejudice, distortion and illness. All of these barriers were imposed upon them by adults consciously and unconsciously. For the natural development of their creativity and scientific thinking, children must be set free from obstructions of any kind.

Second, the children's hands must be free to do whatever they like to do. The use of hands is to create tools, weapons, written languages and some other even more sophisticated things. Otherwise, inexperience and incompetence would result. Children in China, to Tao's observation, were always forbidden to do anything by themselves; thus their curiosity and creativity
were blotted out considerably. As a consequence, children in China seemed to lack the ability to initiate and to create. Tao therefore vigorously urged the parents and educators in China to give their children opportunities to use their hands, and to let them do whatever they liked and whatever they could.

Third, children's mouths must be free to speak. Curiosity always leads children to ask questions. Obviously the answers to their questions will be the major sources by which children's knowledge can be increased. But in China, under the influence of the long submissive cultural traits, children were seldom encouraged to express themselves freely, so they had been unfairly deprived of the "freedom of speech". To Tao, if the children were expected to develop their creativity fully, their "freedom of speech" must first of all be restored.

Fourth, children must be freed from their spatial confinement. Schools of the traditional type in China were much too far from attractive to the children. The children were in the old-fashioned schools as if they were confined in a prison, dark and small. The modern ones were comparatively larger and brighter, but they were far from adequate for children to develop their creativity and ability. Creation always requires a broad foundation. In Tao's belief, children always want to enrich their experience by knowing more of their natural environments and their social environments. The confinement within a small space would cause them to suffer from deprivation of
intellectual nourishment. Children can collect more materials to study when and if they are admitted to a larger area. Their intelligence can be well developed only when their horizon is broadened.

Fifth, children must also be freed from temporal pressure. Usually, the school in China, even nowadays, offers so many different courses at one time that the children's time is occupied entirely by attending classes. In addition, the tyrannical tests may be given every day. In order not to fail in the tests, the children have to use all of their off-class time to review those materials which have been given at the expense of their interests and needs. They have been thus occupied, and their creativity is ruined by the mechanical instillations. So Tao insisted that children must be given enough time for themselves to observe and to think before they become able to demonstrate their ability to create.77

It is true that children are curious. Curiosity leads to the development of creativity. In order to have children's creativity well developed, they must be given the freedom of speech and the freedom to think. They can act freely, think freely and create freely only when they are not confined within a small space and are given enough time.

77Ibid., pp. 67-74.
Mass Education. Of mass education, Tao gave his principles and methods.

1. Principles.

(1) Mass education movement means not only to make the masses literate, but mainly to modernize the people as a whole. It cannot be limited to a period of four months, one year or more; it aims to give the people an idea of progress and to teach them to work and to learn as long as they live.

(2) "Society is school" and "life is education".

(3) One who comes, served. Those who cannot come, "send education to the door".

(4) To use "little teachers" as a teaching force.

(5) To carry out the programs in cities and villages simultaneously.

(6) Persuasion and compulsion are used complementarily.

(7) To use the existing organizations, such as family, shops, offices, factories, temples, military corps and prisons, as schools.

(8) To use the most effective facilities to carry education into the remote and backward areas.


(1) To mobilize the primary school students throughout the country as "little teachers" and ask them to teach others.

(2) To mobilize the literate adults throughout the country and ask them as relay teachers to help to teach others.

(3) To mobilize the intellectuals throughout the country to join the efforts in the mass education movement.
   a) To ask the school teachers, college professors and high school students to give ten days of their vacation each year to help the movement.
   b) To ask the office workers to give five days each year to help the movement.

(4) To reform the existing school system.
   a) According to the actual situation, to extend the school limit into the community.
   b) The work of the "little teachers" should be required of every student as his social service.
   c) To the regular curriculum, every school should add one course relating to the teaching materials and the teaching methods used by the "little teachers".
d) To use the time assigned for Chinese calligraphy practice to copy textbooks for the use of the "little teachers".

(5) To open the cultural wasteland.
   a) To move some of the schools from the overcrowded cities to the countryside. Then the school can carry the mass education programs into its vicinities.
   b) To move the schools of teacher education from the city to the country, and each school is to be assigned an area of 400 square li to carry out the mass education programs.
   c) In the remote areas, such as Hsikiang, Tsinghai, Ninghsia, Hsikang, Mongolia and Tibet, the government should be responsible to establish schools. For delivery of the educational materials to these areas, the government should prepare a few educational airplanes.

(6) Research and experiments.
   To establish a national mass education research institute to study the most economical, the most rapid, and the most effective methods to carry out the mass education programs.

(7) Financial resources.
   a) To stipulate a law of mass education.
   b) To use one-half of the Boxer Indemnity as fund for mass education.
   c) To urge people to make donations for the cause of mass education.
   d) To reduce the number of years as required for the existing school system, and to use the money saved for research and practices of mass education.

(8) To make a law.
   a) Everyone in China has the right for having self-education one hour a day.
   b) Anyone who violates other's self-education right is to be sentenced for one year in prison or to be fined $1,000.00 (Chinese dollars).
   c) Anyone who interferes someone else to teach others is to be sentenced for one year in prison or to be fined $1,000.00 (Chinese dollars).
   d) From January 1, to December 31, 1935, everyone in the country must be able to read the Thousand-character textbook. From January 1, 1936 on, anyone who remains illiterate is to be fined one dollar a month till he can read the Thousand-character textbook.
Anyone who can read refuses to teach others when he is asked to is to be fined one dime for each refusal.\textsuperscript{78}

Tao was a poet, a philosopher and an educator. He had deep compassion for the underprivileged people in China, and an unalterable belief in the instrumentality of education to improve a nation's conditions. He spent much of his time and energy in making innovations in education, establishing new educational organizations, making speeches and writing articles to support his educational ideas and practices. Nevertheless, he was time and again frustrated by the difficulties of various kinds in carrying out his programs. However, his life and work exerted great influence upon China's education. So his writings on education were reprinted and circulated some years ago; only his name is an "unmentionable" now.

At any rate, of the rural-mass education movement in China, James Y. C. Yen, Liang Shu-ming and Tao Hsing-chih were three dedicated and outstanding leaders. They had been aware of the inadequacy of China's educational system of their time, and the need of a set of new programs to replace it. So they addressed themselves to the movement of rural-mass education in order that China might have a better educational system.

Each of them held his own philosophy in relation to the

\textsuperscript{78}Ibid., pp. 124-143.
movement in such an uncompromisable manner that they were never able to work together for their common goal. They were rivals, but they admired each other nevertheless. Tao, for instance, nominated Yen to be the first Director-general of the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement when it was organized in Peking in 1923. Liang, in 1928, after his visit to Hsiao-chuang School, asserted that the programs of the school were precisely the realization of his ideal in education. From 1933 to 1935, at the three consecutive national conventions of the rural reconstruction workers, Yen and Liang enthusiastically praised each other.

James Y. C. Yen is a pragmatic experimentalist. His background of Confucianism and "Christian ethics" made him a modest man with a crusading spirit. Contrary to Yen, Liang Shu-ming was a nativistic revivalist. He tried to cure the rural illness in China by reviving Chinese cultural tradition, which, as he believed, was destroyed by the presence of foreign cultures in China. Tao Hsing-chih, depending on his imagination, tried to create an entirely new pattern of education. He was a man "with a creative mind" and "with a heart full of love for the common people". However, his romantic naivety brought him little success, but endless frustration. As educational reformers, each of these three leaders went to one's own extremes. Yen tried to seek solution to China's problems in the Western scientism; Liang, in Confucius' wisdom; whereas Tao,
in his own imaginary world. If these three outstanding figures of the rural-mass education movement collaborated with each other and made their different points of view complementary to each other, their contributions to the efforts to reform China's education would have been much more significant.
Chapter VIII

The Problems and the Promise of the Movement

As a response to the call for creating a new pattern of education to replace the current dysfunctional educational system in China, the rural-mass education made itself a rather glamorous debut and promised a quite splendid prospect. But in the course of development, its promise was greatly overclouded by its problems. Finally, in a period of about fifteen years, it succeeded in writing an unusual page in the history of Chinese education, but failed to replace the current educational system. Following is a brief review of its problems and its promise as a conclusion of this study.

The Problems

The problems which made the endeavors of the rural-mass education movement in vain came at least from four different sources:

First, the movement was misoriented. Despite the differences in their approaches and programs, there was a general consensus among the leaders of the movement that rural-mass education was the only strategy at the time to enable China to survive its political, economic and social crises. As China was composed of an immense number of farm villages, so it was believed that
if each of these villages could have become economically prosperous and orderly organized, then China would be able to stand up among the powers in the modern world. Based upon such a belief, the programs of various organizations in connection with the rural-mass education movement were uniformly made to include literacy education and the teaching of some rudimentary agricultural knowledge and skills.

Unfortunately, the programs were not only inadequate, but also were misled. The farmer's illiteracy and the out-moded farming method might have greatly contributed to the destitution of Chinese rural areas, but the real cause of destitution was the insufficient amount of arable land for the huge size of the rural population. The overpopulation on the farm resulted in a waste of labor in the form of disguised unemployment. In effect, the productivity of the surplus labor was zero or even lower than zero, but the consumption of the farm products by the surplus laborers could never be at the zero level. Thus the result of too many mouths sharing too little food could have been nothing but everybody-hunger. So the realistic step to change the rural deteriorating situation would be an effort to transfer the wasted labor from the farm into a productive force in a pursuit of some kind of industry. As a matter of fact, not many of the projects for constructing roads, water supply, drainage, which were all prerequisites to industrial development, had been carried out in China. The starting
of such projects would provide a great outlet for the surplus labor on the farm to leave the farm. Then the improvement of the rural communities could become possible.

The rural-mass education movement would be more meaningful and effective if its programs were made to try to introduce to the rural people some knowledge of machine operation instead of teaching them only some of the rudimentary agricultural skills to keep them on the farm. Certainly the possibility for the rural people to leave the farm would be very slight as long as they remained technically primitive.

The leaders of the movement had all ignored such a reality, so their efforts, besides literacy, were totally concentrated on the improvement of farming skills. James Y. C. Yen of the Tinghsien Experiment, for example, expressed his belief in this way:

There is much talk nowadays about industrialization in China. I think it is very important. But there is a danger, that we think too much of industrialization without realizing that it depends upon improved farm economy, too. For example, one of the reasons why America has such tremendous productive power is the high efficiency of the American farmers. That is the fact many overlook. Unless the purchasing power of the rural masses is increased, industrialization cannot be supported. Of the millions of people in Asia, over 80 per cent are rural. If the people in this rural continent are left in the backwash of primitive farming and illiteracy, they could easily become instruments of dictators aiming at power and conquest. Under such circumstances no industrialization would be practical or beneficial.79

79 Pearl S. Buck, op. cit., p. 51.
Liang Shu-ming of the Shantung Rural Reconstruction Research Institute even denied the possibility of industrialization in China. He thought that China should not seek industrialization, and he even regarded Japan's industrialization after the Western model as an ill-advised action. To him, the course of development followed by the Western nations was the sickness and a digression of human civilization. Liang thought that the Japanese had ignorantly followed the road to industrialization, and it might have been too late for them to stop. In China, according to Liang, the achievement of a "rural civilization" through the efforts of rural development would be the best course to follow. With his anti-foreign sentiment, Liang believed that in the past decades, China's educational system, which had been borrowed from the West, was unsuitable to China's rural conditions. It only attracted the villagers away from farms to cities, raised their materialistic expectations, and destroyed their farm productive ability. Finally, they became a group of "educated high-class beggars".

Tao Hsing-chih of Hsiao-chuang School did not deny the possibility of industrialization in China, nor did he work out
any programs toward the direction of preparation for industrialization. He believed that China would have been well developed economically if one million of the living-education-centered villages could come into being. Obviously his visions were also rural-oriented and so were his programs.

As it is widely believed that agriculture is the foundation of industry. If agriculture is underdeveloped, it would not be easy to develop industry. Conversely, however, it is also true that industry is the foundation of agriculture. It would not be easy to develop agriculture if there is no industry. In the Western industrial nations, for instance, the conditions of agriculture are always far better than those in the so-called agricultural countries like China because it is the industry that can sufficiently supply machines, chemical fertilizers and other necessities. It might be possible for some nation to make its choice of priority between agriculture and industry. However, for China, there seemed to be no choice. Only the beginning to develop industry could relieve the pressure of overpopulation on the farm. Otherwise, there would be little chance to improve the rural conditions. Therefore the rural-mass education movement aiming only to improve farming was misoriented, and it could not solve any of the rural problems without looking into the true cause of the problems.

The second problem which had seriously damaged the possibility for the rural-mass education movement to achieve its
goal was the lack of a national organization formed by the different organizations of the movement, and a long-term and overall plan. A reform movement in a nation can not be expected to bear fruit overnight. It usually requires long-time and collective efforts. Above all, it needs sufficient human power and financial resources. Of all these requirements only a national organization can take care, but the rural-mass education movement never had such an organization. A centralized organization, such as a national headquarters, does not necessarily have any authority and commanding power. It can be just a center of experts in rural-mass education to provide advices for different localities in the matter of making policies and programs. As the various programs of the movement had included so many aspects of the people's life in the rural communities, they could not be adequate unless they were made by experts; so was the implementation of the programs, unless it was under the direction of the experts.

In addition, the national headquarters can function as a clearinghouse to collect and to distribute data concerning the problems as well as the results of various experiments. Thus it would become unnecessary for every program in each area to repeat the same procedures as some one else had gone through. Furthermore, the headquarters can also be a placement office. Whenever one experiment center needs additional personnel in a certain field, it can file its demand in the headquarters, and
on the other hand, any interested person who likes to join this work can send his application forms to the headquarters. In a country like China where the trained and experienced people in the field of rural-mass education had been so scarce and so greatly needed, such a service would be very valuable.

Third, the movement did not cooperate with the government. Unlike a political revolution, the social and educational reform requires the support of the government, although in many cases, the necessity of such reform is the result of the government's mismanagement of its responsibilities. As a matter of fact, the rural-mass education movement in China, an undertaking of private citizens, could only work from the bottom up in the attempt to change the educational policy of the nation; while the government for this very purpose could work from the top down. If these two opposite forces could be complementary to each other, the effect would definitely be larger and stronger. But the leaders of the movement preferred independence from government participation in their programs, so some of the experiment areas had virtually become an autonomy. Thus misunderstanding and mistrust often developed between the government and the organizations of the movement, and the episodes of the closing of the Hsiao-chuang School and the assassination of Shen Hsuan-lu constituted a considerable setback to the movement.

Moreover, most of the programs of the movement were experimental in nature. The results of the experiments, such as
the four types of education in Tinghsien, the "living education" in Hsiao-chuang, and the integration of education and politics in Shantung Institute, were all expected to be able to be applied to the rural communities elsewhere. But it is simply impossible to apply such results to any place without help from government because every place outside their autonomy-like experiment areas is under the jurisdiction of a government. If the extension work following the experiment became impossible, the experiments would be meaningless.

The last but not the least problem of the movement was the teacher shortage. The success of an educational program mainly depends on the attitude and aptitude of the teachers in their professional performance. Particularly in the case of China's rural-mass education, the teachers must have the incentives to go to the rural community and the competence to work with the rural people. A village school, as initiated by the leaders of the rural-mass education movement, was in effect a rural community center that would involve programs in relation to economic development, local self-government and custom reform. So a teacher of a village school was expected to be a jack-of-all-trade person—an economic adviser, an organizer and a people's counsellor.

Most of the school teachers in China, as a matter of fact, were trained with the traditional literary education. By their attitude and their viewpoints, they could be roughly classified
into two groups. Teachers in one group were preoccupied with the idea that the responsibility of the teaching elites was to pass on their learnings for the sake of preserving national heritage and perpetuating the cherished culture. To them education meant only to teach the student the Chinese cultural tradition. Agricultural knowledge and practical skills were simply outside the realm of education, so they had no obligation to trouble themselves with such subjects. Conceivably, when and if these people were assigned to a village school, only literacy education could be conducted.

Teachers in another group had no anti-masses bias, but the miseducation which they had had made them aliens to the rural situations. When they were assigned to a village school, they simply did not know how to begin their work, because they could not understand the conditions and the attitudes of the rural people, nor could the rural people understand them. Li Ching-hen, a member of the Tinghsien Experiment, once reported his experience:

At the beginning, we wanted to be close to them (the rural people), but they did not want to be close to us and tried to avoid us. Later when they understood that we had come to help them to improve their conditions, they became anxious to be close to us, and so many of them came to us so often that we could not stand it; then we tried to avoid them. When we were invited to the farm house, the country rustic smell,
the dirty seats and the unsanitary surroundings made us very uncomfortable.81

Nowadays, conditions in China might have changed, even if not much. But half a century ago, the scene of the rural life in China made a sharp contrast with that of the city life. During the dry season in the country, it was dusty everywhere; while during the wet season, it was muddy everywhere. There was no electricity and no running water. Recreation had to be created by oneself when and if one wanted to have some. It indeed required great patience and courage for a city person to go to the country, and took a long time to adjust himself to the rural life. So there was not much evidence of success of Liang Shu-ming's plan to attract city intellectuals back to the country.

The teacher shortage was a formidable problem to the movement. The Tinghsien Experiment, the Hsiao-chuang School, the Shantung Institute and the Kiangsu Provincial College of Education had devoted a considerable part of their programs to the training of rural teachers, and yet the number of their graduates appeared too small to meet the demands from the schools throughout the country. To start a program of new education without sufficient number of appropriately trained teachers to carry it out, like to declare a war without sufficient number

81Ch'en Hsu-ching, Hsiang-ts'un chien-she (Rural reconstruction), Shanghai: Tatung Book Co., 1946, pp. 35-36.
of adequately trained and equipped soldiers to fight the war, was destined to be a fiasco.

The Promise

Notwithstanding the problems as mentioned above, the rural-mass education movement had its promise. In fact, the movement had made a headway in the matter of reorienting China's education toward a more practical and realistic direction. In the minds of many, for instance, the traditional concept that education was for the sake of education, or education was to provide for an individual an access to a government office, had been shifted to that education could be used practically as an implement to improve individual's as well as the national life.

The rural-mass education as experimented in China had its origin in a Chinese word "coo-li" which literally means "bitter (coo) strength (li)". As James Y. C. Yen found out in Paris during the First World War that the great number of Chinese coolies proudly contributed their strength to the war, but they tasted their bitterness, too. They always became helpless and frustrated when they wanted to express themselves on paper to their loved ones at home far away across the seas. So Yen's decision to teach his illiterate compatriots was an attempt to free these men from their bitterness and to help to develop their strength. Such an attempt then became the basic philosophy of the rural-mass education movement in China.

Viewed in the world and historical perspectives, this
type of rural-mass education represents a new tendency of the
development of education. Education at the earlier times was
regarded as a means for training moral character, then the
scholarship and social consciousness. Now, as believed by a
majority of educators and non-educators as well, the function
of education is to develop human ability for the amelioration
of the conditions of human life. In other words, education is
to free human beings from their bitterness of incompetence to
cope with the complexity of life environment and to help to
develop their strength to meet challenge of any sort. In the
well-developed countries, for instance, because of the advance
of technology, a person can not be free from bitterness unless
he is competent to cope with the complicated life conditions,
and he can not be regarded as a useful and productive member
of the society unless he has the power and strength to manip­
ulate the sophisticated machines used for production. Same
is true with people in the developing countries although their
life conditions may not be so complicated and their machines
may not be so sophisticated.

As a result of the recognition of the new function of
education, particularly in the developing countries, so many
different programs have been designed under such names as
"basic education", "fundamental education", "functional
education", and the most recent "development education".
Obviously, the rural-mass education in China was but one new
name in this list. Although the movement of rural-mass education in China has discontinued, yet the growth of education of this kind has never ceased. In the age of development, people are required to have the ability to work, and they want to be free from the bitterness of inability to read and to write their own language.

**Summary and Conclusion**

From the previous analyses, it would become evident that the rural-mass education movement in China was not successful. It failed on two fronts, both of which were the prime goals of the movement. One, the movement as a whole did not make any visible improvement of the rural conditions in China; second, it failed to reform any part of the current educational system. Besides the inherent problems which had destructively hampered the promise of the movement, the fatal cause of its failure was that the leaders inexpertly led the movement to follow the pattern of the so-called "hsiu-ts'ai tsao-fan" (scholar's rebellion)—idealistic and instigative but not realistic and operative. The rebellion had a rather clamorous beginning, but it ended quietly and resultlessly. All the leaders of the movement had burning enthusiasm and honest devotion to the cause of the movement, however, their enthusiasm and devotion seemed misleadingly to have given each of them over-confidence in and over-trust to himself. So each of them
thought that he alone was able to change the course of events without help of others. So no expert in the field of rural problems nor any government official was ever invited to join the work. The movement primarily aimed to tackle the economic problems in the rural areas in China, but the programs were made without "advice and consent" of the experts of economic development, therefore they failed to produce any concrete result as had expected.

On the other hand, without government agency as sponsor, the experiments of various programs of the movement had remained fragmentary and scanty, and such fragmentariness and scantiness of the experiments failed the rural-mass education as a whole to bring about any reform of the current educational system in China.

By the experience obtained from the rural-mass education movement in China, it becomes clear that to a developing country, literacy education alone is not enough, and education of the traditional type—training moral character and scholarship—will not do much either. What is most needed and most practicable in the efforts to improve the conditions of the rural areas would be a collaborative program developed by educators, experts of economic development and the disinterested government officials. In other words, education which aims to form human resources for national development is no longer the monopolized dominion of educators, and an effective educational program
can be successfully carried out only by a joint effort of experts in various fields.
Epilogue

Due to the continuity of her long cultural tradition without any drastic change, China has been conceived of, by those to whom change means progress, as a tradition-arrested and stagnant society in which no evidence of progress has been registered. On the other hand, to those who uphold the ideology that the change of a perfect system accumulated in a very long period of time would mean disruption or destruction, China is the only nation in the world that has uninterruptedly and successfully preserved the long lasting civilization as the heritage of human beings. However, as of the present century, neither of these views can have any support from the events occurred in China. The 20th-century China is in constant change, and the change has been so rapid and so radical that China today has become a "land of madness".

In retrospect, during the second half of the last century, China, confined under the obligation of the unequal treaties, narrowly escaped from being a colony of a foreign power; but it had virtually become a "common market" of all treaty powers under the "open door policy" and the principle of "equal opportunity for all". So much so that foreigners, exotic manufactured goods, alien religions, cultures and education all found their homes in cities throughout the country. Under such
circumstances, the only choice left to China was to change, and only change could be for the better because no state of affairs could be worse than what China had at the time.

For change, social and economic, education is always called upon as a task force. In fact, education and social and economic change are always reciprocally related and they can never be independent from each other. Education can make social and economic change, and the social and economic change can make a new education.

Reluctant as it could be, change took place in China after all, and the change began with education. From 1862 on, military academies, language schools, and technological schools to teach the Chinese the techniques of manufacturing modern armament and modern facilities, were set up one after another. These establishments were expected to produce something which could be used to forestall the belligerent powers because it was believed at the time that the best strategy to fight foreign powers would be "using barbarian means to check barbarians". Unfortunately, in a period of about three decades, the efforts were proved futile as China once more suffered a severe defeat in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).

Against the rising tide of frustration which resulted from the failure of technical modernization, a movement aiming at making an institutional change was then under way. A constitutional monarchical system was planned to replace the Manchu
autocratic monarchical government, but, because of the strong
opposition of the conservatives, the attempt was short-lived.
As a by-product, a new educational system after the Japanese
model was adopted, and it outlived the abortive political
reform movement.

Finally, China, from an empire became a republic as a
result of the political revolution of 1911. Then in 1919, came
a cultural revolution known as the May Fourth Movement, which
aimed to seek a new order of belief and a new way of thinking.
"Democracy" and "science" became the objects of the searching
light in the movement. As a result of these political and
cultural revolutions, a new way of thinking and a new pattern of
behavior began to appear.

Adjustment to reality is always painful. So during the
course of these changes, the conservatives never gave up their
efforts to try to restore the old order. The antagonism between
modernity and tradition could be felt almost in every respect
throughout the country.

On the educational front, there were two battles: intellec-
tualism versus utilitarianism and "indigenous creation"
versus "foreign borrowing". In fact, the function of education
is both intellectual and utilitarian. Education can transmit
national ideal and heritage and provide knowledge for those who
have come for it. It can also be used as a tool for economic
and material purpose. In the primitive societies, for instance,
education was used mainly to teach the young the techniques of food-hunting and tool-making. Even in the well-developed societies today, the teaching of techniques of producing more goods and making more sophisticated tools has almost become a dominant feature of education. A balance between intellectualism and utilitarianism would make a good educational program. In a society like China with a long tradition of humanitarianism, the practical aspect of education is often overridden by that tradition. Whenever an educational program of utilitarian character was introduced, the humanitarian tradition never failed to show its strength to challenge it and often brought the program into jeopardy of losing its function.

The other battle was over the issue of "indigenous creation" or "foreign borrowing". Some of the Chinese educational critics much too often think that the failure of China's new education lies in its foreign origin. A borrowed system may not be so well-fit for the nation as that which is created indigenously. But education-borrowing is not an unfamiliar event in the history of education, and it is in effect a highly advisable practice. Economically speaking, to borrow an educational system from abroad would be less expensive than to create one through the necessary processes of experiment by "trial and error". The quarrel over this subject in China was a result of the confusion of the principle and the techniques of borrowing. In principle, the borrowing of a foreign educational system in China was not
controversial although it never had an unanimous assent. But
the borrowing practice was made by the wrong people in the
wrong way, so that the borrowed system was not able to grow
well and to bear fruit to satisfy China's needs of that time.

The appearance of the rural-mass education movement, in
a sense, might be considered as a triumph of the idea of
"indigenous creation" over that of "foreign borrowing", although
the movement was seasoned with exotic flavors. So the movement
was met with great encouragement and enthusiasm through the
period of its existence. However, its utilitarian character
failed to overcome the reaction of humanitarianism, so that
the status of the movement never received any official recog­
nition. At the National Education Conference in 1928, for
instance, fourteen proposals in connection with the rural-mass
education were brought out, but none of them was passed at the
conference.

By and large, education is indispensable for a nation's
development in whatever respect. The transmission of national
ideal and heritage depends on education; same is the economic
growth of a nation. In setting up a new educational system,
foreign borrowing or indigenous creation is not an issue. The
central problem ought to be what is the best to meet the needs
of the people as well as of the nation. The rural-mass edu­
cation movement in China, with the aim to solve the problems in
the rural areas, was an appropriate response to the educational
needs of the nation at that time. Only due to the leaders' misunderstanding of the real causes of the problems such as poverty, illiteracy, ill-health and misgovernment, the movement missed its target.

However, the preferment of mass education, rural or urban, is a very significant move for the reorientation of educational development. As a matter of fact, no nation like China forty years ago can afford to have an educational system unable to meet its economic and social responsibilities, but able to be a major cause of the wastage of national resources.
Appendix I  The Eight Cardinal Principles of the New Life Movement

(1) Regard yesterday as a period of death, today as a period of life. Let us rid ourselves of old abuses and build up a new nation.

(2) Let us accept the heavy responsibilities of reviving the nation.

(3) We must observe rules and have faith, honesty and shame.

(4) Our clothing, eating, living and travelling must be simple, orderly, plain and clean.

(5) We must willingly face hardships; we must strive for frugality.

(6) We must have adequate knowledge and moral integrity as citizens.

(7) Our actions must be courageous and rapid.

(8) We must act on our promises, or even act without promising.

Appendix II  China's School System

A. Structure of School System (1903)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale:</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>16</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The education of kindergarten designed for four years was to be carried out under the principle of "the union of kindergarten and home".

### Appendix II  China's School System

#### B. Structure of School System (1912)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industrial School B</th>
<th>Industrial School A</th>
<th>Prepara- Normal School</th>
<th>Prepara- Normal University</th>
<th>Graduate School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Scale:**

**Note:** Courses offered by some universities require 7 years to complete.

Appendix II  China's School System

C. Structure of School System (1922)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lower</th>
<th>Higher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L. Middle</td>
<td>H. M. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal School</td>
<td>Graduate School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 or 5 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Scale:

<table>
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<th>12</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>22</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td>7 8 9 10 11 12</td>
<td>13 14 15 16</td>
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</tr>
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Appendix II  China's School System

D. Structure of School System (1928)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Higher</th>
<th>Professional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.Middle</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.Middle</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Scale:

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<th>12</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>22</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade</td>
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<td>2 3</td>
<td>4 5 6</td>
<td>7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Appendix III Curriculum
A. 1913

Subjects for Lower Elementary Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1st Year</th>
<th>2nd Year</th>
<th>3rd Year</th>
<th>4th Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moral Instruction</td>
<td>2 (hour)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Language</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical &amp; Arts Education</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total hours per week</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
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</table>

Subjects for Higher Elementary Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1st Year</th>
<th>2nd Year</th>
<th>3rd Year</th>
<th>4th Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moral Instruction</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Language</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese History &amp; Geography</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Studies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical &amp; Arts Education</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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Subjects for Middle Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1st Year</th>
<th>2nd Year</th>
<th>3rd Year</th>
<th>4th Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Literature</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foreign Languages</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural History</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics &amp; Chemistry</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civics &amp; Economics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total hours per week</td>
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Appendix III Curriculum
B. 1923 (I)

Subjects for Elementary Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1st &amp; 2nd</th>
<th>3rd &amp; 4th</th>
<th>5th &amp; 6th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>324 (minutes)</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Studies</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Arts</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine Arts</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of minutes per week</td>
<td>1079</td>
<td>1260</td>
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Subjects for Junior Middle Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Credits*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foreign Language</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civics</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Studies</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiology</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>164</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* One semester hour which has a fifty-minute period per week makes one credit.

Appendix III  Curriculum  
C. 1923 (II)

General Subjects for Both Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Credits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Language &amp; Literature</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Language</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy of Life</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Problems</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural History</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introductory Science</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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Subjects of Concentration A (humanities)

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<th>Credits</th>
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<td>Chinese Literature</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logic</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Science or Mathematics</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electives</td>
<td>62</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>86</strong></td>
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</table>

Subjects of Concentration B (science)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Credits</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trigonometry</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Geometry</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Algebra</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analytic Geometry</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical Drawing</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics, Chemistry, Biology (any two)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electives</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>86</strong></td>
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</table>

The electives included: domestic science, library science, journalism, secretarial works, accounting and statistics, and assistants to business administration.

Source: Ibid.
Appendix III  Curriculum  
D. 1929

Subjects for Elementary Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1st &amp; 2nd</th>
<th>3rd &amp; 4th</th>
<th>5th &amp; 6th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Min Chu I</td>
<td>30 (minutes)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>90</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Studies</td>
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<td>120</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>180</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manual Work</td>
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<td>180</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
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<td>90</td>
<td>90</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>180</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>1320</td>
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(The column under the year shows the number of minutes per week of the classroom work in each subject.)

Subjects for Junior Middle Schools

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Credits</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Min Chu I</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Language &amp; Literature</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Language</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.4</td>
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<td>Geography</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Studies</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiology &amp; Personal Hygiene</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manual Work</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vocational Subjects</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>190</td>
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Subjects for Senior Middle Schools

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<th>Credits</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Min Chu I</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Language</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese History</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign History</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Geography</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
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<td>5.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
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<td>5.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Military Training</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selectives</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ibid.
Appendix IV  Four Types of Education Through Three Channels  
A. Four Types of Education

(1) Cultural Education  
**Aims**
To cultivate interest in Chinese literature and arts
To rediscover "the soul of the race"

**Contents**
People's literature
People's arts
Chinese history
Radio broadcasting

(2) Economic Education  
**Aims**
To promote the people's productivity
To diffuse economic knowledge
To train cooperative activities
To improve people's economic life

**Contents**
Agriculture
Village industries
Cooperative societies
Animal husbandry

(3) Health Education  
**Aims**
To give general health knowledge
To form individual health habits
To improve the environmental cleanliness

**Contents**
Vital statistics
Smallpox vaccination
First aid
Midwife training
Epidemic control
Aims

(4) Civic Education

To train the ability of self-government
To form the law-abiding habit
To train the public-mindedness
To strengthen national consciousness

Contents

Rural self-government
China's historical personalities
Athletic contest
Recreational activities
### Appendix IV  Four Types of Education Through Three Channels

#### B. Three Channels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village Experimental School</td>
<td>Children Education (under the age of 14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Township Experimental School</td>
<td>Youth Education (14-25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subcounty Experimental School</td>
<td>Adult Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's School (two hours everyday)</td>
<td>Advanced People's School (two hours everyday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make-up classes</td>
<td>Agriculture training class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home economics class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health training class</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural activity class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Citizenship class</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alumni Associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mobile libraries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dramatic clubs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wall newspapers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Housewives club</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Youth corps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girls club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Model home demonstration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** James Y. C. Yen, Tinghsien Experiment 1930-1931.
Appendix V  The By-laws of Tinghsien People’s School Alumni Association

(1) Every graduate of the People’s School in this village is a member of the Association. Those who are 16 years or above of age are adult members; those who are under 16 are youth members.

(2) Every member of this Association must respect and love each other, and must help the villagers in as many ways as he can. No one should offend others or help others to offend someone else.

(3) The village committee is to be organized by 3 to 7 members who are elected by the general meeting of the village Association. The committee members elect one member from among them as the head of the committee.

(4) The head of the committee as well as its members must be active farmers.

(5) The head of the committee as well as its members should respect other's opinion and work for others.

(6) The village committee holds its meeting once a month. When necessary, the head of the committee has the authority to call a special meeting.

(7) The general meeting of the village Association is to be held once a season. When necessary, the village committee has the authority to call a special meeting.

(8) The term of the village committee member is one year.

(9) The funds of the Association are to be contributed by the members and the village.

(10) Those who attended but not completed the courses of the People's School can be associated members. The associated members may help the regular members to carry out the programs of the village Association, but have no right to vote.

(11) The village Association may invite the rural workers who are interested in education and the scholars in the village to be advisors to the Association.

(12) This by-law will become effective immediately after the approval of the Chinese National Association of Mass Education Movement.

Appendix VI  Headquarters Organization of Tinghsien Experiment
A. 1930-1932

Appendix VI  Headquarters Organization of Tinghsien Experiment  
B. 1932-1937

**Director General**

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**Six-year Plan Committee**

- Subhsien Committee
- Village Committee

**Research Committee**

- Rural Economic Research Committee
- Drama Research Committee
- Educational Psychology Research

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**Business Management**

- Controller Office
- General Affairs
- Office of Secretary
- Statistics

Source: K'ung Hsueh-hsiung, Chung-kuo chin-jih nung-ts'un yun-tung (The rural reconstruction movement in China today), Nanking: Hungshan Cultural and Education Institute, p. 100, 1935.
Appendix VII  Tao's Educational Creed

(1) We believe that education is a long term and basic enterprise of a nation.

(2) " " " life is the core of education.

(3) " " " health is the first important thing in life, so is it in education.

(4) " " " education is to bring forth vitality and to propel students upward.

(5) " " " education must be able to convert obstacles that it confronts into a constructive force.

(6) " " " the union of teaching, learning and doing is the best method.

(7) " " " the best and the most meaningful education is that teacher and student have a collective life, and share prosperity and adversity with each other.

(8) " " " teacher should set up a good example for students.

(9) " " " one who never feels tired of learning will never feel tired of teaching.

(10) " " " teacher should know how to make use of problems to develop his thinking and his enduring ability.

(11) " " " a teacher must be a good friend of the common people.

(12) " " " village school is the center for rural community improvement.

(13) " " " a rural teacher is the soul of rural improvement programs.

(14) " " " a rural teacher must have a farmer's strong body, a scientist's mind, and a social reformer's spirit.

(15) " " " a teacher should know how to use scientific method to control nature, and how to use artistic idea to reform the society.

(16) " " " a teacher must know how to use the least amount of people's money to give the best educational service to them.
(17) We believe that the higher ideal is priceless in life, it can not be bought by money. Therefore it does not depend on money to nourish it, and it should not become low when money becomes short.

(18) " " " if every teacher in China can sincerely devote his life to the education of the young people, then China will begin to have a new life and a new hope.

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