

**CHALLENGING REALITY THROUGH IDEALISM:  
THE RURAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN CHINA,  
1920s — 1940s**

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## DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted previously for examination to any tertiary institution.

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## ABSTRACT

The Rural Education Movement was a reflection of modernity after China was incorporated into the global capitalist system in the early twentieth century. Intellectuals realized that the transition of China, a traditional agricultural country, towards modernity, depended on the degree of enlightenment of the peasants who accounted for the majority of the population and the degree of civilisation of the traditional rural society. Therefore, education scholars tried to establish a modern rural landscape parallel to the urban areas with rural schools which catered to peasants. Observing rural education during this period not only reveals a complex picture of the structure of traditional rural society in early Republican China but also investigates how low-mobility people acquire education under turbulent social conditions. This paper introduces and analyses the background and development process of the Rural Education Movement from a historical perspective. Eventually, the Rural Education Movement failed due to a collapsing economy, social class bias and political strife. However, in other parts of the world, particularly in Southeast Asia, rural education is still playing a role nowadays with a new position in the context of globalisation.

**Keywords:** Rural Education Movement, rural education, education and peasants, enlightenment, Republican China

## Challenging Reality through Idealism: the Rural Education Movement in China, 1920s — 1940s

### Introduction

After the 1911 Revolution, the social environment of China was chaotic and the situations of the underclass, such as peasants, were severe.<sup>1</sup> To help peasants survive in a volatile social environment, intellectuals aspired to improve the quality of education in rural areas. In the 1920s and 1930s, social organizations and communities launched the Rural Reconstruction Movement (*xiangcun jianshe yundong*) in China as a result of the alteration of the political power and the underdevelopment of the agricultural economy.<sup>2</sup> The Rural Reconstruction Movement was essentially an elitist enlightenment movement and aimed to imbue peasants with the core qualities of the “new people (*xinmin*).”<sup>3</sup> The concept of the “new people” (*xinmin shuo*) was proposed by Liang Qichao, a philosopher and a historian.<sup>4</sup> It required that people were urged to put the needs of the nation-state

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Zarrow, “Chinese Press Accounts of the 1911 Revolution: Seeing ‘revolution,’” *China Information* 25, no. 3 (2011): 239–244.

<sup>2</sup> Xianming Wang, “Minguo xiangcun jianshe yundong de lishi zhuanxiang jiqi yuanyin tanxi [Historical Turn and Its Reasons of the Rural Construction Movement in the Republic of China],” *Journal of Historical Science*, no. 1 (2016): 106.

<sup>3</sup> Yu Zhang, “Visual and Theatrical Constructs of a Modern Life in the Countryside: James Yen, Xiong Foxi, and the Rural Reconstruction Movement in Ding County (1920s–1930s),” *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 25, no. 1 (2013): 49.

<sup>4</sup> Theresa Man Ling Lee, “Liang Qichao and the Meaning of Citizenship: Then and Now,” *History of Political Thought* 28, no. 2 (2007): 305.

ahead of their own interests.<sup>5</sup>

The Rural Education Movement (*xiangcun jiaoyu yundong*) was a part of the Rural Reconstruction Movement. In 1919, the education scholar Yu Jiaju initially put forward the concept of rural education in an effort to better integrate rural education and rural social life. He advocated the idea that education should be appropriate for rural life helping both the development of rural society and the advancement of China in general.<sup>6</sup> Other education scholars such as the pioneer of Modern New Confucianism Liang Shuming and the leader of the China Democratic League Tao Xingzhi joined the Rural Education Movement. In contrast to the government compelling people to attend modern schools for compulsory education, these scholars based themselves on the actual circumstances of rural society and thought about how to improve the quality of rural education. Nevertheless, the Rural Education Movement still failed even under the direction of an educational theory that was mostly in line with the needs of rural society.

There are varied perspectives on the causes of the Rural Education Movement's failure. The majority of researchers argued that the causes for the demise of the Rural Education Movement were primarily the underlying, irreconcilable

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<sup>5</sup> Qing Cao, "The Lure of Utopia: Reinterpreting Liang Qichao's *Xinmin Shuo*, 1902 – 1906," in *Utopia and Modernity in China*, ed. by David Margolies and Qing Cao (United Kingdom: Pluto Press, 2022), 25.

<sup>6</sup> Tiehua Qu, "Yujiaju de xiangcun sixiang tanxi [An Analysis into the Ideas of Rural Education of Yu Jiaju]," *Journal of Northeast Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)*, no. 6 (2013): 190.



contradictions between intellectuals and peasants.<sup>7</sup> Some of the researchers who investigated the situation of rural education funding in Republican China concluded that the demise of the movement was mainly caused by the budget deficit.<sup>8</sup> However, the impact of political factors on the Rural Education Movement has received minimal attention from researchers.<sup>9</sup> The Nationalist Party and the Communist Party competed for influence in the 1920s to 1940s. In many political contexts, educators were used to advocate political agendas. This paper discusses, therefore, how the Rural Education Movement got increasingly embroiled in the political strife between the two parties.

In addition, this paper places the Rural Education Movement in its historical context and is partly based on the *China Education Yearbook (Diyici Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*, 1934 version). In order to supplement this official source, this paper also uses literary works as sources. By comparing personal diaries and official sources from the same year, these sources add an innovative perspective to support the argument that the Rural Education Movement's failed because of financial problems. Connecting these different perspectives, this paper will first introduce the historical background of schooling and the general situation of rural society in early republican China. The theoretical foundation of the Rural Education Movement

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<sup>7</sup> Hanguo Zhu and Chaohui Jiang, "Lüelun Minguo shiqi xiangcun jiaoyu zhong de wenhua chongtu [The Cultural Conflict in Rural Education in the Republic of China]," *History Research and Teaching*, no. 2 (2012): 19–24.

<sup>8</sup> Cheng Wang, "Minguo shiqi nongcun jiaoyu jiqi jingfei wenti [Rural Education and Its Funding Problems during the Period of the Republic of China]," *Journal of Chang'an University (Social Science Edition)* 15, no. 1 (2013): 97–103.

<sup>9</sup> Sun Wang, "A Comparative Study of the Social Education of the Central Soviet Area and that of the Rural Education Schools," *Journal of Xinyang Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)*, no. 2 (2007): 121–125.

will be presented in the second part. Subsequently, the lived experiences of pupils will be discussed. The last part will explain the multiple reasons for the movement's failure, such as the sluggish economy, class bias and most importantly political strife.

## 1. Historical Background: Modern Education and the Rural Society

The ideology of the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues had long affected Chinese culture, it provided the basis for a homogenous cultural environment,<sup>10</sup> using ethical codes to educate people in order to strengthen the hierarchical social and political system.<sup>11</sup> Chinese traditional education served the ruling dynasty and, more specifically, provided the supreme ruler who had the position of dominion power with legitimacy. The Chinese imperial examination system had a profound impact on the educational atmosphere as well.<sup>12</sup> Schools appeared in feudal China as preparatory institutions and appendages of the imperial examination system.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the formal education of the peasantry was neglected.

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<sup>10</sup> The three cardinal guides deal with traditional society's most fundamental social relationships: father and son, lord and retainer, and husband and wife. The five constant virtues refer to the Confucian virtues of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness. See Linsun Cheng, Kerry Brown, Winberg Chai, Xiejun Chen, Karen Christensen, Sherman Cochran, Weikang Gu, et al., *Berkshire Encyclopedia of China: The Modern and Historic View of the World's Newest and Oldest Global Power* (Massachusetts: Berkshire Publishing, 2008), 2252.

<sup>11</sup> Zhuran You, A. G. Rud, and Yingzi Hu, "Confucianism's Ascent to State Orthodoxy: The Philosophy of Moral Education in the Western Han Dynasty," in *The Philosophy of Chinese Moral Education: A History*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 105.

<sup>12</sup> The imperial examination system was used to choose the empire's officials in dynastic China. It was the world's first merit-based examination system, dating back over 2000 years to the Han dynasty (206 BCE to 220 CE). See Barry O'Sullivan, and Liying Cheng, "Lessons from the Chinese Imperial Examination System," *Language Testing in Asia* 12, no. 1 (2022): 1.

<sup>13</sup> Mingyuan Gu, "Lun Zhongguo chuantong wenhua dui Zhongguo jiaoyu de yingxiang [An Analysis of the Impact of Chinese Traditional Culture on Chinese Education]," *Journal of Hangzhou Normal University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, no.1 (2004): 5.

In 1912, the Republic of China was founded. The new educational paradigm was declared by the Ministry of Education in September of the same year. It required that schools should focus on moral education by using aesthetic education to nurture students' moral character. Practical and national education were also placed in the same important position.<sup>14</sup> Modern schools that took examples from the Western educational system were starting to sprout up in China as the educational philosophy changed. At this time, Beijing, as the administrative center of the Republic of China, was the first to adapt a modern city system and saw a growth of modern schools. Beijing's modern elementary schools were divided into lower schools and upper schools.<sup>15</sup> The former was managed at the township-level administration, and it required four years of study. The latter was managed by county-level administration. Students had to complete the first four years' courses before they could continue to the last three years' courses. Such a school system was referred known as the "four-three system."<sup>16</sup> At modern elementary schools, the bulk of the lessons were taught in the standard vernacular, and the textbooks were also written in the standard vernacular. The schools provided many courses, such as Chinese, arithmetic, music, arts, gymnastics and so on. In addition, sewing lessons were provided to girls.<sup>17</sup> This was a typical education for the urban privileged.

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<sup>14</sup> Shixiong Tang and Qiding Yu, *Beijing jiaoyu shi [History of Education in Beijing]* (Beijing: Xueyuan Publishing House, 2011), 371.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 377.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 378.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 372.

China's rural areas had a vastly different condition of education from its urban areas in the 1920s. Large numbers of people in the countryside were illiterate or only partially literate. Few villagers supported the idea of modern education when the central government began constructing modern schools in the cities and sought to impose them forcibly on the countryside, because the majority of villagers were unaware of modern schools and the new educational philosophy. Besides, the content of modern education did not meet the actual requirements of rural areas. The traditional private schools (*sishu*) won more students in the rural environment than modern schools.<sup>18</sup> It was different from modern schools in terms of curriculum, teaching methods and assessment standards. Private school was the center of cultural activities in the rural community,<sup>19</sup> focusing on the inheritance of traditional social customs and etiquette norms.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, it was challenging for rural pupils to enroll in secondary schools which were concentrated in the city after graduating from the private schools. The education scholar, Yu Jiaju (1898–1976) was concerned about this issue. He wrote an article entitled *The Problem of Rural Education* in 1919. This was the first time the concept of rural education was explicitly exposed in China.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Lina Liu, "Minguo shiqi xiangcun xiaoxue yu sishu de boyi (1912–1937) — yi Anhui wei zhongxin de kaocha [The Competition between Rural Primary Schools and Private Schools in the Republic of China (1912–1937) — An Investigation in Anhui Province]," *Journal of Anhui Normal University (Hum. & Soc. Sci.)* 49, no. 4 (2021): 153–154.

<sup>19</sup> Xianming Wang, "Lun 20 shiji chuye Zhongguo xiangjian sishu de wenhua diwei [On the Cultural Status of the Villager's Old-style School in the Early 20th Century]," *Journal of Zhejiang University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, no. 1 (2005), 18.

<sup>20</sup> Baiyang Liu, "Qingmo minguo shiqi sishu dui yiwu jiaoyu de zuoyong fenxi [On the Roles of the Old-style Private School to the Compulsory Education at the Beginning of the 20th Century]," *Journal of Jiangxi Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)*, no. 5 (2008), 116.

<sup>21</sup> Haiman Sun, "Yujiaju xiangcun jiaoyu sixiang de xiandai qishi [The Contemporary Enlightenment of Yu Jiaju's Rural Education Thought]," *Journal of the College of Northwest Adult Education*, no. 4 (2019): 55.

“I often think that education is nonexistent in rural areas. Education is a commodity from the city and an exclusive possession of the elite group. Isn’t the fact that education is concentrated in urban areas a social symptom? Isn’t class being established by concentrating primarily on urban education? Shouldn’t these things be on the minds of educators and egalitarian activists? I venture to say that our cultural movement is lifeless and partial now. Although it is a necessary phenomenon in the period of social transition, we should not accept it and should not let it continue. We ought to work toward a rural cultural movement. It is namely the Rural Education Movement.”<sup>22</sup>

China had a sizable rural population base, which was significantly more than the urban population. However, resources in cities were better than those in rural areas. The economic gap acted as a barrier between the city and the countryside. The imbalance of educational resources would keep or even extend the gap in socioeconomic development and expand the intergenerational transmission of poverty. Ignoring the role of education in rural areas would worsen the economic gap between urban and rural areas, which was negative for social long-term development.

For a long time, the countryside was depicted as the antithesis of modernity, with the city representing the modernization process.<sup>23</sup> The challenge for education scholars

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<sup>22</sup> Zixia Yu and Gang Zheng, *Zhongguo jindai sixiangjia wenku Yu Jiaju juan* [The Volume of Yu Jiaju: The Library of Modern Chinese Ideologists] (Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 2015), 31.

<sup>23</sup> Catharine Biddle, and Amy Price Azano, “Constructing and Reconstructing the ‘Rural School Problem’: A Century of Rural Education Research,” *Review of Research in Education* 40, no. 1 (2016): 314.

was to figure out how to adopt a more equitable measure between the two. Thus, education scholars attempted to provide new schooling which was more suitable for rural society. Liang Shuming (1893–1988), was a pioneer of Modern New Confucianism.<sup>24</sup> As the inclusivity that New Confucianism proposed, Liang wished for education to be available to all. So he resigned from his professorship at Peking University in 1924 and established a special rural school in Shandong province in 1931. It was called Xiangnong School, which meant a school belonging to peasants and villagers.<sup>25</sup> It was a comprehensive institution and made improvements to the modern school. Programs including evening classes, literacy classes, adult classes, and women's classes for diverse public groups were offered in Xiangnong School, and it also provided various teaching modalities and times for persons at different learning levels. The teaching content included both contemporary scientific knowledge and democratic ideas as well as traditional ethical principles. Xiangnong School devoted extra attention to whether students could use their theoretical knowledge practically given that the majority of them were peasants. At schools, students were taught about subjects including agriculture, accounting, medicine, and hygiene which could not be taken in urban education.<sup>26</sup> The interaction between education and rural culture led to the creation of the Rural Education Movement.

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<sup>24</sup> Modern New Confucianism is not only a term in the field of philosophy and religion, but also an open discourse system. It maintains a positive attitude toward life and the spirit of engaging in a society of traditional Confucianism, while discarding its exclusivity. See Forkan Ali, "Connecting East and West through Modern Confucian Thought: Re-Reading 20th Century Taiwanese Philosophy," *Azijske študije* 8, no. 3 (2020): 63–70.

<sup>25</sup> Peikuan Liang and Zongyu Wang, *Zhongguo jindai sixiangjia wenku Liang Shuming juan [The Volume of Liang Shuming: The Library of Modern Chinese Ideologists]* (Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 2015), 426.

<sup>26</sup> Feng Wei, "Wenhua renleixue shijiao xia Minguo shiqi de xiangcun jianshe yu xiangcun jiaoyu: yi Yan Yangchu, Tao Xingzhi, Liang Shuming weili [Rural Construction and Rural Education during the Republic of China in the View of Cultural Anthropology: Case Study of Yan Yangchu, Tao Xingzhi and Liang Shuming]," *Research in Educational Development* 42, no. 18 (2022), 66.

Education scholars initially rejected all political and ideological involvement and sought to explore a new educational paradigm based on the actual circumstances of rural society.

## 2. The Concept of Rural Education

In addition to the aforementioned educational scholars (Yu and Liang), Tao Xingzhi and Yan Yangchu were two other key promoters of the Rural Education Movement. Tao Xingzhi (1891–1945) was an educator whose main idea was to transform the scientific knowledge that before had only been available to the elite into a social resource that could be accessed by the general public.<sup>27</sup> He expressed his opinions on rural education in August 1924 when he stated that “what peasants need most right now are self-sufficiency, self-governance, and self-defense.”<sup>28</sup> He also discussed the value of rural education and emphasized education reform as the cornerstone of social improvement, stating the following:

“If you want to improve society, it is impossible to meliorate human morality without focusing on education. It is not a complete reform of society if you cannot meliorate human morality. In the same way, education is an act devoid of

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<sup>27</sup> Guoyan Wang and Lingfei Wang, “Tao Xingzhi and the ‘Marrying Science with the Public’ Movement in China,” *International journal of science education. Part B. Communication and public engagement* 10, no. 2 (2020): 127.

<sup>28</sup> Zach Smith, “From ‘Bookworms’ to ‘Scholar-Farmers’: Tao Xingzhi and Changing Understandings of Literacy in the Chinese Rural Reconstruction Movement, 1923–34,” in *The Edinburgh History of Reading*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 246.

meaning and purpose if its goal is not to improve society. Consequently, teachers are the leaders of social improvement, and education is a social improvement... A rural school will become the center of each village's development if excellent teachers are working here. The development of rural education can then continue following the foundation of normal schools. The rural civilisation will undoubtedly improve within ten years. This, in my opinion, is crucial for both education and raising the standard of living in rural areas.”<sup>29</sup>

In 1927, he established the Xiaozhuang School in Jiangsu province after designing a teaching plan focusing on rural living from the actual circumstances in the countryside. The bulk of the pupils at the school was from low-income households who had very few opportunities to attend school, which disadvantaged their families constantly.<sup>30</sup> Thus, Tao did not want to impart knowledge through the use of standard textbooks and traditional teaching methods. He proposed a new theory of “life is education” based on John Dewey’s theory that “education is life itself.”<sup>31</sup> Because John Dewey visited China in 1919 since then he became a big figure in influencing the Chinese educational concept from the 1910s to 1920s. Knowledge from Xiaozhuang School contained anti-traditional connotations. Books were no longer the only source of knowledge. The value of practice was equal to or even more important

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<sup>29</sup> Xingzhi Tao, “Difang jiaoyu yu xiangcun gaizao [Local Education and Rural Construction],” *Teaching management and teaching research* 4, no. 5 (2019): 5.

<sup>30</sup> Xingzhi Tao, Yinghui Xu, and Zhihui Xu, *Tao Xingzhi lun xiangcun jiaoyu [Tao Xingzhi on Rural education]* (Chengdu: Sichuan Education Press, 2010): 18.

<sup>31</sup> Jing Qi, Catherine Manathunga, Michael Singh, and Tracey Bunda, “Micro Histories of Intercultural Knowledge Exchange: Tao Xingzhi’s Educational Poetry,” *History of Education Review* 48, no. 1 (2019): 8.



than that of theory. Tao argued:

“Our school’s educational methodology consists of teaching, learning, and practicing. Education is the acquisition of knowledge via experience. Our lessons are all learned in real life and real life mirrors our lessons. Every morning at five, we have a ten to fifteen minutes meeting to schedule our daily tasks. The pupils would engage in martial arts after the meeting. We engage in martial arts because there is no gymnastics lesson at our school. Reading takes up most of the pupils’ morning. They may choose the books which fit their interest to read or accept the books from teachers’ recommendations. In the afternoon, students can work on farms and learn how to make simple devices. In the evening, students are advised to take notes or keep diaries. The school also provides evening classes to villagers. This is the general situation of our school.”<sup>32</sup>

Xiaozhuang School clearly deviated from the modern school’s paradigm. It did not have a uniform system of teaching, nor did it strictly adhere to the instructional materials. It encouraged students to engage with life and reality, to observe the entire human society — flowers, birds, trees, and other things. All of the natural objects were regarded as textbooks. Depending on the real requirements of the rural community, they would study literature in the morning and perform farm work in the afternoon. Students gained knowledge in a variety of works during this process,

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<sup>32</sup> Xingzhi Tao, *Tao Xingzhi quanji di'er juan* [Complete Works of Tao Xingzhi, Volume 2] (Chengdu: Sichuan Education Press, 2010), 289.

including farming, home maintenance, poultry husbandry and so on. Learn about healthcare and other subjects apart from these agronomic ones.<sup>33</sup> In a word, Xiaozhuang School embraced the theory that “life is education” and that students gained knowledge through practice.

Yan Yangchu (1890–1990) investigated the reasons for the backwardness of rural areas. He launched the Mass Education Movement in the 1920s and spent his whole life fighting for equal access to education for peasants.<sup>34</sup> He encapsulated the causes of rural backwardness in four words: ignorance, poverty, frailty, and selfishness.<sup>35</sup> First, he deplored that the great majority of Chinese peasants were illiterate, that was unfamiliar with Chinese characters, and therefore did not comprehend the principles of knowledge. The second issue was the precarious state of rural China. The collapse of the rural economy was brought on by years of war, high taxes, and frequent famine disasters.<sup>36</sup> The financial situation of peasant families continued to deteriorate. The next issue was frailty. Consider the case of Ding Xian in Hebei province, where Yan undertook rural education initiatives. In 1929, up to 25% of people with

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<sup>33</sup> Shuguang Huang, “Tao Xingzhi de xuexiao biange tansuo yu ‘shenghuo jiaoyu’ lilun jigou [Tao Xingzhi’s Exploration of School Reform and the Theoretical Construction of “Life Education],” *Journal of Sichuan Normal University (Social Sciences Edition)* 49, no. 3 (2022): 108.

<sup>34</sup> The Mass Education Movement 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 it was also an attempt to combine the literacy programs of mass education with the life-improvement programs of rural reconstruction. See Hsiang-Po Lee, “Rural-Mass Education Movement in China, 1923–1937” (PhD Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1970), 1.

<sup>35</sup> Tiehua Qu, “Minguo shiqi xiangcun jiaoyu de jiben jingyan yu lishi juxian [The Fundamental Experience and Historical Limitation of Rural Education in the Republic of China],” *Educational History Studies* 3, no. 1 (2021): 82.

<sup>36</sup> Youwei Weng, “Minguo shiqi de nongcun yu nongmin (1927–1937) — yi fushui yu zaihuang wei yanjiu shijiao [Villages and Peasants in the Nationalists Period (1927–1937): From the Viewpoint of Taxes and Natural Disasters],” *Social Sciences in China*, no. 7 (2018): 194.

gastrointestinal disease passed away.<sup>37</sup> The government lacked the finances to invest in the development of rural healthcare facilities because of the meltdown of the national economy, which left peasants generally weak. Finally, it should be highlighted that the word “selfishness” related to the fact that it was challenging to collaborate with peasants, not selfish in character. Due to the lack of education, peasants had not yet developed a sense of national identity, which resulted in the apparent exclusivity of their mode of thinking.

Yan created four education methods to solve these four issues — literature and art education, practical education, hygiene education and civic education. Literature and art education helped individuals create a system of knowledge to obliterate ignorance. Agriculture and craft were covered in practical education. Possessing skill mastery could effectively boost peasant families’ output, hastening their transition out of destitution. Hygiene education included the introduction of medical information. It promoted good hygienic practices and improved people’s physical health. The collective consciousness was spread by intellectuals through civic education. Peasants who received civil education regularly demonstrated improved interpersonal relationships and a stronger feeling of cooperation. In terms of teaching content, the way of education that Yan supported was the most similar to the modern school.<sup>38</sup> All in all, the circumstances of rural education were determined by whether the rural

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<sup>37</sup> Jinghan Li, *Dingxian shehui gaikuang diaocha [Ting Hsien: A Social Survey]* (Beijing: National Association of the Mass Education Movement, 1933), 346.

<sup>38</sup> Huirong Zhang, Jingyu Wu, and Yuxuan Song, “Jiaoyu funeng xiangcun zhenxing de luoji kuangjia yu shijian luxiang — jiyu Yan Yangchu xiangcun gaizao lilun de qishi [Logical Framework and Practical Direction of Rural Revitalization Enabled by Education: Based on the Enlightenment of Yan Yangchu’s Theory of Rural Construction],” *Journal of Southwest University (Social Sciences Edition)* 48, no. 6 (2022): 166–167.

residents and their traditional cultural values were treated with the utmost respect and the acknowledgment and the rights of rural residents to participate.<sup>39</sup>

### 3. The Situation of Rural Elementary Schools Seen Through Students' Diaries

The Rural Education Movement can also be captured through children's perspectives. The world we live in today was made up of many different cultures, especially when it comes to children's perceptions.<sup>40</sup> Dion Sommer gives a definition of children's perspectives that considers the child as a subject in his or her own world.<sup>41</sup> Historical information or details that have otherwise been missed probably be discovered through children's perspectives. Historical sources show what occurred in the past and the literature describes what might have happened.<sup>42</sup> The depiction of what might have happened in autobiographical literature included elements of fabrication and imagination. Diaries do not fully prove the actual circumstance of rural elementary schools. The diaries mentioned in this section are therefore supplementary to the historical sources rather than a replacement.

In Zhejiang province, there was a former Ming ancient city that was constructed to

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<sup>39</sup> Jing Rao and Jingzhong Ye, "From a Virtuous Cycle of Rural-urban Education to Urban-oriented Rural Basic Education In China: An Explanation of the Failure of China's Rural School Mapping Adjustment Policy," *Journal of rural studies* 47 (2016): 610.

<sup>40</sup> Dion Sommer, Ingrid. Pramling Samuelsson, and Karsten Hundeide, *Child Perspectives and Children's Perspectives in Theory and Practice* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010), 20.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>42</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Zhongmei Chen (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1996), 81.

defend itself from external invaders. On top of the extensive ancient city relic, the Fenghua East District School was established in 1931. This rural school had a 1.7-acre expanse and teachers built a farm adjacent to the school because of the vast space. Students alternated working on the farm after class. They grew fruit trees, bamboo shoots, melons and beans. Even when the sun was burning their skin in May or June, they continued to work while perspiring. They gathered beneath the tree to chat once they finished their work, picking juicy peaches and plums to eat, with a soft summer breeze blew away the tiredness of a half-day. In their free time, they climbed over the hill behind the school and went a few kilometers to the shore. Students sometimes carried little canvas bags to the shore and splashed about in the water.<sup>43</sup> Zhou Jianzhong, a thirteen years old boy, was educated and grew up at this rural school.

Zhou Jianzhong provided a literary description of the school's farm in his diary, Cheng Guoxin and Hang Maoxiang, two other students, mentioned the school farm as well. "We have a farm. It is time to sow the seeds now... Each person took turns taking care of the vegetable gardens before the fence was properly built. The teacher asked everyone from home to bring materials like straw, timber piles and licorice."<sup>44</sup> "The entire vegetable garden was dug up, and the seeds were sown. A few days later, the seeds started to germinate."<sup>45</sup> These words were written in 1933 and 1934. It is

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<sup>43</sup> Peiyong Wu, Jianzhong Zhou, Guoxin Cheng, Maoxiang Hang, and Fuhua Cha, *Minguo xiangcun xiaoxuesheng de riji* [Diaries of Rural Pupils in the Republic of China] (Beijing: Sino-Culture Press, 2012), 6, 15.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 88.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 111.

plausible to believe that the majority of the rural elementary schools owned farms where pupils could perform labor because the three students respectively came from two elementary schools and two provinces.

However, the situation of rural elementary schools was not all as optimistic as they portrayed. The lack of school funding was a topic that was mentioned many times by boys. “Today, I heard teachers mention that we were racking up debt. The school board solicited donations from each villager to sustain the school.”<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, schools in worse financial straits not only relied on donations from villagers but also required students to work to support them. “We must pay the school half of the proceeds from the crops we sold for construction expenditures... As our school was in need, everyone had a duty to contribute.” The financial situation for elementary education in 1930, the year when the diary was written, was not promising. The revenue was negative whether in kindergartens, lower schools, or upper schools.<sup>47</sup> And the government began to implement the hierarchical administration in the allocation of education funds in the same year.<sup>48</sup> Education funding was distributed at the township level by the county level. The funding from the central government was not directly distributed to the rural schools, so it was unknown how much funding the rural schools would receive actually from the central government.

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 43.

<sup>47</sup> Ministry of Education, *Diyici Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian* [China Education Yearbook] (Shanghai: Kaiming Bookstore, 1934), 1656.

<sup>48</sup> Yuanlong Zhang, “Minguo jiaoyu jingfei zhidu shulun [On the Educational Funding System of the Republic of China],” *Historical Research in Anhui*, no. 4 (1996): 66.

Table 1

Item	Categories	Kindergartens	Elementary schools		Others
			Lower schools	Upper schools	
Fund	Income	461,648.00	55,553,316.54	27,672,047.56	443,942.00
	Expenditure	468,329.00	57,580,491.30	23,331,750.08	447,812.00
	Gains	-6,681.00	-2,027,177.76	-659,702.52	-3,870

Currency unit: yuan

Financial summary of national primary education (1930)

Further information regarding rural schooling could be found in the diary of a girl from the same period. Cha Fuhua wrote down descriptions like “gusts of wind,” “drops of rain day by day,” “either rain or snow” and other bad weather in the diary from her winter vacation of 1931.<sup>49</sup> In the same year, eight provinces were devastated by floods, including Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui. More than 320 thousand square kilometers were hit by this natural adversity.<sup>50</sup> Inadequate infrastructure in rural areas limited the ability of villagers to withstand calamities. Natural catastrophes were frequent in the 1930s so villagers were busy with post-disaster reconstruction and there was no more energy to put into education, which put rural education to a rigorous test. The diaries implied that hidden risks of the Rural Education Movement included a lack of funding for rural elementary schools and a high frequency of natural disasters, which worsen the situation. Overall, pupils’ diaries provide an

<sup>49</sup> Peiyong Wu, Jianzhong Zhou, Guoxin Cheng, Maoxiang Hang, and Fuhua Cha, *Minguo xiangcun xiaoxuesheng de riji* [Diaries of Rural Pupils in the Republic of China] (Beijing: Sino-Culture Press, 2012), 146–147.

<sup>50</sup> Zhaohua Meng, *Zhongguo zaihuang shiji* [History of Disaster and Famine in China] (Beijing: China Social Press, 1999), 734.

additional way to understand the Rural Education Movement.

#### 4. Reasons for the Failure of the Rural Education Movement

In Republican China, there was an issue with how to integrate modern education into rural culture and how to make rural education a cultural power that fostered the growth of rural society. The failure of the Rural Education Movement was attributed to three factors: a sluggish economy, class bias, and volatile relationships between the parties.

When the Nationalist government came into power in 1912, it declared that it would acknowledge all of the late Qing Dynasty's and the Beijing government's external debt. But the government was unable to pay its debts because of the urgent fiscal crisis. The solution they found was increasing taxes on peasants to increase the gross national income. As a result, the average land value tax for the paddy field was increased from 1.69% to 2.39%.<sup>51</sup> To make matters worse, the government of early Republican China maintained the late Qing Dynasty's fund-raising school system as the source of finances for rural education. Villagers could not donate to the rural school due to the high taxes and everyday living expenses. Therefore, rural education did not receive donations from peasants or adequate government funding. Meanwhile,

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<sup>51</sup> Wenzhi Li and Youyi Zhang, *Zhongguo jindai nongyeshi ziliao disan ji* [Historical Data of Agriculture in Modern China, Volume 3] (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1957), 13.



the government did not provide rural education extra funding. The table below demonstrates that the maximum monthly remuneration for a principal in a rural elementary school did not even exceed 50 yuan.<sup>52</sup> The salary of an ordinary teacher would be lower and only allowed this to be a poor condition.

Table 2

Categories of schools	Levels of principals	Monthly salary
Lower schools	First level	36.00–44.00 yuan
	Second level	32.00–40.00 yuan
	Third level	28.00–36.00 yuan
Upper schools	First level	34.00–42.00 yuan
	Second level	30.00–38.00 yuan
	Third level	26.00–34.00 yuan

The monthly salary standard of rural primary school principals

Rural education was also challenging from a cultural standpoint. For a very long time, the peasant population had been under the control of the groups of Chinese literati and it still impacted Republican China since they participated in the actual administration of the affairs of the people. The long-standing disparity between the two classes was to blame for the creation of class bias. The goal of rural education was to correct the educational system's imbalance so that rural areas and peasants experienced renewed energy. Nonetheless, it should be acknowledged that there would inevitably be covert

<sup>52</sup> Chengfeng Xia, *Xiandai jiaoyu xingzheng [Modern Educational Administration]* (Shanghai: Zhonghua Book Company, 1936), 120.

discrimination from the hierarchy when the movement was put into action. For example, Yan's four main rural problems of ignorance, poverty, frailty, and selfishness showed how the intellectual elite considered themselves superior because of their monopoly over certain knowledge. Peasants and rural areas could be objectively described in terms of poverty, frailty, and selfishness, yet it was wrong to determine an individual's intelligence only based on the quantity of knowledge they learned. For example, differentiating between rice and wheat was intuitive to those who lived in rural areas. In contrast, city residents were much less knowledgeable about crops than their rural residents. Could this be used to mean that city residents were less intelligent than rural residents? Knowledge did not solely come through words and peasants could influence social reality without using words. As Paulo Freire wrote that they have the ability to transcend the constituting reality and question it.<sup>53</sup>

Historical texts from the same era demonstrated that these prejudices were not uncommon. Li Dazhao, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party,<sup>54</sup> frequently referred to “enlighten them (peasants),” “guide them to tell of hardship, help them to get rid of ignorance,” and “they labored like buffaloes and horses” in his article *Villages and Youth*.<sup>55</sup> The intellectuals forced the identity of “waiting to be enlightened” upon the peasants. In this way of thinking, peasants were ignorant in

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<sup>53</sup> Paulo Freire and Donaldo P. Macedo, *Literacy: Reading the Word & the World* (London: Routledge and Kegan Hall, 1987), 48–49.

<sup>54</sup> Rulun Zhang, “Historiography and Chinese Modernity — A Study of the Historiographical Ideas of Li Dazhao,” *Chinese studies in history* 49, no. 2 (2016): 80.

<sup>55</sup> Dazhao Li, *Li Daozhao wenji shang* [*The Anthology of Li Dazhao, the second volume*] (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1984), 648.

their subconsciousness because they could not read, such an educational approach would exacerbate the self-deprecation problem among peasants and aggravate the atmosphere of rural education.<sup>56</sup> However, peasants were not necessarily unintelligent just because they were illiterate in reading or writing. Peasants interacted often with one another and lived in a constant rural community. For them, the ability to utilise words went beyond what the rural community required.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, teachers who were employed by rural schools at that time even included returnees from overseas studies and doctoral students. Studies showed that humans were all impacted by place identities and the geographical, social, and cultural contexts in which they were formed.<sup>58</sup> Teachers' identities would create an arrogant attitude toward the peasants even though they were not intended. In summary, the reality of rural education was that some peasants did not actively engage in it due to covert class bias.

Pierre Bourdieu stated, the educational system shapes or reinforces a society's educational strata. Through its cultural content and spirit, and teaching methods, the education system molded both the educated population and the organizations involved in teaching.<sup>59</sup> The education system, which was created by the government or authority, had an impact on both the groups of teaching and the educated individuals.

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<sup>56</sup> Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Continuum, 1993), 46.

<sup>57</sup> Xiaotong Fei, *Xiangtu Zhongguo [From the Soil]* (Beijing: Beijing Publishing House, 2005), 19.

<sup>58</sup> Amy Price Azano, and Trevor Thomas Stewart, "Confronting Challenges at the Intersection of Rurality, Place, and Teacher Preparation: Improving Efforts in Teacher Education to Staff Rural Schools," *Global education review* 3, no. 1 (2016): 120.

<sup>59</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, "Systems of Education and Systems of Thought," in *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, ed. Michael F. D. Young (London: Collier Macmillan, 1971), 205.

Politics, education, and civilians were interconnected in a circle. The government or authority utilised their power of speech to sway the public to support their rule. When the initial attempt at collaboration between the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party failed in 1927, the Communist Party communicated with the proponents of rural education to boost its political support in rural areas.<sup>60</sup> Liang, Tao, and Yan were aware of the mutual influence of politics and education. They did not view rural education as a political negotiating tool and stayed politically independent. Nonetheless, political forces in 1930 severely repressed rural education. Some students of Xiaozhuang School were involved in the strike of the workers of the International Export Company (He Ji), so Tao was wanted and the Xiaozhuang School was closed by the Nationalist Party.<sup>61</sup>

Yan still insisted on implementing rural education independently. He issued such statements as “we do not rely on the power of any government” and “the Chinese National Association for the Promotion of Commoners’ Education (zhonghua pingmin jiaoyu cujinhui)<sup>62</sup> should maintain its independent, non-partisan, and academic freedom.”<sup>63</sup> He did, however, realize in the 1940s that it was challenging to

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<sup>60</sup> Yuanzheng Qiao and Tengfei Tian, “Zhongguo gongchandang geming de wenchuang: Minguo shiqi xiangcun shifan xuexiao de shehui wenhua kaocha [The Hotbed of the Rural Revolution of the Communist Party of China: A Study on the Social Culture of Rural Normal Schools in the Period of the Republic of China],” *Theory and Practice of Education* 41, no. 28 (2021): 20–22.

<sup>61</sup> Chunde Miao, *Zhongguo jindai xiangcun jiaoyushi [History of Rural Education in Modern China]* (Beijing: People’s Education Press, 2004) 132.

<sup>62</sup> The primary purpose of the association was to provide basic education opportunities to common people, such as teaching them to recognise Chinese characters. See Jie Xiong, “Yan Yangchu yu zhonghua pingmin jiaoyu cujinhui [Yan Yangchu and the Chinese National Association for the Promotion of Commoners’ Education],” *China Archives*, no. 12 (2021): 86.

<sup>63</sup> Jifa, Xiang and Yunqin Han, “Yan Yangchu pingmin jiaoyu: yichang xiandai wenming shijian [James Yen’s Mass Education: A Practice of Modern Civilization],” *Lifelong Education Research* 31, no. 6 (2020): 66.

develop rural education through independent academic work. It was essential to enlist the aid of political forces, particularly government appropriation. Thus, Yan went to the United States for raising money in 1948 and contributed to the foundation of the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR).<sup>64</sup> One year later, the Communist Party came into power, Yan followed the JCRR and moved to Taiwan.<sup>65</sup>

From the perspective of educational sociology, schools serve as both a place to nurture people's abilities and a place to produce and reproduce the social order that the ruling class needed to survive and advance. The selection, classification, distribution, transmission, and evaluation of knowledge that society deems to be public reflected the power distribution and the principles of social control.<sup>66</sup> The assistance of the authority was necessary for rural schools. Rural schools were not able to maintain themselves in an isolated way without support from the dominant elite. No matter how much education scholars avoided the cultural traits of the education system, the validity of culture remained firmly under the control of either the government or other authorities.<sup>67</sup> Even though the proponents of the Rural

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<sup>64</sup> Stuart John Leighton, *Fifty Years in China: The Memoirs of John Leighton Stuart, Missionary and Ambassador* (New York: Random House, 2008), 191–192.

<sup>65</sup> JCRR is a Sino-American institution that guides and supervises the implementation of rural construction projects in China. See Yingcong, Wang, "Mingguo xiangcun jianshe zhong shehui liliang yu zhengfu de hezuo kunjing — yi Yan Yangchu lizhi nongfuhui wei zhongxin [Dilemma of Cooperation between Social Forces and Government in Rural Reconstruction in the Republic of China Centered on YAN Yangchu's Resignation from JCRR]," *Journal of Chongqing Jiaotong University (Social Sciences Edition)* 22, no. 5 (2022): 59.

<sup>66</sup> Basil Bernstein, "On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge," in *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, ed. Michael F. D. Young (London: Collier Macmillan, 1971), 47.

<sup>67</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, "Intellectual Field and Creative Project," in *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, ed. Michael F. D. Young (London: Collier Macmillan, 1971), 177.

Education Movement declared that rural education functioned from a neutral position, it revealed the complex historical characteristics and challenges that arose when the government and civil society organizations worked together.

## Conclusion

In short, given the internal and external issues, rural schools closed successively in the 1940s. The failure of the Rural Education Movement occurred in the 1940s with Tao's sudden passing and Yan's resignation from the JCRR.<sup>68</sup> This paper examined the Rural Education Movement in the Republic of China from a broad viewpoint and contends that it failed due to multiple reasons. Although the Rural Education Movement only lasted about twenty years, its contribution to rural society went beyond giving more children the chance to attend school. It explored the acceptance of modern teaching methods to low mobility of the education groups in underdeveloped areas. This provided a reference path for later educators.

Furthermore, proponents of the Rural Education Movement maintained a neutral position and it would not meet the propaganda demands of any party which accelerated its decline. There was a profound connection between the actual

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<sup>68</sup> Yingcong, Wang, "Mingguo xiangcun jianshe zhong shehui liliang yu zhengfu de hezuo kunjing — yi Yan Yangchu lizhi nongfuhui wei zhongxin [Dilemma of Cooperation between Social Forces and Government in Rural Reconstruction in the Republic of China Centered on YAN Yangchu's Resignation from JCRR]," *Journal of Chongqing Jiaotong University (Social Sciences Edition)* 22, no. 5 (2022): 63.

transformation in school structure and the government's attitude toward the Rural Education Movement. Whether to change traditional private schools into modern schools, reduce the entry barriers, or broaden the admissions criteria, indeed, it was all done with the government's permission. Mark Bray claimed that the motivation to centralize or decentralize education management was typically political, however, it could also be administrative or a hybrid of the two. Reforms in education were frequently the result of political or administrative developments rather than the specific situation of the education sector.<sup>69</sup> The fundamental reason for the Rural Education Movement's failure was that it started from the bottom-up by civil society organizations as opposed to being a top-down reform steered by the government. Education was political by its nature. Its paradigms and contents depended on the authority. The stratification of social status was a consequence of the presence of authority, then conflicts of interest were produced. In conclusion, the Rural Education Movement improved the educational environment in rural areas but only exerted limited effort in certain circumstances.

According to the historical experience of the Rural Education Movement's failure, a skillful balance between politics and education was possible, but it required a partial centralisation of authority. For the current neoliberalism that is rife, it would contribute some reference value. Neoliberalism has been applied to many fields with the development of globalisation. Does it actually fit with the educational field,

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<sup>69</sup> Mark Bray, "Control of Education: Issues and Tensions in Centralization and Decentralization," in *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 204.

especially in rural areas' schooling? Since rural areas are remote from the center of power, Simon Pemberton points out that, "it must be recognized that structural changes alone are not enough to promote particular policy trajectories — these will always be developed through specific political strategies, and it is the relationship between structure and strategy that is crucial to investigate."<sup>70</sup> This paper argues that the education reform is a collective endeavor rather than an individual career. Accepting rural education and the so-called "market" choose each other with a laissez-faire attitude, the result may not be much different from a century ago.

Last but not least, the proponents of rural education underestimated the complexity of society in the Republic of China, the Rural Education Movement failed as an unprecedented experiment and an idealist attempt.<sup>71</sup> Beyond all expectations, Yan still developed related activities in other countries after the Rural Education Movement failed in the 1940s.<sup>72</sup> He established the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction in the Philippines in 1967. IIRR no longer concentrated on enlightenment ideas but aimed at helping people living in undeveloped areas to develop their working ability and improve living conditions.<sup>73</sup> The education system

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<sup>70</sup> Simon Pemberton and Mark Goodwin, "Rethinking the Changing Structures of Rural Local Government — State Power, Rural Politics and Local Political Strategies," *Journal of rural studies* 26, no. 3 (2010): 282.

<sup>71</sup> Jifa Xiang and Yunqin Han, "Yan Yangchu pingmin jiaoyu: yichang xiandai wenming shijian [James Yen's Mass Education: A Practice of Modern Civilization]," *Lifelong Education Research* 31, no. 6 (2020): 64.

<sup>72</sup> Kate Merkel-Hess, *The Rural Modern: Reconstructing the Self and State in Republican China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 170.

<sup>73</sup> Hangsheng Zheng and Chun Zhang, "Yan Yangchu: pingmin jiaoyu cong Zhongguo dao shijie de licheng [Yan Yangchu: the Course of Mass Education from China to the World]," *Jiangsu Social Sciences*, no. 2 (2004): 69.



affects the changing process of humans.<sup>74</sup> Yet today, the countryside remains a byword for poverty and marginalisation in China and around the world. Therefore, finding a teaching strategy that works in rural areas and constructing a new education system in a respectful and peaceful way amid a global discourse of growing misunderstandings and contradictions is still a challenge.

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<sup>74</sup> Jeanne H. Ballantine, Floyd M. Hammack, and Jenny M. Stuber, *The Sociology of Education: A Systematic Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 48.

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# APPENDICES

The original version of table 1

第三節 表之部分									
(一) 全國初等教育概況總表 (十九年度)									
第一次中國教育年鑑 丁編 教育統計 第一 學校教育統計	項 目	總 計	幼 稚 園	小 學		其 他	備 考		
				初 級	高 級				
一六二	總 計	250,840	630	222,545	18,008	676	一、二、三、 項相加之數不同，係因各省市分表數量加減，惟各省分表在內各項總數，故本表內各項總數，往往與其各分	經教育部核准，以國幣銀圓為單位。	項相加之數不同，係因各省市分表數量加減，惟各省分表在內各項總數，故本表內各項總數，往往與其各分
	合 計	187,854	447	170,982	13,414	446			
	公立	14		7	7				
	省(或直轄市)立	1,528	130	950	427	18			
	縣(或市)立	65,769	293	55,614	8,774	123			
	區立	120,553	24	114,411	4,236	305			
	私立	60,750	183	51,563	4,564	290			
	比上年度增減	+38,455		+45,453	+4,350	+231			
	總 計	570,742	697	448,455	34,808	1,388			
	合 計	371,632	451	330,157	24,915	906			
	公立	17		9	8				
	省(或直轄市)立	21,388	165	17,975	3,072	168			
	縣(或市)立	68,152	244	52,524	12,565	226			
	區立	282,075	42	268,619	9,270	542			
	私立	192,110	246	169,298	9,563	432			
	比上年度增減	+106,913		+83,128	+8,655	+681			
一六三	總 計	10,918,979	26,675	9,145,822	1,396,704	50,223	一、二、三、 項相加之數不同，係因各省市分表數量加減，惟各省分表在內各項總數，故本表內各項總數，往往與其各分	經教育部核准，以國幣銀圓為單位。	項相加之數不同，係因各省市分表數量加減，惟各省分表在內各項總數，故本表內各項總數，往往與其各分
	合 計	9,214,257	15,078	7,797,578	1,146,258	23,951			
	公立	1,653,016	11,577	1,348,214	250,446	6,272			
	省(或直轄市)立	8,217,701	19,380	7,037,127	1,080,234	22,099			
	縣(或市)立	6,993,097	10,810	5,992,200	884,583	17,611			
	區立	1,274,604	8,570	1,044,927	195,651	4,488			
	私立	2,589,612	7,295	2,108,695	316,470	8,124			
	比上年度增減	+2,068,902		+2,027,241	+622,622	+17,235			
	總 計	578,484	1,376	455,533	88,475	2,085			
	合 計	529,646	307	433,521	78,036	1,985			
	公立	34,139	1,069	22,012	10,409	100			
	比上年度增減	+161,440		+100,219	+29,331	+1,079			
	總 計	220,880,761.63	591,947.00	139,381,554.75	75,159,006.00	923,465			
	合 計	83,711,277.40	461,648.00	55,553,316.54	27,672,047.56	413,942			
	比上年度增減	+24,079,892.40	+303,696.00	+37,253,413.54	+16,130,234.44	+67,691			
	一六四	總 計	89,416,977.28	468,329.00	57,580,491.30	23,331,750.98			
合 計		24,695,552.28	+88,375.00	+12,356,344.30	+9,379,716.08	+282,925			
比上年度增減									
總 計		-2,705,699.88	-6,681	-2,027,177.76	-659,702.52	-3,870			
合 計		2,334,608	11,243	1,817,780	501,071	4,514			
比上年度增減		2,089,585	7,851	1,630,380	411,219	4,135			
公立		245,023	3,392	181,400	59,852	379			
比上年度增減		3,501,047	16,135	2,712,383	763,677	8,852			
合 計		3,121,579	9,721	2,430,699	674,185	6,974			
比上年度增減		379,458	6,414	281,684	89,492	1,878			
總 計		2.0	1.1	2.0	1.9	2.0			
合 計		44	42	41	78	45			
比上年度增減		22	38	20	49	21			
公立		19	19	20	16	14			
比上年度增減		8.17	17.56	6.30	20.28	14.82			



The original version of table 2

**丙、鄉村小學校長月俸標準**

校 別	級 別 學校 數	一	二	三
小 學 校	1—4	36	32	28
	5—8	40	36	32
	9—	44	40	36
初 小	1—4	34	30	26
	5—8	38	34	30
	6—	42	38	34