



江陰峭岐陳家冲調查記

上海图书馆藏书



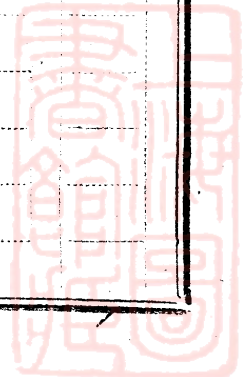
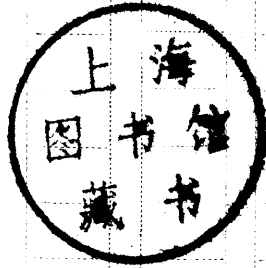
陳彩章

二十年五月

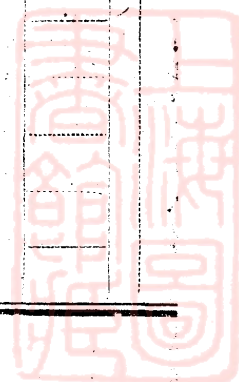


江陰峭岐陳家冲調查記

陳彩章



滬江大學中國語言文學系作文稿紙第二種



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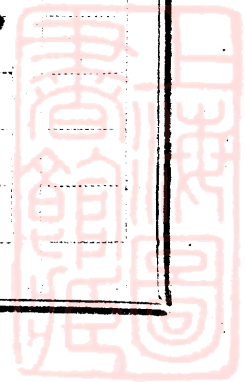
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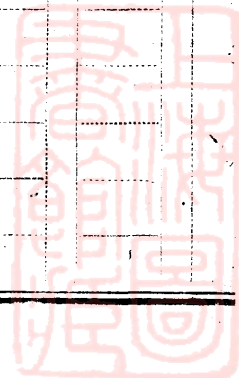
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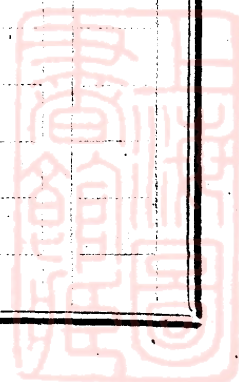


江陰峭岐陳家冲農村社會調查記

第一章 敘言

一 調查之意義及範圍

自民國十八年秋季開始以後，凡在滬大讀書諸同學，於畢業之前，須作中文畢業論文一首，或中英畢業論文各一首。余將於民十九冬季修畢大學學程，因此不能逃此寫畢業論文之難關。於民十九春季即從事尋求適當論文題目，後商得社會學及社會工作系主任韋愛倫博士 Dr. J. H. Wiley 之同意，將江陰峭岐陳家冲農村社會調查記為吾畢業論文之題目，用中英文各寫成一篇，英文篇現已完稿，今中文篇不過述英文篇中大意而矣。



(二) 人口調查表

家長之姓名:

開始調查時家長常年同居之家屬數目(小孩及調查期內所娶之家屬均包括在內)	一家長自己	二	三	四	五	六
調查期內同居家屬之年齡						
調查期內死亡家屬之月份						
調查期內嫁娶家屬之月份						
調查期內永久移住他處家屬之月份						



四凡生產小孩，在調查期內墮胎即死者，即分別男女，記在生產項下，用筆作「」符號於死者之下。

調查時期，自民國十八年八月一日起至民國十九年七月三十一日止，適為一週歲表內所有問題，皆通俗易解，農民均能見告。除調查此人口問題之外，農村教育、農村衛生、農村經濟等，亦在研究之中。即因余對於陳家冲所有一種認識，所有一種觀察，及與多數農民之談話，作為材料。

當調查之時，往往有人疑此調查為將來增加稅捐之根據，或懷疑此調查為將來三丁抽一、征兵之籌備，有此誤會，不免使調查員有所失望，所收集材料有所失實。余調查陳家冲雖未遇到以上所述諸問題，困難，但是於余調查之際，有多數農民向余詢余調查陳家冲有何目

的，於彼等有何利益，有農民請求或者余可在外替彼等找一位置，有農
民謂此種調查於彼等生活上無關緊要，似乎不願以實相告。你調查這
樣和那樣，媽妮些就是了，誰知道你所調查的不是事實呢？誰知道你所
調查的不是陳家冲呢？沒有受過相當訓練的調查員，遇到此種情形，亦未免
使彼一時受愚，所得材料不能代諸事實。

二 陳家冲歷史之背景

關於研究中國過去農村社會，甚感困難，因無相當可足參觀之材料。余研究陳家冲歷史之背景，則詢問村中年長之人，彼等可謂歷史專家，關於陳家冲過去之歷史，樂以告余。

陳家冲本名居陳村，因初之時，姓居者數目超出姓陳人數，後陳姓人口漸漸增加，不數百年，陳姓人口超出居姓人口；因陳姓人口數目超出居姓人口數目，居陳村即改謂陳家冲。現在民國十九年，總有陳姓三十一家，居姓十二家，王姓二家，劉姓一家。居姓先移入此村，陳姓次之，王姓再次之，劉姓於民國十八年遷入。

陳居二姓在此村中，勢力最大，無論大小何事，皆由陳居二姓統治，王劉

二姓無不抱絕對服從態度。

三陳家冲之地勢

陳家冲位於無錫江陰之間，南離無錫約有四十里，北離江陰約有十四華里，是屬峭岐鎮，峭岐是屬江陰縣。由無錫至峭岐有小輪，下午二時駛行，八時始得抵峭岐，由峭岐往江陰，是無小輪，僅有小車子。峭岐里離陳家冲約有四華里，陳家冲人往來峭岐市場，總是步行，在這鄉間交通甚覺不便，遇天雨時，路上泥滑不堪，真難以行人，因此在運輸物產上，思想發展上一大障礙。



第二章 人口

目下中國人口是否過多抑是過少，是一辯論的題目。有許多人意為中國目下人口過多，一切經濟壓迫皆由此所致，欲解決經濟及其他一切問題，非先提倡節制生育減少所有人口不可。有許多人意為目下中國人口過少，中國樣衰弱，受外面的一種侵略，均因他國人口增加大於我國所致，欲解決中國所有一切問題，非先鼓勵生育，增添人口不可，否則中國恐將亡國滅種。

中國總有人口幾何？三萬萬，抑四萬萬？這是一個極難答覆的問題。因為目下中國對於這事，尚沒有一種可靠的統計，用一種推測的方法來估定中國所有人口數目，是不可靠的。例如在民國拾玖年，陳家沖總有人口

數目實二百二十七位，有人推測陳家冲人口僅有二百位，或有人說陳家冲總有人口二百五十位，往往所推測之數與實數相離甚遠。再若詢目下中國生產率或死亡率，幾何有人說中國生產率大概每千人中是三十，死亡率亦大概二十五至三十，但是究竟目下的生產率及死亡率數目是幾何，無人得知。欲謀中國教育上及其他一切經濟上的發展，非先調查中國目下人口生產率及死亡率不可。一家有了兩口小孩，恐怕還可以維持本來所有的一種生活，有了三口或四口小孩，恐怕就要入不付出，生活程度減低了。大概一種人口生產率高的國家，牠的人口死亡率亦是高^的一種，人口死亡率是一種極好的標準來測量一個國家生活程度之高低。衛生教育及其他一切社會事業不發達，是人口生活程度低。

的表現人口死亡率高的趨勢。

欲增地調查中國人口生產率及死亡率，有許多困難是一定要遇到^的。在這調查時候，深信有人疑這種調查是預備將來三丁抽一之實現，或疑為增加人民賦稅籌備^之，再者有人或疑一班調查員為共產黨徒，或或宗教及一種宣傳主義者，有人疑一班調查員為擾亂人心不平者，什麼講這生或這死，許多人本是無毛無病，現在因為了有這樣調查，講這生字或這死字，病痛或死亡的人口也就增加了。有了以上的一種猜疑及迷信，調查員就難從事調查了，就是去調查亦難以得到一種事實，有幾許調查員亦因此對於調查有所失望。余調查陳家冲因該村是余列祖所居，即余最熟悉之村，前去調查當較調查其他各村莊為易也。

一、人口之結構

這社會所有的人口結構與另一社會所有的人口結構是各不相同，即其中人口性比例之分配、年齡之分配、結婚人口之分配及其他如教育、宗教等等之分配，各社會均是不同。欲明瞭某社會之社會或經濟狀況，須先明瞭某社會之人口結構。

(一) 人口性之分配

人口性比率的意義即通常指每百個女子與男子數之比。陳家冲總有人口二百二十七，中有男子一百二十三，女子數目一百零四，性比例為一百十八，即指陳家冲每一百個女子有一百十八個男子，以百分數算每男子數目佔百分之五四·七二，女子數目佔百分之四五·八根。

據第一，梁醫生及烏奔海姆 (Oppenheim) 在上海曾經問過中國男生
三四三八女生一三〇人共四七三人問他們有多少姊妹兄弟，生的死
的通在內，所得生產時性比例，一一五·五(±三·一)〇〇。所得當時男
女比例為一二五·六(±二·九)〇〇。學生平均年齡中國十五歲至
二十歲。男生平均年齡中國十六歲至二十六歲。第二，英國格雷大夫
(Gray) 在北京英國公共醫院 (British Charitable Hospital) 問過
一千個婦人所問過婦女平均已結婚二十年，所得生產時性比例為一
一七·七(±一·六)所得生產後至當時死亡律男子為千分之四九·二，女子
千分之五一·八。第三，北京協和醫院監大夫問過四千男_子，平均年齡為三
二·八歲，已婚一二三年，所得生產時性比例為一一九·一(±一·二)所得生

產後至當時死亡率男子為千分之三一四，女子為千分之三三八。第四
甘布爾(S. D. Gamble)和布濟時(J. S. Burgess)北京的調查所得生
產性比例為一一八五。

從以上各個人的調查，就可以知道中國是多男的國家，一個國家
男子數目倘超過所有女子數目，即有幾許男子就要終身獨居了，因為
他們是沒有結婚的機會。性比例在這社會經濟上亦有極大之關係，男
子例如較普通女子能多賺錢，大概女子總是在家持理家務。一個社會男
子數目超過女子數目，一切姦淫及其他犯罪的事情，亦是更多。陳家坤
是男多於女，男多於女大概是因為左列諸原因：

(一)重男輕女之習慣——為父母者往往視己之女孩較男孩為輕

所謂女為他家姓，何必重而視之溺嬰一事，在這鄉間甚為平常，均屬女孩。

(二)許多鯨公，為了經濟壓迫原故，往往不再娶，在陳家冲婚媾狀況一表即^內可見其大概。

(三)女子在產兒期內死者甚的比男子死亡較多，故女少於男，在陳家冲一九二九—一九三〇一年中，因生產死者有一人在，陳家冲四週有收生婆者寥寥無幾，在生產時往往家人或鄰閭婦人助產。

(四)蓋據統計家言，肉食者多產女，蔬食者多產男，工業社會產女常多於產男，而農業社會產男又常多於產女也。^{(壽景偉所著應用統計}

學上商務印書館出版)

(二) 人口年齡之分配

人口年齡之分配在研究社會問題是甚重要，這一區人口年齡之分配與另一區人口年齡之分配是各相同，因為人口年齡分配之不同，一切經濟能亦不相同，例如某一社會年輕之人較多，則某社會每年所有進當較別一社會更多，假如某一社會已嫁之年輕婦人較多，則某社會人口生產力必高，有了某一社會之人口分配表可以幫某一社會教育及其他一切社會事業之設施，今將陳家冲人口年齡之分配述之於左。

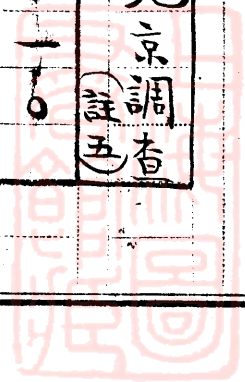
第一表 陳家冲人口年齡之分配

第二表 陳家冲人口年齡分配與其他數區人口年齡之比

年齡分組(註)	百分計算每百女與男數相比		
十歲以下	二七·二	九六·八	
一——二〇	二五四	一〇三·六	
二——三〇	一五六	一六九·三	
三——四〇	一一·二	九二·三	
四——五〇	一〇·三	一五五·六	
五——六〇	六·三	一三三·三	
六一歲以上	四·〇	二五五·〇	



年齡分組	陳家沖調查	華東調查	華北調查	蕪湖調查	北京調查
十歲以下	二七二	二二三	二二〇	二七二	一一〇
一一—二〇	二五四	二一〇	一八八	一六五	一四九
二一—三〇	五五六	一四三	一四七	二一四	二二六
三一—四〇	一一二	一五九	一五一	一八一	一五二
四一—五〇	一〇三	一三五	一一五	八二	八六
五一—六〇	六三	七六	九三	六九	四四
六一—七〇	四〇	三二	五六	一八	二三
七一歲以上	一	一二	三〇	〇〇	〇八
未明		一	一	一	



(註一) 中國歲比西洋歲稍有不同，依中國習慣每經過一曆年頭則增
加一歲。在西洋必滿十二個月為一歲。

(註二) Malone and Taylor, "The Study of Chinese Rural Economy" in Publications
of the China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B. No. 10

(註三) 同上

(註四) 金陵大學卜凱氏蕪湖附近一百〇二農家調查。

(註五) 見 Gamble, Peking, A Social Survey, Ch. V.

(三) 婚姻狀況

對於已成婚及已達到成婚而未結婚者，目下中國人口實無一種調查
可靠之統計。有人測度中國人口中百分之六十已達結婚之年齡，在已

達結婚年齡所有人口中百分之九十是已成婚，其餘百分之十或是未
 婚或是寡或是鰥。這種推測甚不可靠，欲得到實在數目，非行大規模之
 調查不可。就余陳家冲之調查所得結果，在總人口二二七人中已達結
 婚之年齡者佔百分之五五，已成婚佔達結婚年齡人口中百分之三五。
 結婚年齡是指着十五歲以上人口而言，下列一表即可見其大概。

第三表 陳家冲婚姻狀表

(二男)

百分率

婚姻狀	百分率
未婚	五二二
已婚	三二五
寡夫寡婦	十五五

已離婚 0008

總數 100%

(三)女 百分率

未婚 510

已婚 394

寡夫寡婦 96

已離婚 00

總數 100%

二、陳家冲四十六家同居親屬之關係

中國農村社會中之家庭大概是一種大家庭中包括父母兄弟姊



妹、叔、嫂、夫、妻等，凡同居家屬之關係，皆以家長作標準。在陳家沖所有四十六農家調查所得結果，用百分率計算起來，男家長佔百分之十五，兒子佔百分之二十七，三女佔百分之十五，妻佔百分之十三，六媳佔百分之十六，孫女佔百分之五，七孫子佔百分之四，九母親佔百分之二，二父親佔百分之二，三姪佔百分之九，姪媳婦佔百分之九，叔子佔百分之九，九姊佔百分之四，弟佔百分之四，姪女佔百分之九，九。下表即可見其大概：

第四表 陳家沖四十六農家同居親屬關係

家屬之名稱

家屬人口之總數

百分率

家長自己

四二——一八五〇

姪媳

二

〇九%

姪

二

〇九%

父

三

三%

母

五

二二%

孫子

一一

四九%

孫女

一三

五七%

子媳

一七

六五%

妻

三一

三六%

女

三四

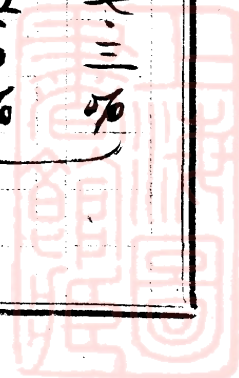
一五〇%

子

六二

二七三%

100%



伯父

○四%

姊妹

○四%

堂兄弟

○四%

弟兄

○四%

姪女

○四%

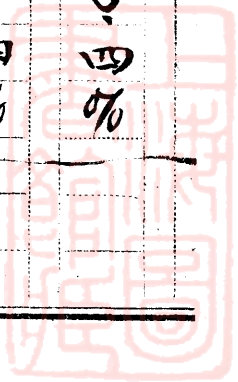
『大家庭制度與中國人口問題，大有關係，因為大家庭的團結，始自

祭祖，祭祖目的，首在重孝。孟子曰：『不孝有三，無後為大。』人若沒有子孫，即

不能承繼先志，所以大家庭制度下邊，古人的出妻條件，凡七，其中的第

一條，就是妻不生子，可以出妻，現今納妾者，且多以不生子為藉口。因

此，家庭女子，視多生子為榮樂，而不為苦痛。因為女子若不生子，在家庭



則失其尊嚴，同時又為他人所輕視。因此舊家庭的女子皆鼓勵多生，而不注重教養。至於提倡早婚，這又是不可諱言的一件事。父業還未成就，兒女這已成行，故中國家庭每每發現生產者少而消費者多的弊病。我想大家可以公認吧。（錄東方雜誌第二十五卷第二十一號，喬啟明所著的中國鄉村人口問題之研究。）

三、每家人口數

陳家冲總有人口二百二十七，農家共四六，平均每家人口為四九。今將其人口支配列表於左。

第五表 陳家冲四十六農家人口支配表

一家人口數目

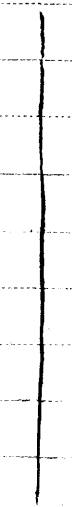
所有家庭數目

一



二

二



六

三



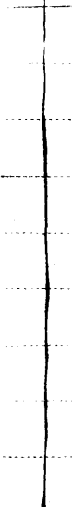
一

四



五

五



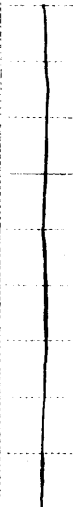
五

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七



十

八



二

九

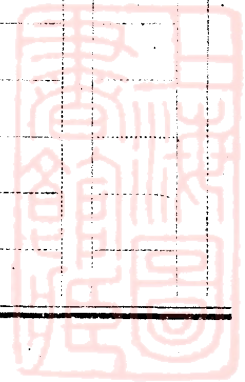


二

十



〇



我說「長毛」是指着太平天國一班兵士說的，沒有來的時候，在「陳家冲」也是，是有這樣許多人也是，是有這樣許多屋宇，長毛來了，這村上的人殺掉的計有七十餘，長毛來的時候，我是七歲，離開今年確巧有七十一年了。從此一端，就可以看出陳家冲過去的七十年中，口是有增無減，但是像這種例子不是十分可靠，因為這樣的例子是太少，不能來代表其他各鄉村。根據陳君長衡材料，中國人口自十八世紀中葉以後，減低極速，第一期（一七四一至一七九三年）之增加率為一五·一四，是中國近古人口之極盛時代。第二期（一七九三年至一八四九年）之增加率減到四·九五，到第三期（一八四九年至一九二三年）只〇·八一而已。（見商務印書館出版許仕廉所著中國人口問題第十九頁）

四、人口生產率和死亡率

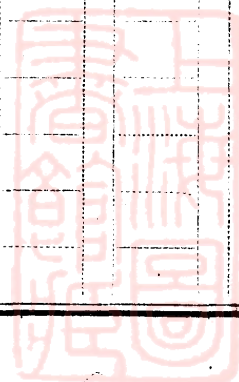
中國是一生產率和死亡率極高的國家，這是不可否認的，不過中國生產率和死亡率竟是幾何，無確實的統計，可以告訴我們，現在我且把陳家沖一村調查所得的結果，述說出來。陳家沖總有人口一九三〇二二七，在一九二九年八月一日起至一九三〇年七月底至總有死亡人口一一位，出生人口一二位，這樣就可以知道陳家沖的生產率為一千人中五三，死亡率為四八。普通講到生產率我們是指着每年每千人中所出生的人口數目，死亡率是指着每年每千人中所死亡的人口數目。

第六表 陳家沖人口生產率（一九二九年八月一日起至一九三〇年七月底止）

○年七月三十一日止

實數	千人中的	出生數目	每千人既	婚出生數目
(一)	(二)	(三)	(四)	
男	四	十八	二〇〇	
女	八	三五	九五	
總數	一二	五三	一四八	

在以上表第二項即表明各男女性所有實在數目(三)第三項(三)即每千人中應當出生人口數目,第四項(四)表明既婚每千人中應當出生人口數目。



第七表 陳家冲人口死亡率(一九二九年八月一日起至一九

三〇年七月三十一日止)

性別組	實數	每千人中所死	亡的人口數目
(一) 男	六	(二) 六	(三) 二六
女	五	二	二
總數	一一	八	四

以上一表第二項(二)表明陳家冲於一九二九年八月一日起至一

九三〇年七月三十一日一年中出生的實在數目,第三項(三)是表明每
 千中在一年中所有的死亡人口數目,有了這種死亡率就容易與其他
 各處所有的死亡率作一比較。

陳家冲是一生產率和死亡率極高的農村，^{真是}出於我意料之外。現在

且把其他幾位所調查的作一比較。第一，北京的調查——依北京公共衛

生會報告，北京內左二區（A四萬三千五百九十五人）於一九二五年九

月至一九二六年二月凡六個月中的平均死亡率每年每千人為二二

二。一九一七年北平警察報告為北平每千人二五八，每千男子二一六

每千女子三三二。第二，直隸鹽山的調查——在一九二三年金陵大學教

授卜凱（J. G. Buck）氏在鹽山縣附近調查——三三農戶共六八

七人。所得生產律每年每千為五八四，死亡律為三七一。人口存餘律為

二一三。第三，廣東的調查——美國克伯（C. K. Kipper）教授曾在廣東

潮州西南一鄉村取名 Osbenix Village，調查其社會生活所得一

九一七年七月至一九一八月的生產律為每千人三四死亡率亦為三四。（見商務印書館出版許仕廉所著中國人口問題第五十頁至五十二頁）

中國各處有這樣高的生產和死亡率，當然有種種原因。就陳家沖一村而言，可以尋出下列諸原故。

一、生活程度低，能以很微小的收入支持很多的人口，不想在他們的生活上有所改良。

二、早婚之習慣，謂不孝有三，無後為大。於兒女未成，其前父既母即當為其子女訂婚，為其子女婚嫁。下列一表即可見陳家沖四十八人中結婚年齡。

第八表 陳家冲二十五男子結婚時之年齡

男 結 婚 時 年 齡	子 所 有 人 口 數 目
十六	一
十九	五
二十	一
二十一	十四
二十三	三
二十五	一

第九表 陳家冲二十三女子結婚時之年齡

女 結 婚 時 年 齡	子 所 有 人 口 數 目
十四	一
十六	二
十七	二
十八	一
十九	四
二十一	三
二十二	七
二十三	一
三	二

從以上兩表可見陳家冲二十一歲是中國年齡，依中國習慣，每經

過一曆年頭，則增加一歲。為男女結婚最普通的年齡。這樣結婚的年齡

若與英格蘭愛爾蘭人口的結婚的年齡^{比較}，就覺得中國人結婚的年齡

太低了。在英格蘭和愛爾蘭人平均結婚年齡，男子為二七·五，一歲，西洋

年齡在四年齡必滿十二個月為一歲)女子為二五·五四歲這是在一九二〇年所有的一種統計(見 *Six Centars Newsholme, The Elements of Vital Statistics*, p. 66)再者英格蘭愛爾蘭最普通結婚的年齡男子為二四歲女子為二一歲結婚之早晚與生產之機會與次數大有關係據潘光旦所著之中國家庭問題第一六四頁所引英國產科專家騰更(Mother Duncan)之說謂就其接生之經驗深知各年齡期限不同之女子其平均生產率相差甚巨。大約自十五至十九歲其平均產兒數為九·一九,一〇至二四歲其平均生產數為七·九三,二五至二九歲其平均數為六·三〇,三〇至三四其平均數為四·六〇,足證女子年齡愈大其生產率愈小結婚年齡愈早其生產率愈大。中國之女子適為早

婚其生產率自然進婚為多了。

三、陳家冲是一農村社會，大凡農業社會人口的生產律比工商業社會生產率高。

四、中國人口中凡兒子成年有供養父母的責任，一般父母子女為一種老年保險金，所以子弟愈多年老時愈不必慮。

五、教育不普及生活^程度低故生產律高。

六、大家庭制之下經濟合作故生產律高。

陳家冲人口死亡率是這樣高，大概是為了生產率高的原故，一個生產率高的社會，往往死亡率亦一定是高，生產率^高往往生活程度^隨減低，了生活程度減低，衛生就不易發展，教育程度亦隨之而降低，在這農村

社會中死於肺癆天花痲子瘧疾等病者比比皆是。



第三章 陳家冲經濟狀況

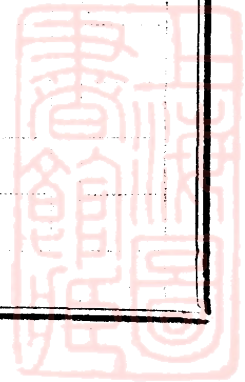
限於時間的關係，余不能很詳細的將這陳家冲全村的經濟狀況逐一逐二的去調查，這經濟問題是互相有密關係的，^和一個家庭中有了兩位兒童，恐是尚能維持日常生活，有了三位四位就難了，有了五位六位就更難了。陳家冲有了這樣高的生產率和死亡率，是表明一個很不健全。的村莊，從這高的生產率和死亡率，也就可以知道陳家冲的經濟狀況是很不興的。現在我可以把全村四十六家分作富、小康和貧三等。富貧是指着一班無吃無着，靠人施捨度日的小康是指着一班有衣有食而富，而貧的，不過身無節蓄，免強能夠維持生活就是富。是富是指着一班足衣足食而言的，有家產亦節蓄。在此陳家冲分這貧、小康、富三等，是余詢問村

內年長再加上余對於各家之認識把全村分成三等。

第一表 陳家冲全村經濟狀況

等級	家庭數目	百分率
貧	二八	六一%
小康	一三	二八%
富	五	一一%
總數	四六	一〇〇%

上列一表就可以明瞭陳家冲全村經濟狀況，貧者佔全數百分之六十，小康人家佔百分之二八，富者佔百分之十一，簡單的說無衣無食者就是吃了早飯沒有晚飯的人家，佔半數以上。陳家冲是一農村，一切



進款皆望之田^於今將每家所耕之畝數列成一表於左。

第二表

陳家冲四六農家^{每家}所耕之田畝數之分配

畝數

農家數目

0000

二

一八

一

二〇

二

二三

一

二六

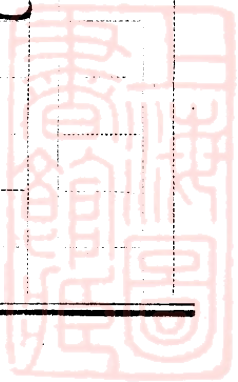
一

二七

一

二八

二



國語教科書 算術 九九の表

三〇
—
四

三六
—
一

三七
—
二

三八
—
一

四五
—
一

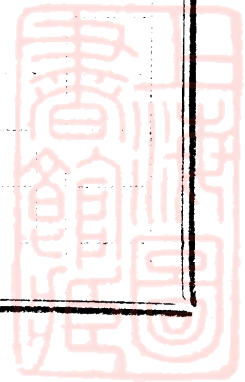
五〇
—
二

五四
—
一

六五
—
一

六〇
—
二

八〇
—
三



九

九〇

九二

九二

一〇〇

一〇三

一〇六

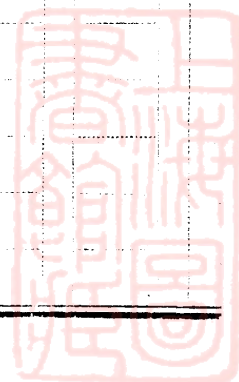
一一〇

一二六

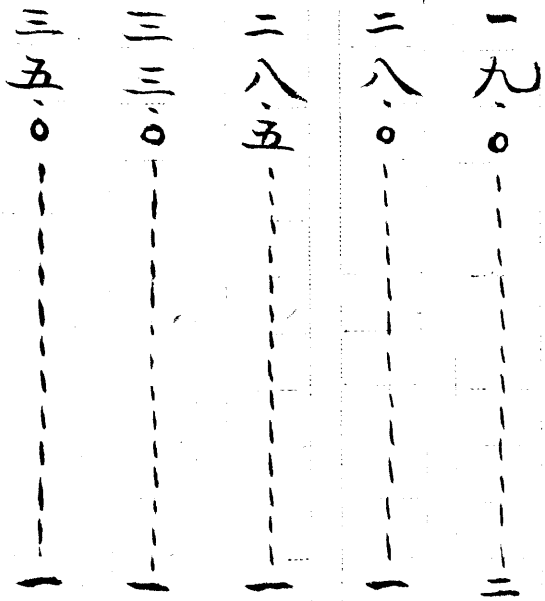
一三七

一四〇

一五〇



第三表 陳家冲四六農家所有田畝百分率之分配



田畝數目組	農家數目	百分率
〇〇—五	二一	四六
五—〇	一二	二六
一〇—五	七	一五



一五——三五	六	一三
〇〇——三五	四六	一〇〇

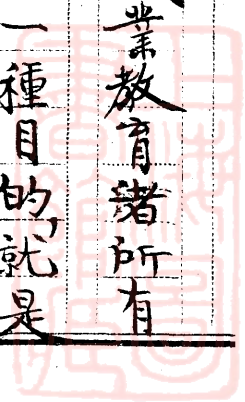


第二表很顯明的告訴我們在陳家冲四十六農家中百分之四六所耕之田^是在五畝之下。每家種了田五畝你想有幾何進款呢？最佳的田一年就算收獲白米二拾，麥一拾，照現在（一九三二年二月）的米麥市價，一拾白米不過十一元，一拾麥不過七元，這樣看來每畝田每年所有的進款在三十元左右，其中欲扣去肥料錢大概五元，賦稅半元，若是租田尚欲租洋依去年（一九三〇年）每年須^納大洋六元，細細的想每農家假是耕了五畝^田，有多麼大的進款呢？一家有了五口，這樣叫他們度日呢？有一位老年人對我說：現在真是一代不如一代人的壽命也是一年短一年，不

及以前人活得長風俗亦是比較以前更壞誠實可靠的亦難以覓到，將來的世界知道要到這樣的地步。

「占我中國人口百分之八十以上終歲勤勞而啼飢號寒者厥為農民。胼手胝足固不足以供貪官污吏土豪劣紳土匪流氓之剝削而東西各國又利用其科學萬能以增進其生產更置我國農民於死地。我國農民未嘗教育不識不知其鬱積於胸中者祇窮苦之一觀念耳。革命爆發挺而走險窮苦農民其幾不為最大之犧牲赤地千里野無荷鋤之夫由契祖券毀棄道旁家室流離而窮益甚。此歷代鼎時之常態而尤為必然之將來固不可以常情測也。此一描寫現代中國農民生活之狀況農民之痛苦恐怕已至極點若不從速為彼等設法中國恐將破產。」

使無業者有業有業者樂業這是一班提一班提職業教育諸所有的目的現在我們欲改良農村經濟狀況我們應當具有一種目的就是使耕者有其田不過這難解決亦是複雜的問題。



第四章 地方衛生與地方教育

一、地方衛生

在一個經濟薄弱，死亡率高的社會，衛生事業在彼處一定不是很發達的，衛生事業不發達，一種瘧疾、血痢、肺癆、淋症及其他各種疾病必盛行，陳家沖是一農村社會，對於衛生一項甚為落後，無奈死亡率之高也。

在陳家沖的四週，有小的池潭，貯蓄了不流動的水，有這露天水缸，充滿了天水，到了天熱的時候，這些池潭水缸，均是蚊蟲繁殖之處，到了暗的時光，就可聽得一種營營的聲音，這也因此有許多蚊蟲咬了而生瘡病。在這夏天時候，有許多人吃那未煮熟的蔬菜，飲那未煮過的河

水、血、痢病因此亦是流行。再若麻症、沙眼、肺癆等病，在陳家冲亦甚普見，十之八九有這痧眼，十之一二有這肺癆。

住在陳家冲的一班農民，對於衛生知識甚是缺乏，信這疾病和死亡均由於天命，因此他們一舉一動，觸犯衛生原則，自取死亡，今後欲改進彼等衛生事業，應注意以下數端。

甲 個人衛生常識 個人衛生之目的，不外發展固有之健康，防免未來之疾病二者。欲發展固有之健康，不可不粗知生理解剖之大意，自光空氣之功用，飲水食物之選擇，休息運動之調和，以及便利廢物排洩之方法。欲免未來之疾病，不可不略知疾病之原因，傳染之途徑，以及一切重要免病之方法，如免疫注射、隔離、消毒之類。

(乙) 家庭衛生常識 家長能知個人保健免病之方法，不難按此類推，以福家人。但此尚須學習有三，即嬰孩衛生，家庭救急及家庭之環境衛生是也。茲分論之。

(1) 嬰孩衛生 子女幼時身體最易得病，偶一不慎，立致夭亡，欲免其患，則嬰孩衛生之常識不可不學也。

(2) 家庭救急 一家之人難免意外之飛災，如跌傷、割傷、誤食毒物等情。倉卒之間忽來飛災，請醫不及，急無可待，若家人全無救急之常識，恐有生命之憂，欲免其禍，則救急法不可不學也。

(3) 住宅環境衛生 此題關係一切家人健康之物質衛生，如空氣、日光之引用、溝渠之疏通、糞便垃圾之清除、蚊蠅蚤蟲鼠類之撲滅，以及

一切衛生障礙之蠲除是也。

『丙』公共衛生之常識 凡關係民衆之健康而為衆人所應共同負責實行者謂之公共衛生。略明公共衛生之意義，組織，目的，辦法，利益及義務，謂之公共衛生常識。國民無衛生常識，不能協助政府及監督衛生行政。

地方教育

各種事業之不能發達，大概由於教育之不振，教育不振，經濟力則薄弱，今欲增加國民經濟能發展各種事業，非提倡普及教育不可。目下中國依余個人之觀察，至少有百分之七五是散在。余陳家冲所得之結果，農民中百分之八四是不識字，不能寫的，佔全世界最大之數。今錄湯

姆森所著人口問題第七五頁 (Mason S. Thompson, Population Problems, p. 75) 幾個國家文盲百分率一表於左:

第一表 幾個國家文盲百分率(十五歲及十五歲以上)一九二〇

俄國 五九一

保加里亞 四九九

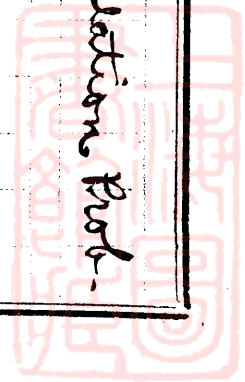
西班牙 四二八

波蘭 三三四

意大利 二八〇

匈牙利 一三四

(一) 法國 一八〇



(二) 捷可斯羅代克

七八

新蘭

〇九

(三) 德國

〇〇三

註(一) 十歲及十歲以上。

(二) 七歲及七歲以上。

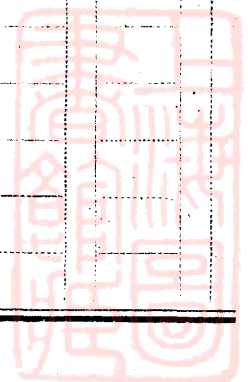
(三) 十五歲與六。歲中間一九一〇。

陳家冲小學 國民軍未來之先此校是為公立小學每年可以何

縣教育局領到經常費百二。元自國民軍來澄一年後即將陳家冲小

學本來所有經常費百二。元在夏家巷地方另闢小學一所夏家巷離

陳家冲約有里餘路程自後公立陳家冲小學即改為私立陳家冲小學



一切經費均來是學生，無其他經常費或津貼，在此校教師每年大概除膳宿由學生供給外，每年可得六十元之薪^金，在很低之薪金當然不能得到良好之教師。一九三〇年中所請教師是余前小學同學，彼小學卒業後赴嘉興就商，國民軍來澄後，彼即回至峭岐在鄉小學就教員之職，至今四三載有餘，彼常常吐血，恐有肺癆疾病。

查西曆一九三〇年，陳家沖小學總有學生三八，學生年齡分配可見左列一表。

第二表 陳家沖小學學生年齡分配表（一九三〇年）

學生年齡	學生數
六	一

村，每學生所出之費依各學生家庭經濟狀況而定，每年一元至四元不等，除出學費外，住在陳家冲之學生需供給教師膳食。

陳家冲小學實非教育機關，隨時村中農民可進這學校與教師閒談，或在校內賭博，無所謂上課或下課，學生終日不讀書亦可以也。

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上海图书馆藏书

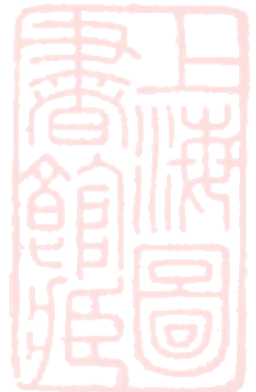


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A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF CHEN CHIA TSONG
KIANGYIN KIANGSU

CHEN TSAI DJANG

March, 1931



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Since from the year 1930 Shanghai College requires every senior to write a thesis before graduation, a sociological study of Chen Chia Tsong came to my mind. I have several reasons for taking this kind of topic for my thesis.

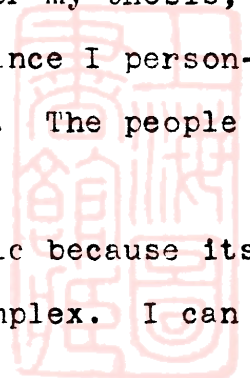
First, I was born in a rural district. My early contact was largely with farmers. Of course, it is now better for me to write on this kind of topic as my experience directs me.

Secondly, this kind of topic gives me a good chance to do some field work. Village life is very little known to our Chinese as well as to foreigners. The amount of information about villages is very meager.

Thirdly, I am very much interested to know about Chinese Villages as they are now in process of change owing to the influence of western industrialization and civilization. Because of these influences the village manners and customs have been considerably affected, and many villagers are in an unsettled condition.

Fourthly, I know that if I take this topic for my thesis, I can collect my data with not much difficulty since I personally know all the people in Chen Chia Tsong well. The people will think that my work is of no harm to them.

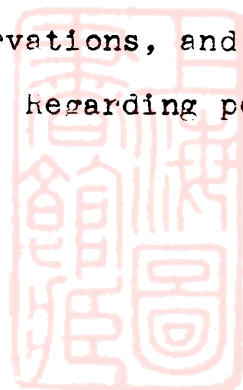
Finally, Chen Chia Tsong is chosen as my topic because its size is not great and its organization is not complex. I can write it up within my limited time.



The data were collected during the summer time in the year 1930. It was written with hope that it will arouse the interest of more people to undertake similiar studies in their own localities. But it is to be remembered that this article is rather a general study of this given rural village, largely emphasizing its population factors. It will be *necessary* for somebody else to go into a deeper study, covering more phases of Chinese Village life.

It is very essential for us to read as many books as possible on our chosen subject before we go to our field work. Before going to my study, I read some books, such as "Village and Town Life in China," by Leong and Tao; "Country Life in South China," by Prof. Kulp **II** ; and "Problems in Chinese Population," by Prof. Hsu, of Yenching University; "Rural Sociology in China," by Catao Yang, and "The Composition and Growth of Rural Population Groups in China," by Chiao and Buck, of Nanking University. These books and articles gave me great help regarding methods of making a study like this.

Data as to regional situation, health, economic conditions and village education were secured through my personal observations with the village folks, my personal observations, and my past experience and knowledge of this village. Regarding population factors, two schedules were used.



POPULATION SCHEDULE (A)

NAME of family head	Members of the family in relation to the head at the beginning of the year recorded	age of the specified relative at the beginning of the year recorded	month of death (during the year of the specified relative)	month of marriage	Month of emigration
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					

POPULATION SCHEDULE (B)

Birth and death of infants during the year

sex	month	day of death	month	day of birth	age at death
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					



Note:

1. Members of the family in relationship to the head includes such as wife, son, daughter, grandparents, parents, brothers, niece, grandson, etc., when they live and eat together. It also includes married male members who return once or more during the year.

2. The birth in relationship to the head includes son, daughter, nephew, niece, grandson, etc.

3. Still births are excluded.

Besides these two schedules, some other questions on population were asked such as occupational composition, marital composition, and economic composition.



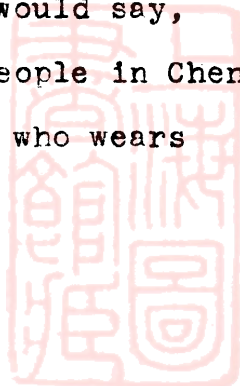
CHAPTER II

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION

Chen Chia Tsong is located in the northern part of Siao Gyi Shien, about forty li from Wusih in south, and twelve li from Kiangyin in north. You may take a launch from Wusih at ten o'clock in the morning to Siao Gyi, arriving at two o'clock in the afternoon. After arriving at Siao Gyi, you may call a wheel-barrow or a sedan chair directly to Chen Chia Tsong. If you take a wheel-barrow, it will cost you at most thirty cents. If you take sedan chair, it will cost you sixty cents. If you walk to that village, it will take you twenty minutes. It is about one mile and a half from Siao Gyi to Chen Chia Tsong.

After seeing Chen Chia Tsong, you would think that it is a typical rural area. Almost all the people who live there are farmers. Agriculture is the main occupation. Those farmers are for the most part very sincere and simple-minded people.

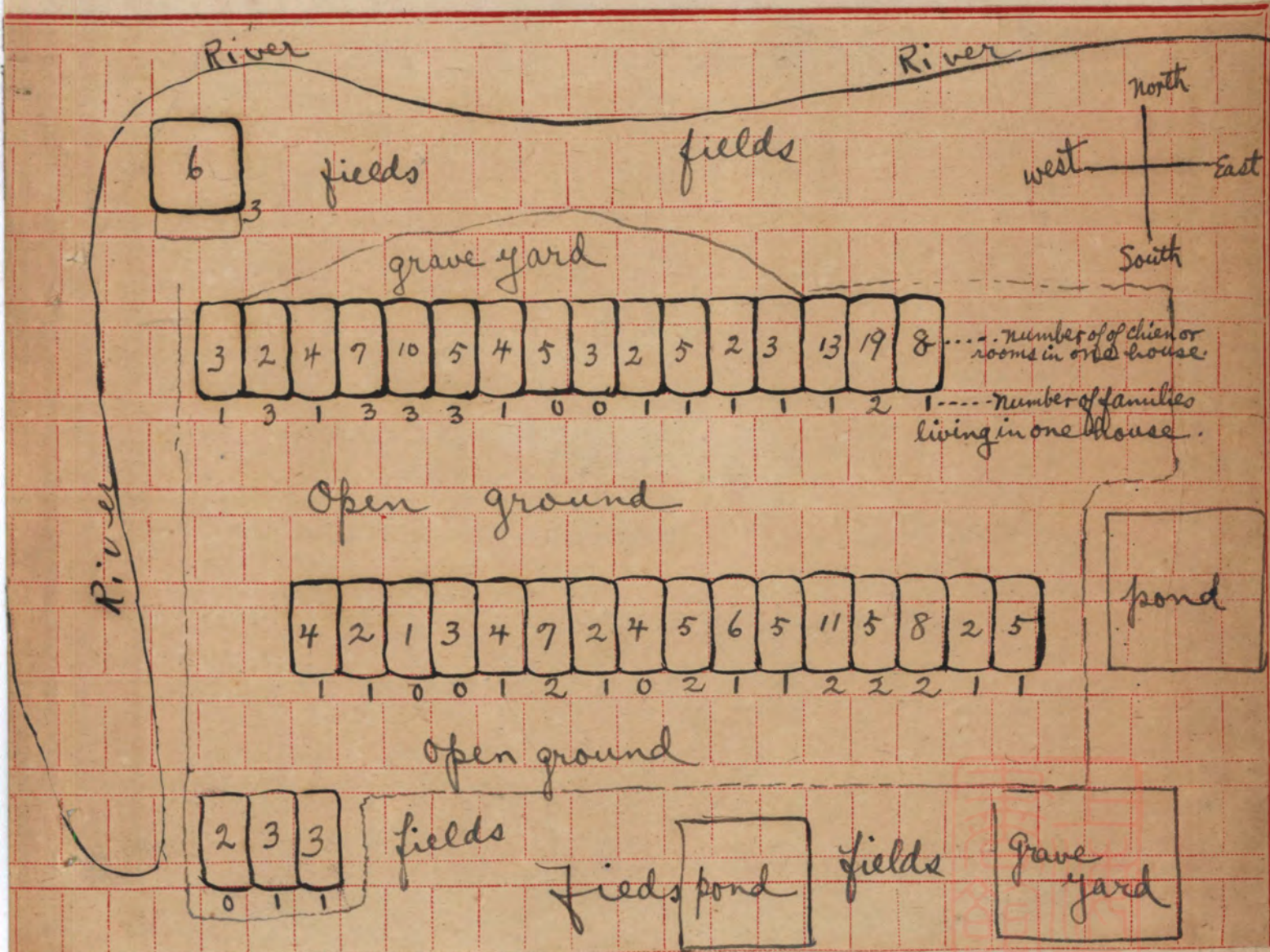
Suppose you wear a foreign dress, when you make your visit to that village. Every person will go out from his or her home and look at you. Besides this, he or she would say, "Look, a foreigner!" Personally, I know most people in Chen Chia Tsong never see any foreigner or a Chinese who wears foreign dress.



Environs of Chen Chia Tsong

The area of the village, I mean the area occupied by the houses, is about three acres. The following map gives you a general view.

Fig. 1 Regional map of Chen Chia Tsong



支蘭

Shan, Kiangyin, Ku.

Chea San Shan
綺山鄉

Tsa Yuan Shan
謝園鄉

Hwa San Shan
花山鄉

Yu Li Shan
地理山

North

West

East

South

馬溪河

The Roman Catholic Church

Chen Chia Tsong
陳家宗

Hwa San Shan
花山鄉

Yang Ding Shan
楊定山

Siao Shan
小山

The Catholic Church

Wang Dong Shan
王東山



Chea S
山

蕭峽鄉圖

The map of Siao Gyi Shan, Kiangyin, Ku.



Yu Ben Shan
日城鄉

Isai ching Shan
蔡澄鄉

Yu Ben Shan
日城鄉

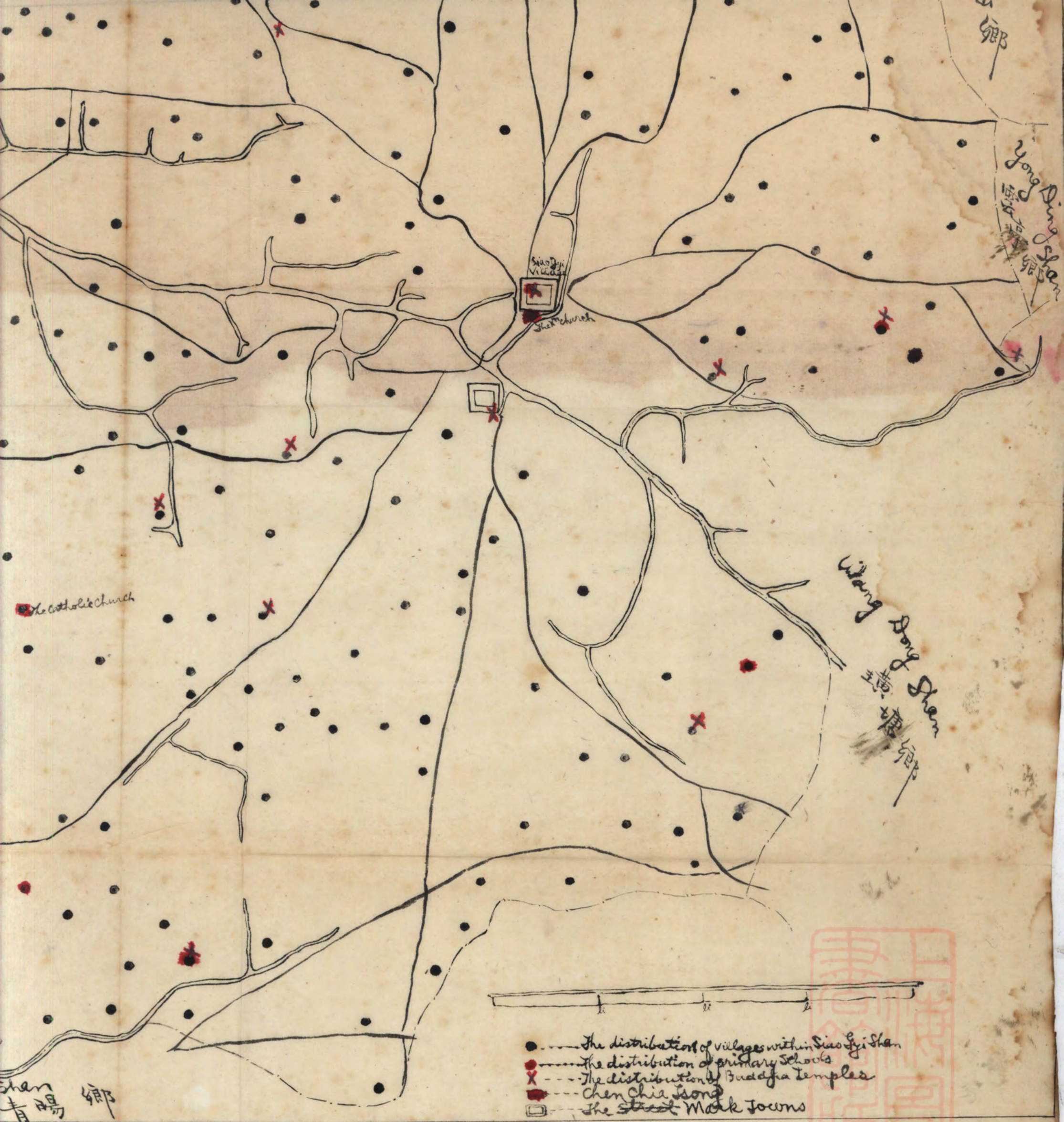
Zea Yuan Shan
謝園鄉

Moa Ching River
馬澄河

The Roman Catholic Church

The Catholic Church

Tsing



鄉

Yong Gyi Shan
 永吉山

Siao Gyi
 Village

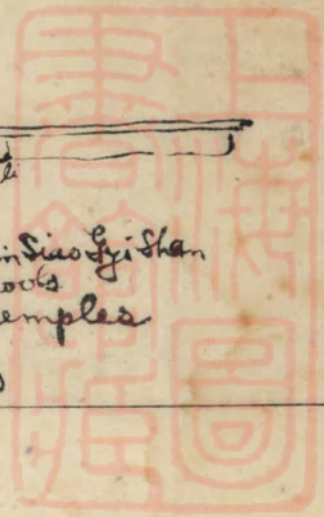
Shak Church

The Catholic Church

Wang Dong Shen
 王東申鄉

Shen
 青陽鄉

- The distribution of villages within Siao Gyi Shan
- The distribution of primary schools
- X The distribution of Buddha Temples
- Chen Chia Tsong
- The Street Mark Towns



Isai ching Shan
蔡澄鄉

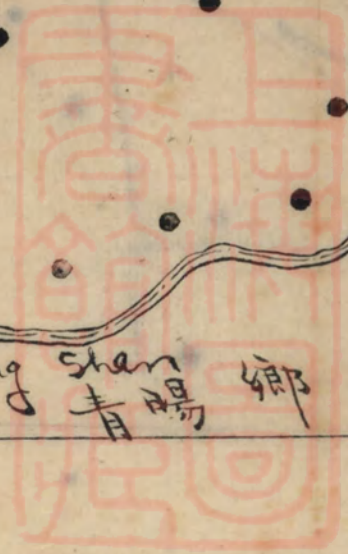
The Roman Catholic Church

Yu Ben Shan
月城鄉

Yu Ben Shan
月城鄉

Tsing yang Shan
青陽鄉

Tsing yang Shan
青陽鄉



Historical Background

There is no such thing as a village history. By this, I mean it is very hard when we try to get some written records that refer to a particular village. The thing you can do is to go to some aged people who really know something of the village in past. They are the historians of their village.

Interviewing some aged people in Chen Chia Tsong, I got a very general view of the above-mentioned village in the past. Formerly, Chen Chia Tsong was called Chu Chen Tseng. It was so called Chu Chen Tseng because "the Chu family" first came and founded this village. There were more people in this village named Chu at that time. Since the increase of population in "the Chen family" was more rapid, the Chen family became dominant in the village a few hundred years after. Because of this, Chu Chen Tseng was changed in Chen Chia Tsong.

There are now 31 families named Chen, 12 families named Chu, 2 families named Wang, and 1 family named Lui. It has been about 200 years since "the Wang family" moved into this village. During the past 200 years, there was no any increase of population in Wang family. The Lui family moved into this village very recently, in 1929.

The Chen and Chu families get along very well. If there is some dispute between the Chen family and some family outside of the village, the Chu family comes to their help. If there is anything which has to do with the whole village,

such as raising fish in some ponds and forbidding to raise ducks, both the Chen family and the Chu family come together for discussion before the act is enforced.

It is very common for a person named Chen to marry a person named Chu in the same village. In this generation, there have been six persons from the Chu family to marry persons from the Chen family. But it is a very rare phenomenon for a person to marry another with the same surname. It seems taboo for Mr. Chen to marry Miss Chen, especially those two persons who live in the same village. If Mr. Chen marries Miss Chen, Miss Chen must adopt her mother's surname.

There is not much relationship between the Chen family and the Chu family with the Wang family. It is because those two families named Wang belong to the Roman Catholic Church. They take no activity in the village. They are considered as outcasts. The new comers named Lu get along with all the other families all right and follow the practices which the other families have established.



CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION OF POPULATION

The question whether China is overpopulated or underpopulated brings a great dispute among many people who are interested in the Chinese population problems. There are people who believe that China is overpopulated and they say, "All the phases of economic pressure are the phenomena of overpopulation. In order to solve various problems of economic pressure, the control of growth of Chinese population must be advocated." There are people who believe that China is underpopulated, and they say, "In order to avoid the dangers of declining birth rate, Chinese population must be increased."

All that they say is based on their opinions rather than on the facts. What is the total population in China, — 300,000,000 or 400,000,000? It is a mystery, since there are no accurate statistics. From our own personal experience, estimates are not reliable since most people have no notion of figures. Suppose you go to some village, and ask a person, "How many families are there in your village?" He may answer you this: "About one hundred." Looking at the size of the village, you think it is a very large village, and it must have more than one hundred families. Now you suggest a number to him and say, "Mr. So-and-So, I think there must be more than 120 families." Beginning your investigation, you may find that there are only 115 families in that village. The same situation was met when

I tried to make a study of Chen Chia Tsong. I asked some of the villagers about the size of population in Chen Chia Tsong. They told me that there were about 200 people. Beginning my investigation, I found that there were 227 people, including both males and females, in 1930.

Regarding the birth rate and death rate in Chinese population, I am very doubtful whether the birth rate is 30 per 1000, and the death rate is 25 to 30, as Prof. Leonard S. Hsu, of Yenching University, thinks. I am not convinced by all the figures gotten by observers such as Prof. J. L. Buck, Prof. D. H. Kulp II, Prof. Malone and Prof. Taylor, from their studies indifferent parts of China on birth rate and death rate. The social conditions which affect birth rate and death rate are different in different localities. Surely, the birth rate and death rate of a certain locality can not represent the birth rate and death rate of the whole Chinese population. Besides this, it is very hard for the investigator to get all the facts. Omissions in records of births and deaths are very common, since the people see no importance in the births or deaths of small babies. Ignorance, superstition, and misunderstanding keep the investigator far away from getting the facts. Before going to collecting statistical data on population in Chen Chia Tsong, I felt pretty sure that I could get all the deaths and the births since I personally know all the persons in the village well. But I when I checked my data the second time, three more cases of deaths were found.

The total population in Chen Chia Tsong was 227. The

omission of three deaths among 227 population makes a very great difference in the death rate of a population.

The word "death" is almost forbidden to mention in some localities, since death is a very unlucky happening to a family. One year ago, two students and I from Shanghai College, made a study in a certain factory area. We three happened to have a talk with a foreman in his home regarding the living conditions of laborers in Yangtsepoo district. When we were in talking, his wife suddenly interrupted our talk. At the end, we found that it was because his father had died very recently. A person should talk less and have a very sad and sorrowful face when some member of his family has died. Under the circumstance such as this, how is it possible to get all the deaths reported?

Difficulties, surely, the investigators must face. But remember that we, the investigators, should not be discouraged even when we are in some critical situation. All the studies made by careful individuals give more or less light upon the problems of Chinese population even though their data are not thoroughly reliable and typical.

Regarding my study of population in Chen Chia Tsong, I wish to call attention to the fact that the population of Chen Chia Tsong is small, and there may be apparent *discrepancy* when one tries to compare my figures of deaths and births in Chen Chia Tsong with some other figures which represent a larger population. This article just shows what was actually found in Chen Chia Tsong population problems.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

"All the diverse elements which combine to make a community distinctive are summed in the phrase, 'composition of the population.' The composition varies with each type of community; a manufacturing community has a different composition from a commercial community, and they are both different from an agricultural community. Small towns differ rather markedly from cities and from the open country, and cities differ considerably from each other in the composition of their populations. If we are to understand the social and economic problems of any community, we must know the composition of its population."

(Warren S. Thompson, Population Problems, P. 51)

1. Sex Composition

By sex ratio, we mean the number of males in comparison with 100 females. There was a total of 227 population including 123 males and 104 females in Chen Chia Tsong. The sex ratio in Chen Chia Tsong was 118 to 100. In other words, the males formed 54 percent of total population, and the females 45.8 percent. Some other studies have been made by some other observers, such as the following:

1. A study of Phenix Village in Kwangtung by Prof. Kulp II. He found that the males formed 52 percent of 650 population, and the females formed 48 percent. The sex ratio was 108.3.

2. A study of 102 farm families near Wuhu by Prof. J. L. Buck. He found that the males formed 55.2 percent of 547 population,

and the females formed 44.8 percent. The sex ratio was 123.3.

3. A study of 240 villages in eastern and northern part of China by Professors J. B. Taylor and C. E. Malone. They found that the sex ratio was 110.

Obviously, there were more males than females in the above studies. This abnormal ratio of the sexes affect social and economic problems. If in a country there are more males than females, many males will have no chance to marry. Moreover, the birth rate is more or less affected by the sex ratio of a population. If more females in a certain locality are married, there will be a higher birth rate. There is no doubt that many other problems such as sex morality and death rate are considerably affected by this fact.

Since Chen Chia Tsong has a higher percentage of males, many social and economic problems have been created. For instance, the sex morality has been very loose during the past few years. To commit sexual sin is very common among widowers and widows, and sometimes the wives. Because two women committed adultery two years ago, they were almost beaten to death by their husbands.

There are many good reasons, I think, why Chen Chia Tsong has a large percentage of males.

First of all, we Chinese especially the illiterate farmers have an unfavorable attitude toward girls. "A girl baby means some other family name." This kind of unfavorable attitude is deeply rooted in Chinese minds, and has surely affected the

death rate of females. In a study of 4,000 patients averaging 32.7 years of age with 12.3 years after their marriage, Dr. Lennox, of Peiping Union Medical College, found that the infant mortality of males was 168 per 1,000, and females, 203. (See China Journal of Science and Arts, Vol. II, No. 5). Because they are females, they will receive less care from parents. This brings higher infant mortality of females. Another report was made in 1919 by the Police Station of Peiping regarding the death rate of males and females in Peiping. According to the report, the death rate of males in Peiping 21.6 per 1,000 and females, 33.2.

In the second place, a considerable number of widowers in this village have not remarried, largely because of economic pressure. You may understand what I say if you read the marital conditions of Chen Chia Tsong.

In the third place, when a girl comes to certain age, let me say twenty, she must marry. Girls less frequently remain unmarried than boys.

2. Age Composition

"The age composition of a population may not appear, at first glance, to be much of importance. Every population has people of all ages in it, of course, but the fact that the proportions in the different age group---0 to 4, 5 to 9, etc.---differ greatly from one population to another introduces a host of complications into the study of each population". (Warren S. Thompson, Population Problems, p. 56).

So far as we understand, the differences in age from one population to another help us to explain many other differences such~~s~~ as birth rate, death rate, average income, and ^{many} others. When a nation has younger population than other nations, the former should ~~have~~ have lower death rate, other things being equal. And when a nation has a smaller proportion of able-bodied men and women, other things being equal, should have a lower average income among her laboring classes, and should have fewer dependents am~~ong~~ ^{ong} aged. When a nation has younger population of females than other nations, and things being equal, the former should have a higher birth rate. Furthermore, statement of ages helps a nation to promote her education. The following tables ~~give~~ ^{give} a general idea of age composition of 227 persons, the total population in Chen Chia Tsong. (See next page.)



Table 1.

Single Age Distribution of Males & Females

Ages	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
Number of cases	6	10	8	7	8	4	4	4	6	6	5	5	7	6	4	3	6	7	9	5	1	6	5	5	5	2	2	3	4	4	3	2	2	4	2	2
	60										57										37							23								
Ages	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72
Number of cases	1	1	3	3	1	2	0	3	1	6	1	1	3	3	3	2	0	1	1	2	1	2	1	4	2	2	1	1						1	1	
	21				74										11																					
Ages	73	74	75	76	77	78																														
Number of cases			2			1																														
	4																																			

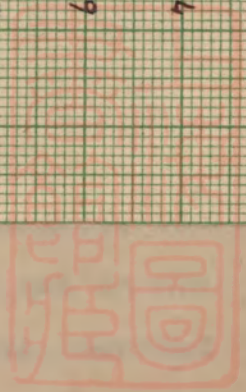
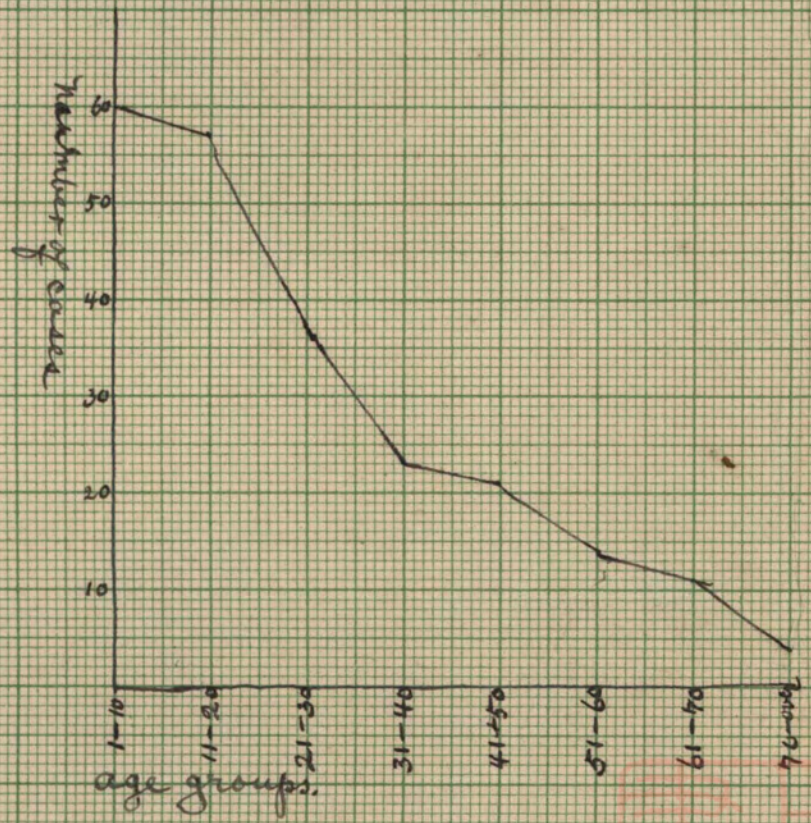


Table 2

a. Age Distribution of 10-year Ages Group

Age groups	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	70-over
Number of Cases	60	57	37	23	21	14	11	4

b. Age Distribution by Graphic Presentation.



3. Marital Conditions

It seems to some persons such as to Prof. Leonard Shihlien Hsu that about 60 per cent of Chinese population are marriageable, 50 per cent are married and less than 10 per cent of the marriageable population have never been married. Whether this is true or not, nobody knows, because we have no statistical record. In Chen Chia Tsong, only 55 per cent of 227 population are marriageable, 35 percent of the marriageable population are married, and 8 percent of the total population are bachelors and spinsters who are marriageable. The following table shows the marital composition in Chen Chia Tsong.

Table 3. Marital condition of 227 people in Chen Chia Tsong

Males	Percentages	Females	Percentages
1. Single.....	51.2	1. Single	51.0
2. Married	32.5	2. married	39.4
3. Widowed	15.5	3. Widowed	9.6
4. Divorced	0.8	4. Divorced	0.6

"The number of marriages can be stated in terms of the marriageable persons, which may approximately be taken as the number of 15 years and over, who are bachelors, spinsters, widows, or divorced." (Sir Arthur Newsholme, The Elements of Vital Statistics, p. 64)

4. Composition of the Family

"The farm family in China, generally speaking, is of the large family type; that is, in addition to the marriage group composed of the male head, his wife, and their children, there are other relatives of the male head who live and eat in his household. Such relatives are his mother, brothers, married

sons and their wives and children, and many others, composing in all a possibility of thirty-two various relationships.

"Besides these, there are other relatives who do not live in the household, but who may be termed members of the 'Economic family' because they share the family budget." (J. L. Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p.317).

The composition of family in Che Chia Tsong may be shown by the following table. Table Composition of 46 families

Members of the family in relationship to the male head	Total number of specified members	Omit Families having the specified members (percent)
male heads	42	91
Sons	62	135
daughters	34	74
wives	31	67
daughters-in-laws	17	33
grand daughters	13	28
grand sons	11	24
mothers	5	11
fathers	3	1.3
nephews	2	0.9
nephews' wives	2	0.9
uncle	1	0.4
sister	1	0.4
cousin	1	0.4
brother	1	0.4
niece	1	0.4



Chapter V

Population and the Size of Family

This chapter on Population and the size of Family is closely connected with the section on the Composition of Family. I shall treat it very briefly.

There are 227 persons all together in Chen Chia Tsong including both males and females, as I have mentioned already. The total number of families is 46. The average Size of Family is 4.93.

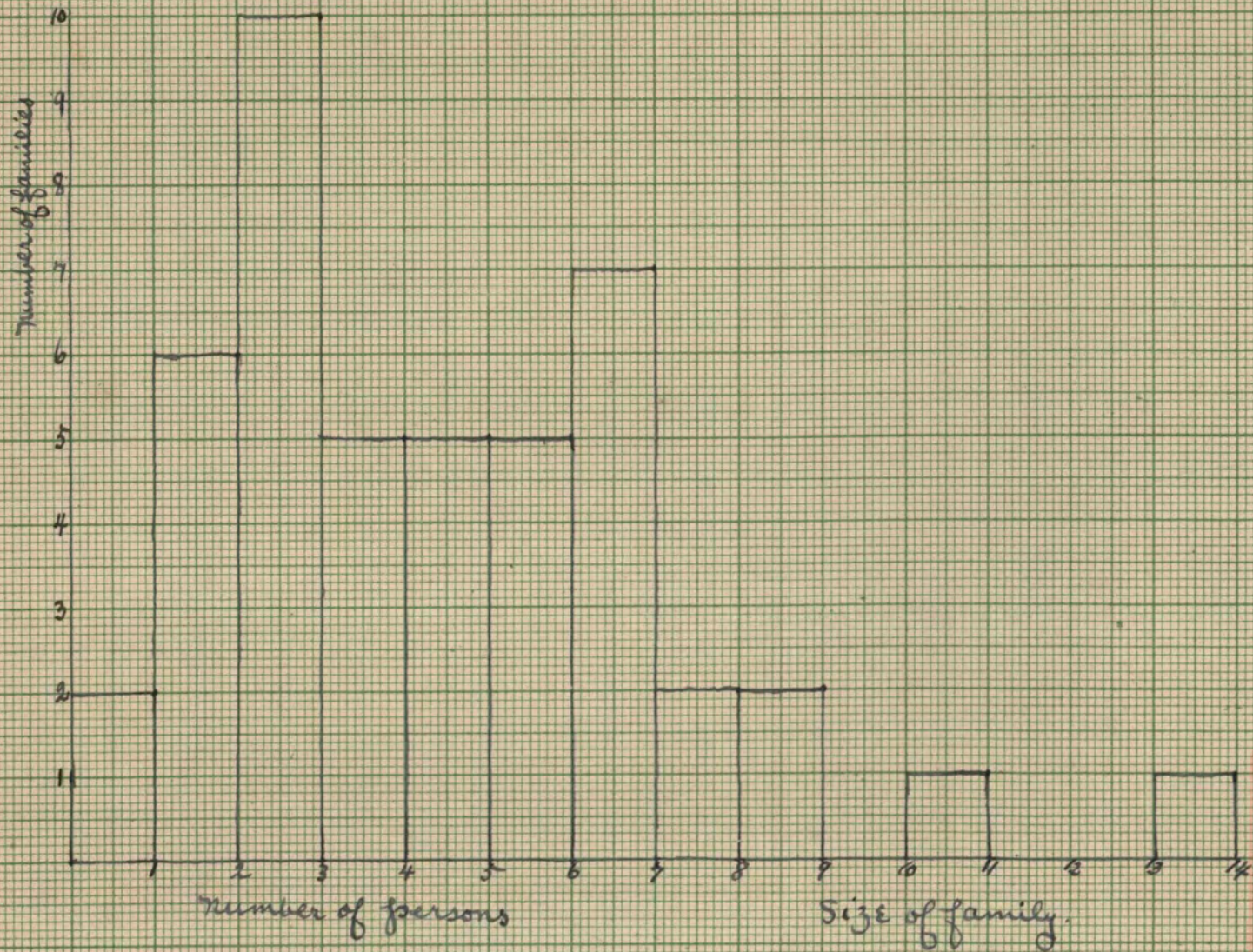
The following figure gives us the frequency distribution of Size of Family for the total of 46 families.

Table 1. The frequency distribution of Size of Family for the total of 46 families.

Number of persons	Number of families
1	2
2	6
3	100
4	5
5	5
6	5
7	7
8	2
9	2
11	1
14	1

Graphic presentation of the frequency distribution of Size of Family for the total of 46 families:





Regarding the population in past generations, there were no statistical records. But the people who live in Chen Chia Tsong realize that the number of people during the past 60 years has increased. An interview was had with an old woman 78 years of age in the summer time of 1930. She told me that Chen Chia Tsong had almost the same size of population as this village has at present, before the time of the Taiping Rebellion. More than 70 persons were killed during the time of the Taiping Rebellion. She personally saw that calamity.

This little instance indicates that the population of Chen Chia Tsong has increased during the past seventy years. In order to know the growth of population in a certain village in the past times, the best way from my view point is to ask the very old people who live in that village. Even though all their sayings are not thoroughly reliable, they really give us some notion about the growth of population in the past.



Chapter VI

Birth Rate and Death Rate

It is generally believed that both birth rate and death rate are very high. It may be true that birth rate in China is 30 to 40 per thousand per year, and death rate is 30 to 35. This kind of high birth rate and death rate indicates that China is in a very unhealthy condition. In Chen Chia Tsong, there were eleven deaths among 227 persons in a single year beginning from August first of 1929 to the end of July of 1930. This will make the death rate 48 per 1,000 in a single year. Regarding the birth rate, there were twelve births altogether. This will make the birth rate 53 per 1,000 per year. By death rate is simply meant the number of deaths per 1,000 per year; birth rate, the number of births per 1,000 per year.

Table 1. Birth Rate of Chen Chia Tsong, August the 1st of 1929 to July 31st of 1930

Sex group	Number actual	Corrected to population per 1000	Corrected to number married persons per 1000
1	2	3	4
Males	4	18	100
Females	8	35	195
Total	12	53	148

Table 1 shows the actual figures for births in this period analyzed by sex (column 2) and corrected to the population per 1000 (column 3). Column 4 gives the rates of birth for males

and females as corrected to the total number of married people in Chen Chia Tsong. This rate is very useful when we try to interpret the fertility to the total population.

Table II. Death Rate for Chen Chia Tsong, August 1st, 1929
to July 31st, 1930

Sex group	Number (actual)	Corrected to gross death rate per 1000
(1)	(2)	(3)
Males	6	26
Females	5	22
Total	11	48

Table II tells us the death rate during the same period. Column (2) tell us the actual number of deaths by sex; column (3) corrects these to a gross rate for the total population of the village per 1000 persons. This correction on the basis of 1000 persons makes it much easier for us to compare these rates with those of other villages or places, but we shall remember that the total population of Chen Chia Tsong is very small---227.

Some studies made by other observers are as follows:

1. A study of Phenix village in Kwantung made by Prof. Kulp II. He found that birth rate and death rate were the same, 34 per 1000 during 1917 to 1918.

2. A study of an economic and social survey of 159 farms Yen Shan country district in 1923, made by Prof. Buck, of *the*

Nanking University. He found that the birth rate was 58.4 per 1000 among 686 people, the death rate was 37.1, and the survival rate was 21.3.

The above figures indicate that both birth rate and death rate are exceedingly high among Chinese population. The causes of high birth rate among Chen Chia Tsong population may be stated as follows:

1. Low standard of living. The people who live in Chen Chia Tsong have not much ambition. A small income can support several members in a family.

2. Early marriage. This idea of early marriage is closely connected with the idea of ancestor worship. It is always the duty for the parents to find life mates for their children when the latter are very young. When a person reached the age of 19 to 20, his parents should get him married. If a boy reaches a certain age, let us say 14 years of age, and has not found a suitable girl, his parents would be disgraced. The following table shows 50 persons of their ages at marriage in Chen Chia Tsong.

Table 3. Ages at marriage for 27 males and 23 females

Males		Females	
Ages	Number of cases	Ages	Number of cases
16	1	14	1
19	5	16	2
20	1	17	2
21	14	18	1
23	3	19	4
25	1	20	3

Table 3 (con).

Females

ages	Number of cases
21	7
22	1
23	2

From the above figures, we see the most usual age both for men and women is 21 (Chinese age). This figures of marriage age in Chen Chia Tsong is generally true among Chinese population. If we compare our age at marriage with the age of marriage in England and Wales, we shall see that our age at marriage is too low. "The mean age at marriage (England Wales) in 1920 was 27.51 years for bachelor bridgerooms and for spinster brides 25.54 years, representing an average postponement of marriage since 1896 of 0.88 years for bachelors and 0.40 years for spinsters. The most usual ages of marriage are 24 for men and 21 for women." (Sir Arthur Newsholme, The Elements of Vital Statistics, p.66-67).

The age at marriage of women has a great effect upon their fertility. "The official figures shows a maximum fertility at marriage age 18 or 19, with a progressive decline in fertility with advancing age at marriage. The decline is especially great from marriage age 20 to 25, followed by a more gradual decline lasting till about 30 to 35, and afterwards again becoming more rapid. Professor Tait in his contribution to Mathews Duncan's work on fertility (1866) summarized the relation between age at birth of progeny and fertility in the law that the fertility

at different ages varies directly as the differences between these ages and 50; and Yule has shown the general applicability of Taits' formula, even though it only gives a working approximation, in the standardization of birth-rates of many populations" (Sir Arthur Newsholme, The Elements of Vital Statistics, p.101).

3. Common ignorance.

4. Large family system. Here I want to say that all the members in a family have an economic cooperation. Before getting economic independence, a son can marry, and his parents will take care of the economic burdens.

Regarding high death rate, I may say it is the general phenomenon in a population having high birth rate. Lack of sanitation and education, poverty etc., brings up the death rate. In other words, low standard of living is the main cause of high death rate.

"The high birth rate in China is certainly a great evil. Quality is often sacrificed for the sake of quantity. Excessive birth rate not only causes a great many social and economic miseries, but also weighs down the vitality of the race. Besides, the big family is also the principal source of frequent official corruption and periodic political anarchy. A reduction of birth rate, say by one-third to two-fifths, is certainly desirable from both the quantitative and the qualitative point of view. The very alarming differential birth-rate manifested in the west may not yet, however, generally take place in China. But unless the proper knowledge of reasonable limitation of population is made, the general property of all married couples' in Professor Samuel J. Holmes' phrase, at the early stage of

birth control movement, the evils of differential birth-rate are bound to repeat in China in a near future. To maintain the equilibrium of population between social classes, a general diffusion of education, an equitable distribution of wealth, raising of the standard of living, are most essential." (Chang Heng Chen, China's Population Problems, p. 26-27).

".....the high ^{death} birth rate in China at present, originating from the high birth rate, is both wasteful and alarming. The social and economic waste is great enough, but the biological effect is probably much worse. A high death rate does not mean a more effective lethal selection, because there is a higher percentage of unnatural deaths than natural deaths. It is safe to say that a very large part of the deaths, which are simply due to infectious diseases, heavy physical labor as well as any other environmental causes, can be greatly reduced without causing any degeneration in the race. On the contrary, to effect the reduction of such unnatural deaths may mean even a social gain" (Chang-heng, Chen, China's Population Problem, p. 130).



Chapter VII

The Economic Conditions

By looking at the figure of death rate of Chen Chia Tsong population, one may guess the general economic status of the people. The death rate is a very good norm by which to measure the economic status of a certain locality. But do not misunderstand what I say. Death rate is not only of measuring poverty or wealth. Of course there are other factors. I mean that all the improvements, such as the educational facilities and health facilities of a community, dependent upon the extent of its economic resources.

Now suppose we divide all the farm families in Chen Chia Tsong into poor, fair, and good in economic status. "By good is meant well-to-do. Such groups have more and richer food than they need, money of interest, considerable income from property, or, as is frequently the case, from fortunate kin in foreign lands. The 'fair' have enough to maintain themselves independently, but none to spare..... The 'poor' live from hand to mouth, at the mercy of nature and the good will of their kin." (D. H. Kulp II, Country Life in South China, p.104).

The following figure gives us the general view about the economic status in Chen Chia Tsong:

Fig. 1. The Economic Status of 46 families in Cheng

Chia Tsong

Rank	Number	Percentage
Poor.....	28	61



Fig1. (con.)

Rank	Number	Percentage
Fair	13.....	28
good	5	11

I got the above figure by asking the general opinion of the people in Chen Chia Tsong, and by my past knowledg of those families. It is very interesting to note that only 11 percent of the total families are to be considered rich; 28 percent, fair; and 61 percent, poor.

In order to know how much land each farm family has, we may study the following figures, which give us the contrstete picture.

Fig. 2. The distribution of farm land among 46 farm families:

Number of mou per family	Number of families
0.0	2
1.8	1
2.0	2
2.3	1
2.6	1
2.7	1
2.8	2
3.0	4
3.6	1
3.7	2
3.8	1
4.5	1



Fig. (con.)

Number of mou per family	Number of families
5.0	2
5.4	1
6.5	1
6.0	2
8.0	3
9.0	2
9.2	1
10.0	2
10.3	1
10.6	1
11.0	1
12.6	1
13.7	1
14.0	1
15.0	1
19.0	2
28.0	1
28.5	1
33.0	1
35.0	1

The above figures tells us that two families have not any farm land. Those two families each have two members, a father and a son. Formerly, one of those two families had 60 mou of farm land, and was the richest in Chen Chia Tsong. Since the head of the family indulgent in gambling all pieces of farm land were gradually sold until now there is none. The other family once had ten mou farm land. Because of unskillfulness in managing the house home and in running a macaroni shop the head of family became involved in many debts. He and his son have now become hired laborers on the farm.

Fig. 3. Percentage distribution of farm land

Mou group (per family)	Number of families	Percentage
0--5	21	46
5--10	12	26
10--15	7	15



Fig. 3. (con.)

Mou groups per family	Number of families	Percentage
15-- 25	6	13

Looking at the above figure, we may see that 46 percent of total families have farm land less than five mou; 26 percent between 5 to 10 mou; 15 percent, between 10 to 15 mou; and 13 percent, between 15 to 35 mou.

How much income can a farmer get from each mou? Each good mou may produce 200 pounds* of rice and 70 pounds of wheat in a very good year. According to the present price of rice and wheat, this means that the products of each mou are valued at about 30 dollars. From these 30 dollars must be subtracted 7 dollars for the fertilizers. Now the farmer only has 23 dollars. If his land is rented, he must pay according to the figures of last year \$5.60 during the harvest rice and \$1.10 during the wheat harvest for each mou. Thus we see that a farmer can only get \$16.50. If a farmer cultivates only five mou of farm land, and those five mou do not belong to himself, how large is his income? Eighty one dollars and fifty cents is his income. Besides this, there is almost no other income for the farmer in Chen Chia Tsong. But we may ask, how can a farmer support his family on \$81.50, with a family averaging 4.8 members?

Since the villagers suffering from small income, are there some ways to increase rural income? "It is the maintenance of the right scarcity of farm production. Scarcity varies with the balance between agricultural and other factors. The

* If on catties

balance of population changing by people moving from farm to city; the balance of production changing by the increase of factory hands and the decrease of farm hands; the balance of price changing by bringing the price of farm products up to a par with other prices,--all of these changes in the balance between farm and city are fundamental in determining the scarcity of farm products." (L. D. Edie, Economics: Principles and Problems.)



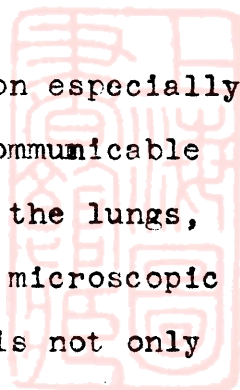
Chapter VIII

Health and Sanitation

Death rate is closely connected with the question of health and sanitation. The diseases most frequent in Chen Chia Tsong are malaria, dysentery, tuberculosis, measles, diarrhoea, and eye diseases. "The rains leave in their wake pools of stagnant water which soon breed mosquitoes. Many families have large water-kangs either outside or inside of the houses. While these kangas are filled with water they also breed mosquitoes. No sooner does darkness fall than the air hums with the wings of swarms of these pests. Either one ~~deve-~~lops a callousness to them, constantly fans the exposed portions of his body, or takes refuge behind the bed net. Under the circumstances, it is small wonder that malaria is common. The worst of it is that when people are worn out with fighting malaria they are ready victims of any virulent contagious diseases that happen along."

Dysentery is also a constant menace in Chen Chia Tsong. The people often drink unboiled water during the summer time. They do not know that dysentery is ~~due~~ largely ^{due} to improper feeding and unboiled water.

Next to dysentery, tuberculosis is very common especially among aged people. "Tuberculosis is a chronic, communicable or transmissible disease, caused by the growth in the lungs, or less commonly in other parts of the body, of a microscopic germ called the Tubercle Bacillus. This disease is not only



common to man but occurs also certain species of the lower animals. The germs usually enter the body in early childhood, but in most cases the disease is not caused by them at that time. They may and often do be inactive in the tissues for many years or even for a whole life time. It is generally agreed that practically every person living in civilized communities is, as a result of universal exposure to tuberculosis, at some time infected with the germ of the disease." (Lamson, H. D., Tuberculosis, p.636-7). Aged people have been hastened to their graves by tuberculosis. The following statement is certainly true in Chen Chia Tsong. ".....people are in the habit of coughing and sneezing in the presence of others without putting cloth over their mouths, with the result that germs of infected persons are broadcast into the air to be breathed by members of the household. Spitting on the floor, blowing the nose freely to the ground or floor, are habits which are universal, and are important modes of infection. Chinese houses are often ill-lighted, so that sunlight does not come in sufficiently to kill the germs. People sleep close together in rooms with little if any fresh air coming in. Contagion is inevitable. Even when spittoons are used to spit in, flies get on this and carry the germs to others through lighting on people's food." (Lamson, H. D., Tuberculosis, p.640-1.) I am very sorry to say that my mother died of tuberculosis five years ago. My father now has tuberculosis also. Those unfamiliar with conditions in such villages would be very much surprised to find the numbers of people in Chen Chia Tsong

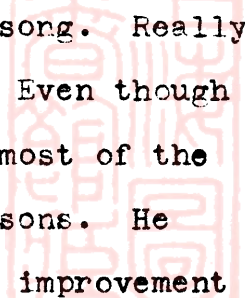
who cough a great deal. They may cough and sneeze before others, until unconsciously they too contract tuberculosis.

Besides malaria, dysentery and tuberculosis, I wish to mention trachoma, which is exceedingly common among the villagers. Redness, itching and watering of the eyelids are the symptoms. About ten persons in Chen Chia Tsong are almost half-blind. Common towels, wash cloths, and bed clothing are responsible for spreading the infection of this disease. The people really know very little about personal hygiene and sanitation.

Looking around the village, one would find hardly any sewage system. Going to one's bedroom you will find it full of darkness. The windows of the houses are small in size and never open except during the summer time. Looking at the canal, you may see sometimes "some people draw the water from the river just where others may be washing clothes or toilet buckets."

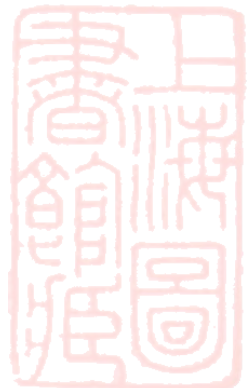
There are no public bath-houses. The people who have no bath rooms themselves may go to bath in the private bath-room of some neighbors. When a person has a bath-room himself, he is in general very kind to let his neighbors having baths without any charge. People during the winter time very seldom take baths---once a month sometimes. In the summer season, most men and boys bathe by swimming in the canal.

There is one so-called doctor in Chen Chia Tsong. Really he does not know any thing about modern medicine. Even though he does not know much about medicine, he is busy most of the time, especially during the summer and autumn seasons. He lives in this village. But this village makes no improvement



on health and sanitation because of having such a doctor.

To leave a coffin containing a corpse unburied a custom that makes the health conditions worse. There is no definite place for the graveyard. Suppose we take a walk around the village; we may see graveyards here and there. The people believe in feng-shui--to find a fortunate spot for burying a member of one's family in future. "One thousand people who work can not compare with one dead man who lies underground" (千個人做, 不及一個人埋), is an adage deeply rooted in people's heart. The villagers believe that the coming of death or sickness to a family is due to having no good graveyard for the ancestor or ancestors. If a person is very sick, Taoists may be invited to perform their rites. If "Mr. Feng-shui" says that the graveyard for your ancestor is no good, you must ask him to find some better place.



Chapter IX
Education

"We, the people of Chen Chia Tsong", one of the villagers said to me, "have some very literate men in every generation. Last generation we had Chen Tse-chi and Chu Kya-kwen." (Chen Tse-chi and Chu Kya-kwen were both schoolmasters in private schools). "Now you and Chen Ching-fong are the ones," he continued.

Regarding standards of village education, we should remember that it is not measured only by a limited number of well-educated persons, but rather by the people who live in the village as a whole.

Among 227 people there are 182 who are above 15 years of age. Among 182 people there are only 21 persons who are literate, and the rest are illiterate. In other words, 84 percent of the people are suffering from illiteracy. By illiteracy is meant inability to write in Chinese, regardless of ability to read.

"It requires no argument to prove that people who are illiterate will have many mental attitudes not common to people who are accustomed to read. There would be difficulties in working out a health problem, an economic or political program among illiterates which would not exist among people who are literate." (Warren S. Thompson, Population Problems, p.75.)

It is probably true that China has the largest percentage of people who are illiterate. This is the main cause of China's backwardness. The following table, which is taken from page 76

of Population Problems, by Warren S. Thompson, will enable us to compare illiteracy in certain countries.

Table I. Percentage of illiteracy in various countries (15 years of age and over), 1920.

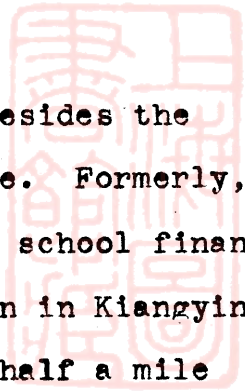
Russia	59.1
Bulgaria	49.9
Spain	42.8
Poland	33.4
Italy	28.0
Hungary	13.4
¹ France	8.0
² Czechoslovakia.....	7.8
Finland	0.9
³ Germany	0.03

- 1. Ten years of age and over
- 2. Seven years of age and over
- 3. Between the ages of 15 and 60, for 1910.

The Village School

"Since you will finish your college course next term," the teacher of Chen Chia Tsong Primary School said to me one day, "you should plan to do something for your mother school, Chen Chia Tsong Primary School---to get some funds from the Bureau of Education in Kiangyin."

The school is supported by the students. Besides the students' fee, there is no other source of income. Formerly, the Bureau of Education in Kiangyin took care of school finance--about \$130.0 a year. Now the Bureau of Education in Kiangyin uses this money in running another school about half a mile



from Chen Chia Tsong. The school fees vary from one dollar to two dollars, according to the economic status of the student's family. Besides, paying a certain amount of tuition, most students from Chen Chia Tsong are required to furnish the board of the teacher by turns. The teacher received seventy dollars in 1930, for example, as his salary, exclusive of his board.

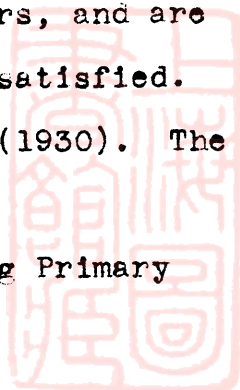
What kind of teacher is he? He was my school-mate when I was in Siao Gye Higher Primary School. After graduating from Siao Gye Higher Primary School, he went into some business for one year. Since the Southern army came to Kiangyin, teaching has been his profession. He is very dull and shy, and does not know much about the outside world.

I am very sorry to say that he may have perhaps have tuberculosis, as he spits blood very often.

A poor teacher gets poor pay, this is certainly true. But I do not think that Chen Chia Tsong can get any good teacher, since there is no school fund. By this way, the people who live in this village are not very enthusiastic about having schooling. "What is use of having schooling? We know but how to farm." This kind of attitude is very common among villagers. If the children can recognize some common Chinese characters, and are able to keep some records, their parents are quite satisfied.

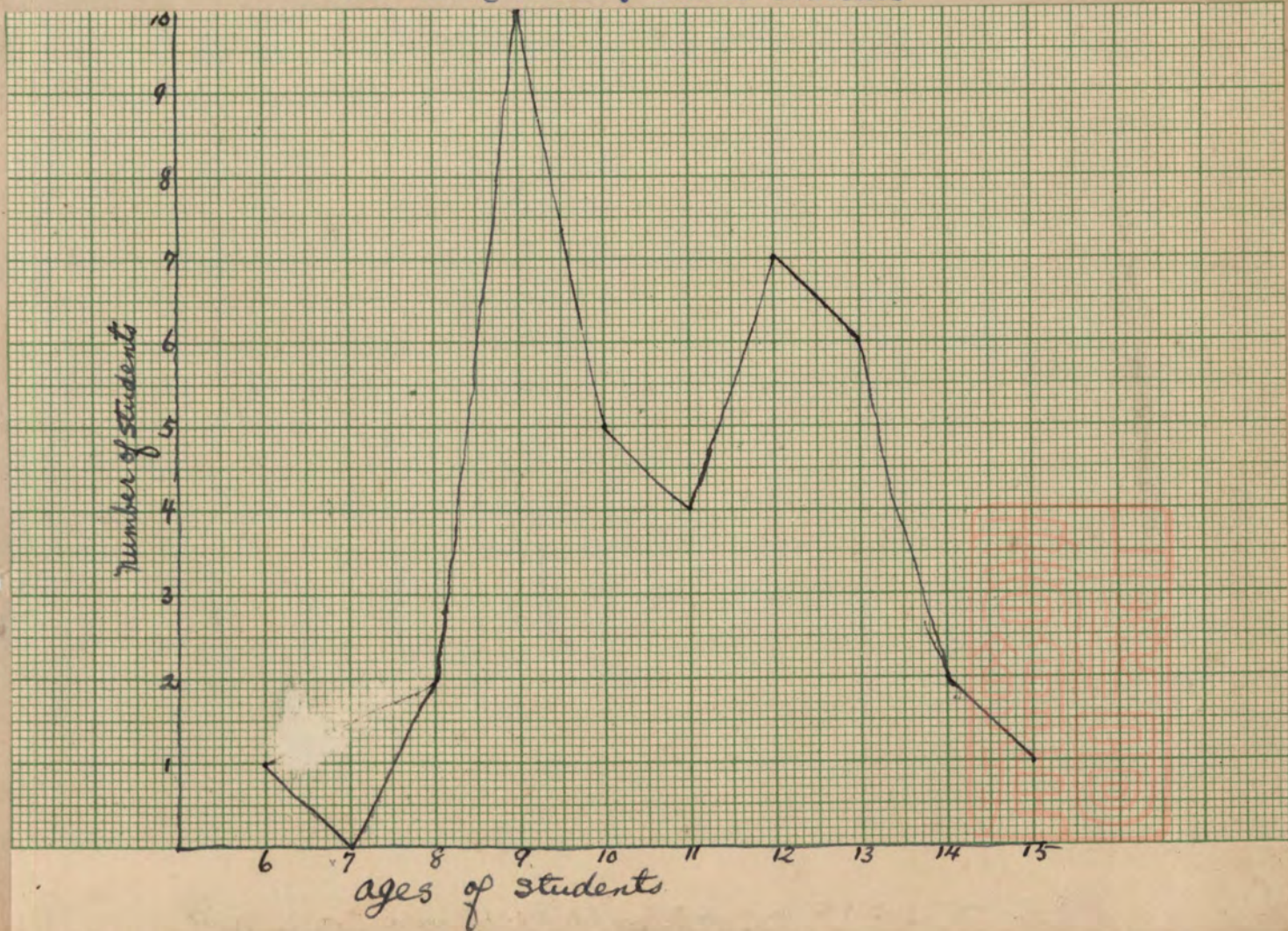
All together, there are thirty-eight students (1930). The following figure is their age distribution.

Fig. 1, The age distribution of Chen Chia Tsong Primary School students.



Age of students	Number of students
6	1
7	0
8	2
9	10
10	5
11	4
12	7
13	6
14	2
15	1

Graphic presentation of age distribution of Chen Chia Tsong Primary School students



Among these thirty-eight students, 22 students come from the neighboring villages. There are only 5 or 6 students who are girls. Girls are in a inferior position. From my investigation, I found that none of the females in Chen Chia Tsong are literate. "A girl baby means some other family name". The following case, which was observed by my school-mate Mr. K. F. Chang, of Shanghai College, may illustrate the fact.

"Wang is a factory worker, in Hou Sung Cotton Mill of Shanghai, earning 70 cents a day. He has three children, one son aged ten years, and two daughters, aged five and two. He is planning to send his son to the primary school in the immediate future. Regarding the daughters, he stated: 'The daughters, on the other hand, do not need to get any education at all, because they, sooner or later, will be considered members of other families, through marriage!'"

This philosophy is very common among the Chinese population, especially among those persons who are uneducated. To practice infanticide on females rather than males is a common phenomenon in Chen Chia Tsong. I found a total of 7 in this generation. All the cases were females. This may be one of the important causes why China has more males than females.

Now I shall not go too far from my topic/ "The Village School." Let me tell you some other things which make Chen Chia Tsong primary school worse. Chen Chia Tsong primary school is recognized as a recreational center. Any one in this village may go to the school to interrupt the studies of the students, and may have a talk with the teacher at any time. There is no such thing as "in class" or "after class". This school is the

gathering place of the notorious gamblers of this village.
They gamble with the teacher.

It is very interesting to note that the teacher pounds the table with kya-fong-- a heavy flat ruler used for inflicting punishment--when the students do not read their lessons with loud voice. If a student does something that is unsatisfactory to the teacher, the teacher often beats him with his beating stick. This is a school of the old pedagogue type rather than modern school.



Chapter X

The Family

Two things came to my mind very suddenly when I began to write this chapter, "The Family." These two things are filial piety and ancestor worship which are the chief characteristics of the Chinese family. As to filial piety, all the obligations, duties, rights, attitudes, and responsibilities toward the family members and other relatives are fixed by mores. Filial piety is the attitude that correlates with the all-important practice of ancestral worship. The one is the concomitant of the other; each reinforces the other. The logical conclusion of filial piety is ancestral worship.

"The principal distinction between filial piety and ancestral worship is that the former is the primarily concerned with one's relation to the living and only secondarily to the dead, ~~with~~ while the latter is primarily concerned with one's relation to the dead and only secondarily to the living."

There is no doubt that filial piety and ancestor worship had a very important position in Chinese family in past. Because of western education and influences, the old Chinese family system is in process of being changed. Old folk-customs and mores are being broken down. The following cases gives us some light on how the family in Chen Chia Tsong is being changed.

"About 40 li from Wusih on the south and 12 li from Kiangyin on the north, there is a village where I live, named Chen Chia Tsong because the surname of the majority of people

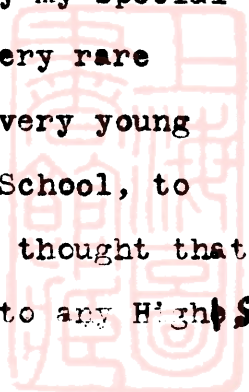
in that village is Chen. Almost all the people are farmers. Most of them are illiterate and know very little about the outside world. There is no news-paper, since there is no one to subscribe to it. Through gossip the people get the news of the whole village. Through those who drink tea in the teashops, the people in the village get the news of the outside.

"Besides me, there are two other members in my family---my father and my younger brother. I have one older brother who has already separated from us, and two older sisters who are both married.

"^{My} father is a farmer and is now fifty-seven years of age. ~~He~~ still works on the farm. "Where shall you have your rice to eat, if you do not like to farm and work?" he often said to his sons when he saw that they were idle. My father is very thrifty, so thrifty that he could bring up my two sisters and my two ~~brothers~~ brothers and me.

My mother was also a very hard worker. She worked so hard that she got tuberculosis and died of it in 1926. Her three sons were her property. When she remembered that she had three sons ~~she~~ she worked day and night.

"My two brothers and my two sisters received very little schooling, and are illiterate. It is certainly my special privilege to get college education since this is very rare chance for Chinese people to get. But when I was a very young boy, I never dreamed that I could go Higher Primary School, to Middle School, and now to College. My parents never thought that they could send me to any Higher ^{Primary} School, still less to any High School, and least of all to any College.



"When I was seven years of age, my brother and I went to the same private school. Before we went to school, my mother specially cooked ~~some~~ pork for us to eat. 'To-day you both will go to school. At the first day of going to school, you both must eat some pork. If you eat some pork, you both may memorize your lessons more easily.' This is what my mother said to my brother and me before we started toward school.

"My brother was a very naughty boy. He did not study his lesson diligently and could not repeat it. Because of this reason, the teacher did not like him. I obey the commands of the teacher and studied my lesson very diligently. The teacher often came to my parents, and told them how bad my brother was and how good I was in the school. For this, my parents loved me more than my elder brother. When any fortune-teller past by our door my mother often asked him or her to fortell about my future career. My parents were very happy when the fortune-teller said that their sons future was very hopeful. Besides hearing the fortune-teller, my father often took me to some temples to burn incense before Buddha and ask about my future fate.

"After studying in this private school for several years, I was required to leave the school and work on the farm with my father and my elder brother. When I heard that I should spend my whole time in working on the farm, I asked my parents if they would let me continue my study. My parents were very kind to me and let ^{me} do so.

"My mother was a very earnest Buddhist, and often ask me to sit beside her to read some books about Buddhism to her.

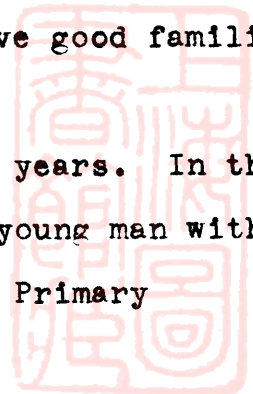
She was very much interested in what I read. So-and-so became very rich and became a very great man because of his faithfulness to Buddha and loyalty to his country. So-and-so was in bankruptcy and was sent to the guillotine because of his unfaithfulness to Buddha and disloyalty to his country.

"I remember very well that when I was very sick my mother spent most of her time sitting on my bed and nursing me. She prayed Buddha to save my life. 'I don't think,' She said to my father, 'that any thing will happen to us, since your grand-parents and your parents were very good people.' If any body in my family was sick, my mother was a very good nurse. Once my elder brother's wife was sick, ^{and} my mother nursed her for more than three months.

"My parents worried a great deal about the conduct of my elder brother and his wife. He joined a gang, and she was an idler and gossip. When I was a boy, my brother was my great trouble-maker. If we both worked in the same farm, he often beat me while my father was not there. She was always right and I was always wrong as to what he thought.

"My two sisters were in a very inferior position before marrying. They were not treated as members of my family. They ate worse food than we ^{and} worked as cobblers. 'A girl baby means some other family name.' But now both of them have good families. They live in very happy life.

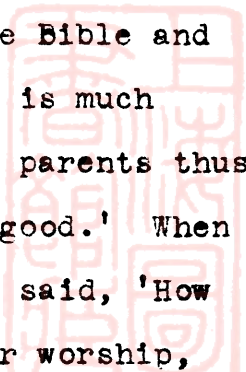
"I studied in the primary school for several years. In the year 1919 I got an introduction from Mr. Chen, a young man with a very good fame in Siao Gyi, to Siao Gyi Higher Primary School.



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"I remember very well that when I arrived at the school, many old students stood around me. It seemed that my actions were very queer to them. Some of them made fun of me and some of them pointed at me and said, 'Look, a country folk who will be a student in our school.' This is somewhat like the way some seniors and juniors treat freshman in some colleges and universities in the U. S. A. One student whom I hated most often called me a country folk whenever he met me. One afternoon when I happened to meet him outside of the school, I gave him a very good beating. After beating his head with my fist a good deal, I asked him thus: 'Shall you call me such a bad name again?' Very quickly he answered me, 'No, I shall never call you such a name. Please excuse me for my former mistakes.' From this time on he became my friend and never treated me unfavorably again.

"Three years and half after, I finished my Higher Primary School course. After finishing the higher primary school, I went to a certain middle school in a certain city. Going to this school, I was very much surprised to find out that this was a missionary school. All the students who studying this school are required to take the religious courses and to attend the chapel and the church services. 'Jesus' and 'God' ~~was~~ are two words of which great emphasis is laid. Studying the Bible and listening to the sermons, I found that Christianity is much better than Buddhism. I remember once I said to my parents thus: 'Buddha is a false god, and ancestor worship is no good.' When I said this, my parents were very angry at me. They said, 'How undutiful you are! When you do not believe ancestor worship,

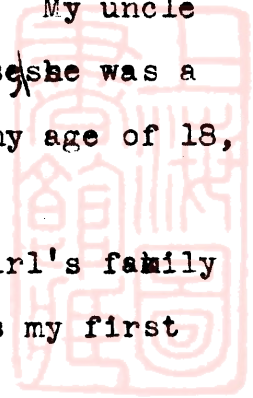


what is the use of having a son?' From this time on, fortune-tellers and Buddha had nothing to do with me. In 1925, I was baptized and became a member of the church.

"It is a very unfortunate thing that my mother got tuberculosis in ~~twenty four~~ 1924 and died of it in 1926. I shall never forget her love to me. Very tenderly once she said to me, 'May I live on earth two or three more years! I wish I may see you able to earn your living and to have a family before I die. When I see that you have a family and can support it, I shall be very ^{much} satisfied. Do you know that our villagers and relatives all laugh at you because though you are so old you are still studying at school, and unable to earn a living? They all think that you can do nothing good in future. I pray for you that you may be a very useful man in the future. Do not be such a man as they suppose you will be-----I am in a great state of pessimism about your elder brother. He and his ~~his~~ wife do not know how to work, and idle all the time. Your father becomes weaker and weaker and cannot work very hard on the farm. The younger brother is too young and he does not understand anything. You should be responsible for guiding him!

"I was betrothed when I was a very young boy. My uncle and my elder sister were the middle man. Of course she was a country girl, and received no schooling. Before my age of 18, I never met her.

"When I was studying in Middle School, the girl's family sent me an invitation to visit her home. This was my first



good chance to see my fiancée, but I did not see her at all in this first visit. In my second visit to her home, I saw her without any introduction. But there was not any talk between her and me, since it is taboo to have a talk between fiancé and fiancée in the old Chinese family system. When I saw my fiancée, I thought to myself that she was good looking enough. At that time, I wonder whether her parents would help her to study in some school. After going back to my home I talked over this matter with my uncle, the middle-man. But my uncle said to me, 'You should know, so-and-so, it is not always an easy thing for the parents to send their daughter, or, even their son, to some school. If your fiancée should go to school, what would be the use of her schooling? Should you like her to be a teacher? Give up this kind of idea. Moreover, your father-in-law will never help her to study, since his son has received only a little schooling. How many families send their daughters to the school schools?'

"After hearing my uncle's words, I was in great disappointment. I remember very well that one day I wrote a letter to my fiancée's parents, asking if they would send their daughter to some school. I determined that I would never marry any girl who had received no schooling. Not many days after, this case of writing a letter to my fiancée's parents, reached the ears of my father; he blamed me very severely when I came back to my home from the school. He and my uncle considered this act of ~~my mind~~ as very unusual, impolite, and even disgraceful. But I told them the girl must go to school, otherwise I should break my

engagement.

"This news soon became known to all the people in Chen Chia Tsong. When they met me, they often said, 'Look at this fellow, who wants his fiancée to go to school. He wrote a letter to the girl's parents, asking kindly to send their daughter to school, and saying that otherwise he would break the engagement. What would be the use of a girl's receiving any education? Oh, this 'funny fellow!'

"It was certainly a very hard position for me at that time since there was no one to be sympathetic with me. But I determined that she must go to school. Two years after, my fiancée really went to school. Since she went to the school, I again visited her home. From that time on, we had often some talks together at her home. Sometimes she asked me to teach her Chinese and arithmetic. Because we had talks together and I taught Chinese and arithmetic, the country folks gossiped about us a great deal. In order to put my fiancée and myself in a better light; I stopped my visits to her home for a very long time.

"Because of the Southeners coming to Kiangyin, all the missionary schools in Kiangyin were closed for a while. She then stayed at her home. At this time her mother said that my fiancée would not go to school again.

"I went to the girl's family that she should continue her study. Her mother not only refused my request, but was very angry. At that moment the only thing that can I do is to break my engagement. I was certainly very fortunate, because she agreed with what I suggested. Without any difficulty, the

engagement was broken.

"On the same day, this news reached the ears of my ^{father}. He was very angry at me and said, 'What have you done? How do you dare to break your engagement which I arranged for you?'

"When my uncle saw me, he said to me, 'Don't make such a mistake. This is a very serious matter. Where shall you get a better girl?'

"At this time there was ~~not~~ one to be sympathetic with me except the pastor of Siao Chi Church. Many people, including my relatives gossiped about me a great deal. Some people thought that I was going to be insane. And some people thought that ^{I had} fallen in love with some other girl. But I did not care for ~~anything~~ anything that they said. 'To be a monk a day and to knock the bells a day' was my philosophy at that time.

"It is always the duty of the parents to ^{get} their children engaged when they are very young. When they reach the age of nineteen or twenty, it is the duty of the parents to get their children married. If a boy reaches a certain age, let us say fourteen, and is still not betrothed, ^{his parents will be disgraced,} late engagement and late marriage indicate a low economic status, according to the standards of Chen Chia Tsong. Regarding the question of engagement and marriage, the country folks always pay attention to the property of one's family, rather than the personality ~~of one's~~ to be engaged and married.

It is a proud thing for a person's ~~daughter~~ daughter to have daughter-in-laws and sons at home, if his daughter-in-laws can get along well with himself and his in the family. It is a very common phenomenon for the mother-in-law and

daughter-in-law to have great quarrels each other? "Daughter-in-law talks nothing but her mother-in-law. Mother-in-law talks nothing but daughter-in-law." This kind of family life is certainly very unhealthy; but it is very common among Chinese families



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