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UP FROM POVERTY IN RURAL INDIA



COMING INTO NEW-FOUND WEALTH

Outcast still, but he has learned to turn out the finest products, which he brings in to his co-operative market.

UP FROM POVERTY
IN RURAL INDIA

BY

D. SPENCER HATCH

B.Sc., M.Sc. in Agr., Ph.D.

Directing Rural Demonstration, Travancore and Cochin District

WITH A FOREWORD BY

THE EARL OF WILLINGDON

G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.B.E.

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Here is thy footstool and there
rest thy feet where live the poorest,
and lowliest, and lost.

When I try to bow to thee, my
obeisance cannot reach down to the
depth where thy feet rest among the
poorest, and lowliest, and lost.

Pride can never approach to where
thou walkest in the clothes of the
humble among the poorest, and lowliest,
and lost.

My heart can never find its way
to where thou keepest company with
the companionless among the poorest,
the lowliest, and the lost.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
Gitanjali

One of the oldest and perhaps the noblest of human aspirations has been the abolition of poverty.

HERBERT HOOVER

TO THOSE GREAT NUMBERS OF

BOYS AND GIRLS

MEN AND WOMEN OF RURAL INDIA

WHO, BECAUSE THEY KNOW NOT

HOW TO PROVIDE FOR THEMSELVES,

ARE HUNGRY, UNHEALTHY, UNHAPPY AND DEPRESSED

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

IN THE HOPE THAT ITS INFLUENCE MAY HELP

THEM AND THEIR POSTERITY

FOREWORD

THE future of India is so much in the public mind at the present time, that a volume written by one who has worked in India long years, and has, to my personal knowledge, done good service in his endeavours to improve the condition of the rural classes, will be helpful as showing some of the difficulties that exist there and as giving suggestions for the future in regard to this important branch of the Indian problem.

As an old administrator in the country I can safely say that the rural problem of India has been one of the chief preoccupations of the administrations throughout the country for long years past. Much has been done to improve the condition of the rural worker. Great irrigation schemes have been established to secure him from famine ; co-operative societies of all kinds have been formed to save him from the grinding persecution of the money-lender ; demonstration and experimental farms have been set up in all parts of the country to show him in a practical fashion how to improve his cultivation and his breeding of stock. But, to my mind, the main obstacle to his advance and progress lies in the psychology of the rural worker himself, owing to the custom and habit of caste and tradition that have governed his life and actions for generations.

Under the rigidity of caste principles, he has always accepted his position of serfdom, of the hewer of wood and drawer of water for his higher caste brethren, and for this reason and also through want of education and lack of ambition he has shown little inclination to try and rise in the social scale. It is difficult to improve

conditions of life with people who under the stringency of caste principles see no hope of improving. But progress is being made, though it must be slow, and Dr. Spencer Hatch's volume will, I hope and believe, help that progress, by showing what mistakes, in his opinion, have been made in the past and the best steps to be taken to secure sound and satisfactory advance in the future.

WILLINGDON

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

To the Fourth Edition

I am glad that the call for a fourth edition of this book means that many are being able to use the principles and methods which we have found good after years of trial and effort. May this description, together with the story of developments told in my new book *Further Upward* make it unnecessary for others to go the whole, long, slow and costly way of experimentation which we have gone. May these books encourage all readers, convincing them of the possibilities of the climb.

September 1938 D. S. H.

To the Third Edition

Rural reconstruction has become a world-wide movement. At the end of a series of lectures I gave last year in Toronto, Canada, a gentleman who has worked long years in India said feelingly, 'This is the programme that will save India!' Another man, speaking with equal fervour, said: 'This is what is needed to save Canada!' I am glad that this book has proved interesting and useful for individual reading and as a high school and college textbook in several countries. It has been translated into Chinese and into two of the Indian vernaculars, bringing it nearer the common people. When these principles and methods were first explained in 1932, we were in the midst of an experimental period. They have stood the test of four years of further progress.

April 1936 D. S. H.

To the First Edition

Workers cannot but be encouraged when there come demands for a story of the work in which they are engaged. The following chapters are based upon the findings of personal study, experimentation, and practice during my connexion with India since 1916 and on those of my colleagues and fellow rural workers. The central principle involved is *self-help with intimate, expert counsel.*

'Up from Poverty' in the title uses the word 'poverty' in the comprehensive sense, and this is a story of an attempt to rise from poverty—spiritual, mental, physical, social and economic. I write because of the belief that the methods found useful in one district may be helpful and applicable in other parts, for in spite of the differences there is a fundamental unity in Indian civilization. Like the rest of India we have in Travancore diverse castes, creeds and races ; the same preponderance of agriculture ; the same decay of several indigenous industries ; we waste time without knowledge of anything profitable to do in it ; we have pressure of population on the soil ; costly, highly centralized Government machinery ; the extreme dependence of the poorer classes ; low earning power ; poverty ; insanitation ; short life ; unhappiness. In fact some of the methods and principles herein related have already been found applicable in parts of the Orient as far afield as Korea and the Philippine Islands.

To the experience and experimentation upon which this work is founded, members of various castes and creeds and races—even the lowliest—have contributed. The co-operation and assistance of Government officials have been most helpful. To the association with my Indian colleagues, both professional and honorary, I owe the better part of any intimate understanding which I have of the problems of rural India.

Travancore, India D. S. H.
June 1932

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PART I

THE INDIAN PROBLEM

CHAPTER I
UP FROM POVERTY

The Problem

Poverty and need make themselves evident on all sides when one goes among the village people of rural India ; but to determine their extent for a basis of work to be done, I have made an extended study.[1] From the mass of detailed information collected and which cannot find place in this volume, the following summary may be made.

The food supply is insufficient ; it is poorly distributed and a large portion of the people, probably one-third, is underfed. Furthermore, the analyses show that the diet of most of the people is not a balanced ration and does not adequately nourish the body even when taken in quantity.

Clothing, though less needed during some than other parts of the year, is very essential to health and comfort in the coldest and rainy seasons ; and a large percentage of the people have not the means to secure the needed clothing. There is much suffering and illness, and heavy mortality as a result.

Large numbers are improperly and unhealthily housed.

Few of the poor possess land of their own, and those who rent generally do not have large enough plots to

[1] After two years of collecting data according to a definite outline, I finally obtained a full year's complete leave from other responsibilities and devoted all my time to making this study as complete as possible.

produce a decent living for their families, or to give the cultivator and his family anything like full-time employment. The need for subsidiary (home) vocations is great.

Rural labourers hardly make a living wage for the very lowest standard of living. They generally have no surplus and no chance of saving. Many of them are under a form of serfdom.

Live stock and poultry are generally poor in breed, poorly kept, unproductive, often a positive loss.

Agricultural implements and cultivation methods are exceedingly primitive, requiring much unnecessarily hard labour without the prospect of full yield from the soil.

Certain religious and social customs and uneconomic traditions definitely accentuate the distress of the country and retard its rise out of its poverty.

Health conditions, though improving, still give our Indian people the lowest expectancy of life of any in the world—less than 25 years. The need of healthful recreation (which religion and custom have rather discouraged) and physical education is very evident.

Education, though in many respects and places excellent, reaches only a small percentage of the people and is only to a limited extent *rural* education even though the country is essentially rural. It is not well related to the lives of the pupils or to their environment. While this education is not responsible for the disdain of manual labour, it has not used its opportunity to correct it, and its high school and college graduates do not see the dignity of hand labour, without which no nation can rise out of its poverty. Large numbers of these graduates are unemployed, contributors to discontent and a drain upon rather than a help to the resources of the country.

Self-Help

Self-help is the only way of growth to a permanently happier state, but there is a helplessness in the Indian rural village almost beyond belief. The poorer rural people feel their ignorance, their poverty, their comparative weakness. They have little confidence in themselves—how can they give leadership? In their minds their only hope for better things is that these better things be given them or arranged for them by the Government, some philanthropy or charity. Their part is only to get someone, who can write, to frame the familiar 'appeal' stating their difficulties and grievances, then to get some 'respectable gentleman' to back their appeal or to let his name be used in connexion with it.

The old panchayat was a self-help system. That having fallen into decay owing to various factors connected with taxation and administration of the centralized Governments which were artificially set up in supersession of it in various provinces and states, the Indian village was left with no self-help or self-control organization of its own. Seeing that the decay of the panchayat with nothing similar in its place has many undesirable results, Governments, provincial and state, are making efforts to revive the panchayats as rapidly as is practicable. Unfortunately, the very fact that Government has to make the effort retains the official disadvantage.

This leaning on a highly-centralized Government, and the comparatively large place Government plays in Indian life, is far beyond the realization of these people who have so long had things done for them. Their whole consciousness, thought and action is coloured by the officialdom in their midst. Comparatively, many

other peoples of the world hardly realize they have a government.

The above conclusions stated in the fewest possible words bulk large in the Indian problem. India is still a country so ultra-rural that her problem is largely a rural problem. This is such a self-evident fact, that the slowness with which both official and non-official agencies working for India's welfare have recognized it in practice is difficult to understand.

Self-help with intimate, expert counsel is the way up and out. Through that combination of effort, the poverty, backwardness, depression and misery of India must give way to a permanent and growing happier state. Parts III and IV of this book are a story of experimentation and practice in methods of 'self-help with intimate, expert counsel'.

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CHAPTER II

SOME FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS

Comprehensive Programme

The Indian villager is not much benefited unless he is helped simultaneously in every phase of his life and in regard to every relationship he bears to others. Working more especially with the poorer portion of the rural village population, we have experienced this fundamental principle.

Surrounding the villager with benefits. The service must be comprehensive and it must be simultaneously comprehensive. When we have provided cheap capital for the ryot and redeemed him from the clutches of the usurer, unless we help him to organize and to market he will not keep what he has. The Indian villager is the prey of many kinds of sharks, who take advantage of his ignorance and good nature. There are, for example, middlemen who are present at every harvest. The money-lender is one of these. He used to be able to settle the price of the crop at the time of sowing and even now he makes his haul at the time of threshing. If we have not taught the poor cultivator how to organize and provide himself with cheap capital, and if we do not stay by him as a friend, the big middlemen, the usurers, organizing marvellously and able to wait longer, generally knowing men and business better, can get out of the labourer a very great part of the profit which ought to have remained with him. 'If happily, perhaps on a sudden turn of the wheel in the price of ground-nuts

or cotton, the ryot does happen to "prosper", there is always around him a swarm of impecunious relatives, ingratiating village officers and even professional law touts who sedulously sponge on him and keep him carefully down to the standard of bare necessaries' ; so Mr. K. T. Paul has written. These facts give some idea why we include in the Rural Demonstration Programme such a variety of self-help methods. They aim to help the rural family, spiritually, mentally, physically, socially and economically.

In India there has not been a comprehensive survey or handling of the rural problem as a whole. We need to get away from the lamentable fragmentation of effort which has resulted in a regrettably small result from the expenditure of public funds, depriving the development movement of its effectiveness. The number of minor officials who now deal piecemeal with his problems, the villager cannot understand and often does not trust. They are more likely to exasperate than to awaken him from his present attitude of indifference to progress. Representing different departments, with little co-operation between them and no connected plan of work, one visitor collects revenue, one advocates co-operative credit, another improved seed and new implements, another comes to inoculate cattle and another to vaccinate children, another deals with sanitation, and another inspects the village school.

Sir Malcolm Hailey, speaking to the charge that Government has attacked almost every problem except the one which is most important of all, namely, the improvement of the conditions of rural life, says 'the charge is to this extent true, that we have never made a direct and concerted attack on this problem ; we have never deliberately attempted to effect that change in the

psychology of the peasant, and in his social and personal habits, without which it is impossible materially to improve his conditions of life'.[1] We want our Rural Demonstration Centre and its comprehensive extension programme to work toward effecting these needed changes.

Rural Social Organization

All over the world it is recognized that for the highest welfare there must be a goodly number of people in each community willing to give themselves to community betterment without material reward. There is, however, so often a dearth of such people. In one hundred rural villages of Travancore and Cochin States, as many village associations (YMCA's) constitute an outstanding demonstration of what can be done in whole-community service by unpaid local workers. I tell about these associations in the chapter on 'Extension Service'. They are an experiment in rural social organization in which sociologists, economists, and statesmen in several countries are taking an interest. They are our fortunate foundation for spreading new methods and benefits.

In our off-the-beaten-path villages in an old and comparatively slowly changing rural civilization, the effect of any set of methods applied to village life can be so much more accurately measured than effects of similar application of methods in an English or American village for instance, where so many other new forces are in operation. The difficulty of controlling all conditions in sociological experiments generally works against their being truly scientific. One of our villages here more closely approximates to the test tube of the laboratory.

[1] In Foreword to *The Remaking of Village India* by F. L. Brayne.

Even more than in any other part of India, Malabar social life retains free from decay every ancient custom that ever existed there; and side by side with the old customs, the new method is tried out. We can note and measure effects.

To engender effective self-help the first thing we work for is co-operation for the good of all. The development of the community in the naïve, every-man-for-himself, rural area involves the gradual transformation of conflicting interests of individuals into like interests. The people have to be persuaded—and this is a very personal and intimate business—to change from their methods of direct antagonism, isolation and competition to the method of co-operation. We use the co-operative method in everything we do. In our area it is quite clearly seen that this poverty on all sides, this failure in economy, is largely due to failure in sociality. But so long as great numbers are, through no fault of theirs, destitute and expropriated they cannot attain any adequate socialization. Community means for them merely a system of driving outer forces to which they are subject, and which they cannot in the least control.[1]

The poor then have even more need for co-operation than the well-to-do. They need simple organization to help toward socialization and to help them master the forces that now control them. In India there is an aversion to too much organization. There is a belief that westerners, fond of organizations, set up too many and then weary themselves trying to keep them running. This is more or less true. 'Red tape' is a form of it.

Simple organization, however, puts into the hands of the Indian villagers a help without which, with their

[1] See Maciver, *Community*, pp. 331-40.

limited means, they find their task of self-help too difficult. Sociologists cannot but sympathize with that innate and subtle dislike of too much organization in the struggle toward social and economic liberty, that is in the heart of the Indian. It is necessary to rid ourselves of the notion that organization is in itself a good thing. It is very easy to fall into the notion that growing complexity is a sign of progress and that the expanding organization of society is a sign of the coming of the co-operative commonwealth. A constantly growing measure of co-operation among men is the greatest social need of our day; but co-operation has its unorganized forms.

Surely the unorganized co-operation of men based on a sheer feeling of brotherhood, is not less valuable than organized co-operation, which may or may not have the true community spirit behind it. In the development of rural India we need simple organization because it is easier to do most things with organization than without. 'Organization is the scaffolding without which we should find the temple of co-operation too difficult to build.'[1]

Our village people find that they cannot, single-handed, realize either their personal desires or the good they would like to do the community. They sometimes express this as a reason for banding themselves together into the village associations which I am to describe, and it is the reason for the various forms of co-operative societies we have in our area together with the South Travancore Rural Development Association. It will be seen that we work mainly through groups rather than through individuals because it is so much more easy and effective to do so.

[1] Cole, *Social Theory*, pp. 184-92.

Association Principles Applicable Elsewhere. The village associations described later are the villagers' own —of the villagers, by the villagers, for the villagers. This experiment has been carried on long enough—some of the associations are now over 25 years old—and in so many villages that it may be said to have passed beyond the state of experiment. The principle it has revealed and taught as well as the form and method it has developed and proved effective can be copied and used in other parts of India and in other countries.

There seems to be nothing peculiarly different in our West Coast people to warrant their having a permanent monopoly of such village associations and their benefits. Individuals from distant parts of the country become strong pillars in some of our associations. It is easy to say 'conditions are different', but the chief real reason why there are few such elsewhere seems to be that few have yet enlisted leaders in the villages of those parts and trained them enough in the principles of association conduct for community service.

If I were placed for work elsewhere I should certainly attempt to set up some simple organization to do what our associations do here. If they could not be the same I should try a simple committee system or co-operative organization rather than try to get on dealing only with individuals. It is agreed that we have more Christians here. That has helped ; but it is not essential to have so large a percentage. The same principles of structure and conduct can be used by movements within the different great religions, by boards of different denominations, by the great social movements now working for reform, and even by the various state and provincial governments in certain of their endeavours. In fact, in our own area one of the greatest encouragements has

been to see similar organizations spring up among various religious and racial communities, using a similar name and as much of our methodology and construction as would suit the purpose and ideas of the particular society. The furthest-known reach of this influence is the plan, put into operation, for forming similar village associations throughout the seven divisions of Korea, which plan was influenced by and instigated after a study of our Travancore and Cochin associations.

Remunerative Work for Waste Time

The great numbers of people sitting about idle is an ever-impressive sight in India. The phenomenon is striking when thought of in comparison with the small numbers of such in other countries where in normal times an idle person is looked upon as a social disgrace and an economic delinquent. We have in India both unemployment and under-employment, and it is the latter that so vitally concerns the rural people. Any means whereby under-employment may be changed into something approaching full-time employment will be a great economic asset to the villagers.

Subsidiary Cottage Vocations[1] can be this asset. The reason we need them is poverty—that is, insufficient income from a main industry. The reason these auxiliary sources of income are peculiarly feasible for our rural Indian people is the abundance of unproductive spare

[1] 'Industry', generally referring to large numbers of workers congregated together, seems not quite a fitting term for occupation in homes; and it is hardly acceptable to the sensibilities of the Indian people who desire their country not to be industrialized. I therefore prefer the term Cottage Vocations which Dr. T. H. Eaton, author of *Education and Vocations,* tells me is correct usage.

time they have. Small size of holdings, and the various conditions of life and servitude, make it quite impossible for a large percentage of rural families to maintain themselves adequately, without extra sources of income.

Waste Time. Where each worker has only 2.215 acres to cultivate,[1] a part of the explanation of the poverty of the people lies in the fact that this amount of land cannot employ a man for more than a comparatively small number of days in the year. He works steadily when he ploughs the land and puts in his crops, and again at harvest time, but for the most part of the year he has little or nothing to do. The cultivator with not enough to do to fill his time, still knows no other revenue producing work to which he can turn his hand.

It is officially reported to Parliament that 'the cultivator in many provinces of India is obliged by climatic reasons to remain idle for more than one-third of the total working days of the year'.[2] Here are some of the reliable survey estimates of the average number of days of work done by the cultivator: in the Punjab—not more than 150 days in a year ;[3] in the Madras Presidency—on one-crop land about five months, on two-crop land about eight months ;[4] Punjab—157 days ;[5] Bengal and United Provinces—not more than seven months ;[6] Bengal on other than jute land—three months hard work and nine months idleness ; cultivator growing jute as well as rice—an additional six weeks work in July and

[1] See *Census of India,* 1921, Vol. I, pp. 244-5

[2] *India,* 1923-4, p. 197.

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August.[1] And in Travancore and Cochin our studies have shown us that here, as in other parts of India, there are periods when all the members of the rural family are busy in the fields, and other prolonged times when the whole family is idle. There is much time going to waste and much scope for some form of secondary occupation.

Authorities all over India tend to agree with us that one of the remedies for poverty in India is cottage vocations. But the answers of the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India when questioned by the Royal Commission on Agriculture were surprisingly indefinite as to the progress of such vocations in India.[2]

[1] Jack, *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*, p. 39.

[2] The questions and answers were as follows: 'Do you know whether any Government has attempted to find out the actual economic value of such industries as are usually mentioned, such as bee-keeping, poultry, or sericulture in the list of subsidiary industries and to demonstrate that particular industries are suitable for the adoption of the cultivators of this country?—They have done very little work, I think, in poultry-keeping in any part of India except in the United Provinces.

'And has it been definitely proved that it would be an economic asset to the ordinary cultivator?—I think there are reasons that lead us to believe that these industries could be introduced with advantages to the cultivator.

'In order to introduce them and to convince the cultivator, was any attempt made to your knowledge in the provinces to show how bee-keeping, or sericulture, or poultry-keeping helps people?—I think so. In Bihar and Orissa the Department of Industries has done a lot to encourage sericulture and the manufacture of silks as a cottage industry.

'In your opinion Provincial Governments are establishing some such model subsidiary industries in certain suitable places for the benefit of cultivators?—I think so.

'Have you advised the Provincial Governments to carry on such model industries in certain places, for instance in Madras and

In other chapters I tell about the cottage vocations which are being introduced and encouraged by our Rural Demonstration Centres and our extension programme and of such help as they are already being to the poor people. Our principle, adopted after experience, is that in general it is better to improve existing industries in any particular locality than to introduce any entirely foreign ones. Those to be improved and multiplied may exist in a very poor and unprofitable form, but with even that much of a basis success is much more certain than with an entirely unknown introduction. We are not furthering an exhaustive list of vocations as it is better policy to concentrate on a few, thus being able to do them better.

We must not stop with any of these until we have taught the people how to produce a really superior product and have worked out a co-operative marketing arrangement for it. I have seen rural people very puzzled and discouraged when they have learned to produce a better commodity, but have not found a market that would pay the higher price the better commodity was worth. To my mind this stopping short of co-operative marketing is the most common sin of the rural uplifter and of the co-operative departments in India. They and those for whom they labour will never know the joy of full accomplishment as long as they stop short of co-operative marketing.

Bombay, and has it been taken up?—You must remember that the Agricultural Adviser is not supposed to interfere with or give advice to the Province unless he is asked to. If I were to advise the Local Governments, they would probably resent my offering advice.

'It would be desirable to advise them?—Yes it would.' *Royal Commission on Agriculture, Evidence,* Vol. I, Part I, p. 113.

We do not pin our faith to a single cottage vocation, as does Mr. Gandhi, who speaks of hand-spinning as 'the only Cottage Industry',[1] though we encourage hand-spinning and have taught it. Not all individuals and families take kindly and naturally to any one vocation. They must be able to choose ; and most families ought to have more than one cottage vocation in addition to agriculture. Adding only one may still leave the family with less than a living income. As we have said, the Indian villager needs several avenues of self-help rather than a single one. He needs to be surrounded with methods of self-help.

Co-operation between Government and Non-Official Agencies

Provincial and State Agricultural Departments have expressed their appreciation of our aid in taking to the people features illustrated at their demonstration farms. As practical, social and economic servants we consider this an important part of our work. The Government may have a poultry farm and a cattle farm ; it may have them for years, and the regret of its officers is, they say, that so comparatively few of the really rural people have taken to either the cattle or the poultry. Even when a wealthy gentleman farmer takes some of these better animals it does not bring them very close to the people who need them most. Government demonstrators may have enthusiasm for their work, may be industrious and faithful—still, officialdom is a hindering thing, and red-tape easily makes a difficult tangle. The official finds it hard to get really close to the hearts of the people, and the non-official worker has the advantage.

[1] Title of two articles by Mr. Gandhi in *Young India*, October 21 and 28, 1926.

In the ideal co-operation which I am so keen about, the non-official agency creates the favourable atmosphere and the relative confidence and then calls in the Government experts to help with the demonstrating. This sort of suspicious questioning is found to be in the minds of rural people concerning official Government aid:—'If the methods they recommend help us to better income, will they only tax us the more?' (we found this fear when making our surveys); and 'Government has plenty of funds, why does it not go ahead and make these improvements it wants us to do for ourselves?'

How the villagers lean on the Government which has shouldered so many of their responsibilities! They have become so weaned from self-help that they even exhibit great backwardness in adopting and carrying out those benefits which a benign Government illustrates for them.

The true aim of state-aided rural enterprises should be to make the rural people and their institutions independent of state-aid, able to take care of themselves, able to walk alone without leaning on the Government. Direct commercial state-aid is generally harmful to the farmer. Lakhs and millions of money have been squandered through it in various countries.

Our Travancore and Cochin Governments and some of the Indian Provincial Governments practise one of the wisest forms of state-aid in giving subsidies to certain non-official ventures to enable these non-official and local bodies to finance useful service projects and institutions which come up to a specified standard. I refer to subsidies for conducting schools, especially night schools; weaving schools; student hostels; subsidies towards the cost of keeping seed-bulls for community use; subsidies to libraries, exhibitions, etc. Government officials have made frank admission to me that they recognize that some

non-official bodies with their intimate contact with the people can run some of these projects more successfully than Government and certainly much more cheaply. It should not be hard for Government to see the business wisdom of giving a grant of Rs. 300 to a non-official Demonstration Centre to help it run an exhibition, rather than to spend Rs. 5,000 on running one themselves which they admit is no better exhibition. They admit that the subsidy is given on a business basis, just enough to enable the receiving organization to run the projects or institutions—enough so that they may not have to be dropped entirely.

I agree with this policy, and also that subsidies for some purposes should be on a downward sliding scale, and not be continued longer than necessary. With all thankfulness we receive such assistance, and Government should not feel that it is in any way condescending to do us a favour. Our work is helping to further the same objects for which Government is working. Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield has asked in this connexion: 'Where else could Government get such devotion and skill at the same cost?'

Such subsidies as I have mentioned above are an aid to local initiative, to self-help and growth, to institutions of the people, for the people and by the people ; and I believe the Indian Governments should increase aid of this kind. The history of rural state-aid shows that when given for purely educational purposes—including agricultural extension and vocational education—it has been a marked success.

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CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP

Without a Shepherd

The especially favoured boy in the Indian village, who goes on to high school and to the distant college, never comes back to live and work in the village. Though he will keep his connexion there and visit his kinsfolk and old home, the village cannot support him in the way in which he has learned to live, and cannot pay him what he can command elsewhere. Through his good fortune the village has lost another of its few leaders. Some of the leading men I know in the cities come from the roadless villages. The villagers are proud of these distinguished sons ; they talk about them and look forward to their returning sometime for a few days' visit.

The ordinary man finds it very difficult to do any leading in his home village. His poverty and lack of education alienate him from that prestige which is necessary for leadership ; and caste tends to confine his association and influence to a narrow circle. In all his weakness, he, who has the urge to serve through leading, faces the seemingly almost insurmountable situation of rural poverty which I have outlined in the opening chapter of this book.

Writers on rural India have hardly touched this problem of rural leadership. The triumphs and helps of science have scarcely reached the Indian village. Illiteracy, lack of education designed especially to improve rural life, and long absence from the practice of initiative

and self-help, make the number of those fitted to lead in any truly rural village very few indeed.

The leader finds to be a handicap even that blessed contentment, which is one of the great lessons India has for the world. 'There is no desire for a better, more comfortable living,' writes Mukerjee. 'The village communities are the most complete and the most contented in the world.'[1] The contentment is not complete, fortunately, and the hungry man and his hungry family even in India certainly have a desire 'for a better, more comfortable living', for more to eat; and it is this desire that is making the response to leadership for economic improvement comparatively encouraging. The hungry man with a hungry family, no matter how uneducated, senses maladjustment; he is not satisfied with things as they are. But it is not enough for him to be aware of this maladjustment. He must know how to overcome the difficulty.

I find that there is in the Indian village a desire for at least comfortable circumstances, though there is, of course, no desire for, or knowledge of, that high standard of living which certain western peoples have come to require in order to be happy. What is often interpreted as lack of desire for better things, is more the effect of uneconomic tradition, and especially of hopelessness as to any chance for better things. Accepting the theory of *Kismet* or *Karma,* there is too willing resignation to fate with a religious conviction that it is the part of righteousness to be resigned. This too the leader has to face.

If the desire is not there the leaders will have to create it. This creating is a possibility. It involves educative

[1] Radhakamal Mukerjee. Quoted by Keatinge in *Agricultural Progress in Western India,* p. 169.

change. The leader in Indian improvement may not expect any considerable success until the desire is there. The people must be brought to that state where they really believe in the projects, methods and practices proposed. The influence of desire in bringing about the acceptance of an idea is exhibited by all men and it is far greater than that of logical processes. We believe what we want to believe to a far greater extent than we realize or are willing to admit.

Are the Poorest Worth Bothering With? Some practical persons tell me that we must be hard-hearted in the interest of the larger cause of India, and realize that there are millions in India who are so far down that they are practically irretrievable; that we cannot afford to bother with them, but should give our attention to the classes already more fortunate, and lift them. If any of the poorest can profit by the example of the increasingly profitable practices of the upper classes, well and good, but don't waste time on them.

The census, just completed, shows a teeming population of 353 millions. If a third of the people of India are underfed (and we should rule out only one-third of this poor third as hopeless), that would mean about 39 millions of the most destitute of people (equal to some one-third the population of the United States of America and approximately the whole population of England) left to get through this life without any programme for their betterment. They are the class least able to do anything to help themselves or have leaders of their own. Like the masses everywhere, they crave leaders to venerate and follow.

Both Long-time and Immediate Plan Necessary. I not only would help the poorest to help themselves but would train them for leadership. These millions live today—

they are producing at least as many of their kind for the next generation. The policy I so heartily believe in, of putting emphasis upon the young—the men of tomorrow —should be followed. In any village one can see that the poorest people do not copy very rapidly from the more fortunate upper classes who set up such caste barriers between them. As some of the Indian gentlemen who have made village surveys have pointed out, upper caste men even persecute members of lower castes for adopting new ways and trying to rise to a better state. We should have an immediate plan for these great numbers of poor people, not neglecting a careful long-time policy of schools and colleges and out-of-school ways for the more fortunate youth of India, who by their advantages of heredity, upbringing and material means are certainly better able to take places of leadership and great influence and to build for the future better state. It is strategic to train these.

Work With and For the Whole Community—that is my policy. Enlist leaders from all sections, rich and poor, educated and unlearned, Brahmin and outcaste. The co-operative method demands this. To my friends who tell me that there is no use working with the poorest, that we should confine our attention to the well-to-do upper caste men who, they say, are keeping the poor down, that we should request them not so to persecute their brothers, I reply that these well-to-do upper caste men cannot be expected to accept our advice until like themselves we have done something for and with the poor. They say: 'The poor we have always had with us—we know their needs perfectly.' To bring all castes into a programme of whole community improvement, with emphasis for the poor, is the way ; and it is fully possible.

It is in no sense hopeless to train the depressed and unfortunate. Participation in such training is among my pleasant experiences, partly because of the appreciation and joy those who have been deprived of their birthright show in growing ability and greater but still small possession. Some of our leading men in our State and in India proper are up from these depressed classes ; and I predict that in the next fifty years we shall see whole communities of the depressed going ahead of some communities who now feel superior and are resting on their oars, so to speak. Even slow response to our pioneering and imperfect methods would be no sign that progress is hopeless. Rather, that fact should challenge us to further study that we may know how to teach more wisely.

Hit-or-miss methods of training, too often followed, are not profitable for either the poor or the more fortunate. The immediate programme should be an integral part in a studiously and scientifically planned long-time programme, with definite aims and goal.

Some of our leaders come from the more fortunate. Looking over the honorary, unpaid workers in our associations in over one hundred rural villages, we see that the class most prominent among these leaders is that of rural school teachers. Senior high school students serve in considerable numbers, and there are many young men of the land-owning and business classes, rural pastors and catechists. Some of the landlords, vakils, managers of private schools, medical practitioners and Government officers are included.

The Two Sources of Rural Leaders. The Indian village needs two kinds of dynamic leaders: (1) those from within the village group actually belonging to the group ; and (2) other persons who, sympathetic with the

needs of the village, will associate themselves with the villagers as expert counsellors and fellow workers. In the chapters on 'Tackling the Problem of Leadership' we consider these two types.

Both these types of leaders need to be intimately associated with the village, knowing and understanding the people and village conditions very well. They must be in touch with the currents of human life where they are to lead. The leader from within the village group will have the advantage in this particular. Our Indian Rural Secretary within the Demonstration Centre Area builds up his knowledge and intimacy in respect of the villages and the people of the area. The non-Indian, like myself, can only attain this relationship by closest association with the people, and much dependence upon his Indian colleagues, who are in a position to sense undercurrents of thought and sentiment more readily. The leader must be in tune with the environment of the particular village, must have studied it and lived in it. The leader must know two things accurately, namely, the people and the cause he is leading.

The villagers need the brotherly assistance of this second type of leader especially in the forming of a programme. If there is any programme in the mind of the Indian villager it is in a hazy and unworkable form. Indefiniteness may be stated as an indigenous trait. To let things take their course, without thinking them out beforehand, is the more indigenous tendency. Anyway it is true the world over that 'programmes do not invent themselves in the mass'.[1]

This suggests again the need of the leader knowing intimately the situation in which he leads. In the Indian

[1] Lippman, *Public Opinion*, p. 243.

village we have the situation where the group is only vaguely conscious of the need. Whatever the needs for adjustment may be they should be defined. Leaders need to make surveys such as I describe in other chapters. Where the need is not obvious to the group, facts bearing upon it should be collected in order that the data may be available not only for showing just what causes the need but for making this need clear to the lay group. The leader needs this information. There are too frequent examples in India of 'the blind leading the blind' with stumbling results.

Personal versus Indirect Leadership. The static leader, that is the one who goes on practising better ways and methods and inspires others to copy him without his thinking of leading, has his influence handicapped in the Indian village and will continue to have until the villagers can read more. The dynamic leader working for general uplift is also handicapped because he cannot use literature to any great extent. In America, agricultural and rural life information has been disseminated largely through the farm press,[1] and many changes in agricultural practices have thus been brought about. This has been to a large extent true in certain European countries.[2]

When our villagers learn to read, this method ought to be very effective, for at least in our part of India there is a genius for publishing. With only 27 per cent. of the people of Travancore literate there are scores of newspapers in English, Malayalam and Tamil in the State. The editors are very courteous in their willingness to print useful information. Dissemination of

[1] The *C. B. Smith Surveys* bear this out.

[2] Read Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America.*

knowledge through the press has great promise for the future. Even at present our common people can get more from it than the people of China who are only now having invented for them a written form for their spoken language.

Some of our night schools use a system[1] of teaching boys and adults in the shortest possible time to read and write and to do simple arithmetic. Within a year from commencement students are able to read the fourth reader and the vernacular daily paper quite well. The ages of the students so learning range between seven and forty-five.

For the present, however, leadership in rural India will have to be carried on very largely by personal contact of the leader with the led. In this we are not so badly off as might be supposed, for personal face-to-face leadership is by far the most effective kind anywhere. 'Only the more literate and abstractly thinking person gets any very considerable share of his behaviour pattern through literature.'[2] Even when we do, we are responding to the personality behind the printed page, which makes the lighter literature such as drama and fiction more influential than that designed to teach method of life and practice.

Self-Help Leadership Difficult. There is one more difficulty in the way of leadership in our programme. The more direct or concrete help a leader promises or gives the more easily will enthusiastic followers respond. We do not give away many things outright; we teach rural people how they can help themselves. Charity is more eagerly received than philanthropy. Some kinds

[1] Known, after the inventor, as the *S. C. Daniel System.*

[2] Bernard, *An Introduction to Social Psychology,* p. 547.

of philanthropy are more eagerly received than that kind which gives methods for self-help. Abstract benevolence such as self-help does not appeal to many. The self-help leader may be idolized in the next generation, but he is not likely to be in this. In India we see many examples of leading by easier methods which in permanent results are little better than waste of time and effort.

The problem of leadership in the Indian village is a fascinating one, especially to those fortunate ones of us who have the privilege of actually engaging in the leading there.

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PART II

SOME POSSIBLE HELPS

CHAPTER IV

COTTAGE VOCATIONS

To relate sound economics with that wholly worthy desire so deep in the hearts of our Indian people—to keep India rural—we must have a larger part of the people off from the land. This will be even more true when we increase production by better agriculture and live stock. We must have a good part of the people working other than in production of food. We must have good numbers to serve as consumers of products raised by those still on the farms. Avoiding the evils of large city industrial conditions, small village industries seem to me to be the golden mean between extreme ruralism and industrialism. They would enable most of their workers to live in the villages still, and under essentially rural conditions.

During the coldest part of a recent winter when the seas around Denmark were frozen and there could be no traffic in or out of that country, I saw how in the folk high schools both youths and adults were improving the slack season in learning how to carry out profitably the cottage or small business industry. Four-fifths of all the industries of Denmark—that country now so often held up as the example of prosperity—employ fewer than five workers each.

Hand-Weaving. So, although we write especially of hand-weaving as a subsidiary vocation in scattered homes, we are also deeply interested in our weaving villages. A study in the village of Mallur found sixteen families working mostly with common country looms. Weaving at the time of the study was doubly depressed,

by the shortage of dyes and consequently of dyed yarn, and by the fact that plague was raging all about, and the market was in consequence somewhat disorganized. The earnings of a weaver were at that time scarcely better than those of an agricultural labourer, which averaged about five annas per day. This was unusual. Elsewhere it is found that weavers earn more than agricultural labourers, and this is one of the most striking witnesses to the remarkable vitality of hand-loom weaving in India.

For centuries India was the home of cotton manufacture. The very name calico tracks it to Calicut as the port of distribution. Until the 18th century, it was India that supplied Europe with the cotton she used. Spinning and weaving were subsidiary cottage vocations which helped Indian agriculture to thrive. It was in a country so conditioned that the competition of Lancashire machine-made cotton was allowed to crowd out India's chief cottage vocation. A great amount of suffering and poverty followed, 'for, unlike England, agriculture had to continue to be the livelihood of the great majority of India's population, only an agriculture which, robbed of its subsidiary industries, could never again offer more than a bare subsistence'.[1] In 1913-14, India took back from the looms of Great Britain alone over 1,750,000 miles of cotton cloth.

Advocating, for the present age, a loom in every Indian house, we would encourage the various members of the family to learn to operate it. The wife, bigger daughters and even fairly young sons of the home can operate the loom for a reasonable time each day without physical injury. Weaving goes especially well with agriculture to employ those seasonal and climatic periods of inactivity

[1] Holland, *The Indian Outlook*, p. 157.

which are usually spent in idle unprofitableness. It is a process which can be taken up and left off at any time and at which all members of the family can assist. It requires little capital and its products can be used within the family or can find a ready market. The initial outlay for the loom can be recouped in a year or two and after that there is sheer profit. Through our co-operative societies even the very poor man or boy of character can borrow to get a start with a loom and immediately begin paying back the loan through cloth sold. The Census and other studies of India give commendatory evidence to confirm our experiences as to the suitableness of weaving as a cottage vocation.

The hand-weaving industry with all its great promise of helpfulness to our rural people holds out that promise only when it is kept in its proper setting, in the family home. Even in weaver villages the looms are in the homes. It is essentially a cottage-subsidiary vocation. The writer of the industrial section of the last Madras Census Report speaks of experience which bears this out. 'The attempt to organize the hand-loom industry in small factories has definitely proved a failure chiefly owing to the indolence and indiscipline of the workers, though such factories would greatly reduce the time taken in preliminary processes.' He mentions that with the laborious method of warping and sizing, now much used, the average out-turn of the hand-loom weaver does not much exceed 100 pounds of cloth per annum, but that the popularizing of the fly-shuttle is increasing the output.

Experience has caused us to build this project also on the underlying principles brought out in the observations of both the last two Census Reports, that 'the future of the hand-loom industry depends almost entirely upon the improvement of the weaver himself.' We put him

in the way of improvement for body, mind and spirit and surround him with other benefits—other self-help methods.

The Most Talked About Cottage Vocation. As to spinning we have encouraged it as a companion vocation to hand-weaving to use spare time energy that would otherwise be non-productive. Since it, like the hand-loom, uses the available mechanical energy of a man, woman or child for providing material goods, Richard B. Gregg writes that the *charkha* should be considered a machine. Though in a different degree and manner, the process is the same as that occurring in a steam engine or hydraulic-power plant, namely the transformation of solar energy into mechanical motion. The great number of idle and unemployed Indians are, in effect, engines kept running by fuel (food), but not attached to any machines or devices for producing goods. When we, Mr. Gandhi and others hitch up the idle *charkhas,* we save an existing waste of solar .energy. To answer the growing claim that the use of mechanical power should be increased in India, this is probably the quickest and cheapest way. The 'engines' are all present and spinning and weaving machinery is either ready or can easily be got ready to hitch to the men, women and children who would thus be as efficient transformers of fuel energy into mechanical motion as are steam engines.[1] Enthusiasts of spinning recommend widespread turning to it as the 'wisest next step' in India's advancement.

Reckoning that a man's work is usually one-sixth to one-tenth of a horse-power, then, being very conservative and using the lowest rate, one-tenth, Gregg figures we have available for work in the agricultural districts the

[1] *Economics of Khaddar,* pp. 15-19.



THE MOST TALKED ABOUT COTTAGE VOCATION

In our Tamil Summer School every student learned to prepare the cotton and to spin

equivalent of 10,700,000 horse-power. If one one-hundredth of each person's power were employed upon the *Charkha,* he finds that this would give the equivalent of 107,000 horse-power available for *charkha* yarn production in the agricultural districts alone. During the three idle months of the agricultural year the amount of man-power available for *charkha* spinning would be about equivalent to the entire manufacturing energy of the great industrial section of Bombay in 1919, or the entire output of the Tata Hydro-electric Power Plant, or approximately twice the total power being consumed in Bombay textile mills.[1] Personally *I should like to see most of this power hitched to the best hand-looms rather than to charkhas,* for the result in valuable product and income for the workers would be several times greater.

I give the eleven special features which Mr. Gandhi says render hand-spinning 'pre-eminently suitable as a remedy for India's present economic distress'. The reader may be surprised that the features named by him are entirely non-political. The other cottage vocations we are sponsoring embody these features to a greater or lesser degree. Mr. Gandhi's points for the suitability of the *charkha* are:

1. It is immediately practicable, because
   (*a*) It does not require any capital or costly implements to put into operation. Both the raw material and the implements for working it can be cheaply and locally obtained.
   (*b*) It does not require any higher degree of skill or intelligence than the ignorant and poverty-stricken masses of India possess.

[1] Ibid., pp. 18-25.

(*c*) It requires so little physical exertion that even little children and old men can practise it and so contribute their mite to the family fund.

(*d*) It does not require the ground to be prepared for its introduction afresh, as the spinning tradition is still alive among the people.

2. It is universal and permanent, as, next to food, yarn alone can be sure of always commanding an unlimited market at the very door-steps of the worker, and thus insures a steady and regular income to the impoverished agriculturist.
3. It is independent of monsoon conditions and so can be carried on even during famine times.
4. It is not opposed to the religious or social susceptibilities of the people.
5. It provides a most perfect ready means of fighting famine.
6. It carries work to the very cottage of the peasant and thus prevents the disintegration of the family under economic distress.
7. It alone can restore some of the benefits of the village communities now well-nigh ruined.
8. It is the backbone as much of the hand-weaver as of the agriculturist, as it alone can provide a stable and permanent basis for the hand-loom industry which at present is supporting from 8 to 10 million people and supplies about one-third of the clothing requirements of India.
9. Its revival would give a fillip to a host of cognate and allied village occupations and thus rescue

the villages from the state of decay into which they have fallen.

10. It alone can insure the equitable distribution of wealth among the millions of inhabitants of India.

11. It alone effectively solves the problem of unemployment, not only the partial unemployment of the agriculturist, but of the educated youth aimlessly wandering in search of occupation.

It appears that Mr. Gandhi puts too much hope in hand-spinning. In all history, as far as I can discover, no one simple process has ever done for a great nation all that Mr. Gandhi thinks this one could. No one process can be a panacea for India's troubles. The claim is directly opposed to my argument for comprehensiveness. *There is no doubt, however, that our several cottage vocations together, can do much of what he believes the spinning wheel could alone.* But it should be remembered that even he has never recommended hand-spinning as a principal occupation. 'It is offered to those who otherwise waste their time in idleness.'[1] We have taught spinning to a good number and our disappointment is that almost none of them continued to spin. This is because the product of a long day's work, unlike that from the hand-loom, is worth so very little.

We therefore treat hand-spinning as only an auxiliary to hand-weaving. The *charkhas* are cheap (Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 each). Practically every family can have them. And as I have said, we should like to see a loom in every rural home. Raw cotton grown in South India can be bought in the local market. Yarn can be spun

[1] Gregg, op. cit., p. 170.

for the family clothing. This gives us a foundation for a situation like that which Horace Bushnell called 'The Golden Age of Homespun' which America had before that country's industrialization.

But purely economic (non-political) considerations do not require that all the yarn to be woven should be hand-spun. That should depend on the type of cloth to be made, the availability and prices of yarn and thread. Either the home-made or the purchased yarn and thread is woven into clothing and cloth for house and family use ; and extra cloth made finds a ready local sale in our area at good profit. We can also help the villagers to a co-operative wider sale at enhanced prices. Khaddar cloth shows its hand-made characteristics which are attractive to the European and are beginning to be appreciated by Indians. Looms should have the improved fly-shuttles, whether they are fitted to pit looms, which are cheaper, or frame looms. The fly-shuttle loom is 50 to 100 per cent. more efficient than the primitive type.

It is true that a family can find entire support from weaving if necessary. Weavers generally make better daily wages than farm labourers, but the farmer-weaver, of course, may not be as efficient as the full-time weaver. While in England recently I was interested to see, even there, a marked revival of hand-spinning and weaving as cottage industries for English farmers, especially during the slack winter months. There they are setting an example for India by trying to find the best methods and equipment as they existed when this handcraft was at its very height just before the turn to machine methods. In Devonshire I saw them trying to perfect a spinning wheel on which one man, turning one handle, could spin seven threads at one time. If Mr. Gandhi

and his followers could give us a better *charkha,* hand-spinning might rise above an occupation profitable only for that time which would otherwise be absolutely wasted.[1]

Gardening. Various writers state that the rural dwellings of Travancore and Cochin are generally surrounded by gardens.[2] The imagination is apt to create an exaggerated picture from this oft-repeated statement. In reality, one of the conditions that strikes one is how bare is the space around the majority of houses. There may be a few random jack or coconut trees, and plantains or other plants, but a carefully planned garden which would yield a steady supply of vegetables and fruits is a rarity.

One of the objects of my recent study in the Philippines was to get helpful information for our Indian demonstration and extension work in gardening. I went there because there was probably no other place so similar to India where so much had been done in rural education. I am hopeful that the Indian schools will also take up school gardening and encourage home gardening. The object of the school and home garden work is to improve the food supply of the community and increase the income, intelligence and efficiency of the farmers and other rural people of the present and

[1] Rs. 100,000 or £7,700 has been offered by the All-India Spinners' Association (Mirzapur, Ahmedabad) as a prize to the inventor of such a *charkha.*

[2] Mukherjee writes of gardening in India: 'Indeed, the primeval hand labour garden crop, which is Asia's great gift to the world is the mainstay not merely of the endurance and home-spun prudence for her teeming millions but also of the peaceful settled habits of her abiding communalistic civilization.' *Regional Sociology,* p. 271.

future. Our aims in teaching gardening are several, but a primary one, which I found emphasized in the Philippines also, is the bringing about of a more healthful standard of living through (1) a more abundant food supply ; (2) a greater variety of food ; and (3) food of better quality. The poor rural people also desperately need the greater income these can bring.

Our work in India is more with boys in their out-of-school times and with adults, but it is essentially educational. Through these boys and men engaged in gardening, principles can be taught and mastered that will be of great value to them when dealing with the broader phases of agricultural work. In their gardens these friends first try some of the seeds of new and better field crops.

When school gardening comes, the above-mentioned aims can be accomplished by our emphasizing these four features: (1) instruction in the fundamental principles of gardening and plant life ; (2) the demonstration of these principles in the school garden ; (3) their application at the pupil's home, involving productive work in the home garden ; and (4) the giving of definite credit for the supervised work both at school and at home towards the promotion of the pupil.

But in India enthusiastic leadership is needed for this enterprise as for all others. The Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India expressed this in his answer to the Royal Commission, who asked: 'Is there any local interest in the school garden?' The answer was: 'All reports about school gardens, I am afraid, are very disheartening. It is only when you have a real enthusiast in charge of a district, like Mr. Freemantle of Allahabad, that the school garden succeeds.'

I think that at the heart of every movement or project

that is succeeding in India we can find a 'real enthusiast'. No doubt he is an even greater essential in the tropical Orient than elsewhere.

When we come to telling the story of our activities in the Martandam Demonstration Area it is the intention not to interrupt the account of what is being done with reasons for it. In telling what is happening in the development of such other cottage vocations as poultry-keeping, bee-keeping, jaggery refining, goat and cattle breeding, we believe the need for them and the reasons why they can help India up from poverty will be quite evident without their being reviewed here.

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CHAPTER V

TWO METHODS

Demonstration and Co-operation

A beautiful White Leghorn cock proudly surveys his flock of a dozen busy, healthy, crimson-headed laying hens. They are the joy of the village family who live in this modest little thatch and mud hut. Try to buy one of these hens. 'No,' the village man says, 'why sell any of my hens? I sell big eggs through my co-operative society at high prices.' The Indian villager is wiser than was the owner of the goose that laid the golden egg.

Their Neighbour's Influence

A progressive village family like this, which makes success with any of the projects we are teaching, is a demonstrator *par excellence*. The neighbours say, 'Here is a family like ourselves. What they are doing profitably we can do.' This demonstration is copied where one at a Government farm or even at our Centre probably would not be. I can show you where whole villages miles from our Centre have become interested in better poultry, through a single successful pioneer family in each village.

The discovery of the demonstration method for rural improvement is one of the greatest contributions to agricultural science. It is not only a discovery of a new rural truth, but of a new way of disseminating all the vast treasures of truth that others have developed.

Demonstration is the most effective of all teaching methods.

The Martandam Rural Demonstration Centre and its extension service described in later chapters constitutes a two-part experiment in this method. As we use it, it is the method of seeing and doing. The learner sees helpful practices illustrated at the Demonstration Centre, or in his village, at his own home or at the home of a neighbour ; and he is given opportunity actually to have a hand in—to do the thing—himself. The form of demonstration we find by far the most effective is where the learner demonstrates to himself and to his neighbours at his own farm or home a project or method, with the help and direction of the demonstrator (in our case the Rural Secretary).

When he originated this method in the Southern States of America, the farmers heard from Dr. Seman Knapp what others had been saying for many years. But these others had been crying in the wilderness of ineffectuality while the new method actually touched springs of action in the man behind the plough. The agricultural principles he taught were not often new ; but it was new to think of going to the farmer and demonstrating before his very eyes. Some excellent poultry farms, cattle farms, and other places of experimentation are maintained by the various Provincial and State Governments in India. What a pity though if the treasure of knowledge built up in these places has not an effective method for its dissemination and if it is a closed and distant book to the men in the fields!

In all forms of demonstration, the aim is that the learner shall get so clearly in mind an idea of how to do the job that he can go ahead successfully and by actual practice become skilful. The demonstration should

provide a good opportunity for the learner to see how the job is performed; and a good opportunity to come to feel what the performance is, through doing it himself. Demonstration requires a teacher who can do the job and do it well; one who knows the several details of the subject and what they mean. The successful demonstration has a marked effect upon the morale of those being taught. The unsuccessful demonstration also affects the morale to the extent of being positively dangerous to successful teaching and influence afterwards. Through a successful demonstration, an idea previously only half-believed may be accepted for its full value; but through a faulty demonstration, it will probably be rejected entirely even though true.

Demonstration is used in connexion with teaching how to do something. In Malabar there is extreme fondness for being lectured to; but I think the lecture alone is of little use in teaching a process of action. The demonstration may be considered as the form of illustration used when learners are to be made familiar with a process rather than with a thing. Time and energy can certainly be saved by the use of this method. It may prevent much unnecessary 'trial and error', and insure trial and success.

For the best illustration of the triumph of the demonstration method in the uplift of agricultural peoples in need, we look across to the Southern United States, where the misfortunes of the rural folk inspired Dr. Knapp to develop a system which was to redirect the whole agriculture of the south, and to institute an educational method, which, spreading over that whole country, laid the foundation of what is today called 'the business of agriculture'

When the Mexican boll weevil began its depredations on the Texas cotton fields in 1902, Dr. Knapp had just returned from research in Porto Rico. This invasion of the foreign pest was so serious that the country had become alarmed at the financial disaster that followed its progress. As it advanced panic and ruin ensued, and it seemed in 1903 that the whole cotton industry of the south would be destroyed unless something could be done to exterminate the pest, or at least stay its progress. In spite of the fact that he was then 70 years of age Dr. Knapp with the backing of the National Department of Agriculture created what was named 'The Farmers Co-operative Demonstration Work'. It was to have vastly wider scope than to combat the boll weevil menace.

The cause of the trouble in the south was not by any means solely the 'foreign invader'. There were many features similar to the causes of poverty in rural India. These lay further back in the many wrong practices, or lack of practice, in agriculture. The first steps were to organize a working force and to secure the co-operation of the general public. Farmers' institutes were held, lectures were given on cotton, cotton insects, corn, forage crops, fruit growing and other farm crops and operations. Farmers were secured who would try out the new plan of teaching by the five to ten acre demonstration plot method. Something over 7,000 farmers pledged themselves to cultivate a few acres each under the supervision of these demonstration agents. This is essentially the type of demonstration that the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture have in mind when in the report of their conclusions they declare 'the method of demonstration plots generally preferable to demonstration farms'.

The gatherings of demonstration workers take on almost the nature of religious conferences, as they sense the great possibilities of making people better, happier and more prosperous through the demonstration method. In all this economic side of our service in India we continually emphasize and keep ever before ourselves, our workers and learners, that although we are teaching business method, it is the spiritual significance of the movement that is all-important. Herbert Hoover has thus stated this principle. 'Economic advancement is not an end in itself. Successful democracy rests wholly upon the moral and spiritual quality of its people. Our growth in spiritual achievements must keep pace with our growth in physical accomplishments.'[1]

Recently I had the opportunity of studying demonstration work in connexion with the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, of travelling in the Southern States, and meeting negro leaders of extension and demonstration work among their own people. I do not think there is anywhere more practical or more effective teaching for rural improvement. Come and see, for instance, a demonstration made for the benefit of the whole community at one of the most run-down negro homes. The consent to be 'fixed up' is obtained in advance from the run-down-farm family, and all the people of the country-side are notified and invited. This proves an enjoyable event of large social magnitude as well. The people—men, women and children—come in great numbers at the appointed time to the place where the demonstration is to be conducted.

The men demonstration agents show how to (and actually do) repair the falling down verandah, the broken

[1] In address accepting nomination for President of the United States, Stanford University, California, August 11, 1928.

hinges and fences, the dilapidated poultry house, and whatever needs 'fixin' up'. Various farming method demonstrations are also conducted. Simultaneously within the house, kindred changes are taking place. The woman agent is actually performing, inside, the operations which will improve living conditions, is illustrating cleaning and methods for sanitation and the better equipping of the home. Or it may be selection and making of clothing, care of children, care in sickness. Beyond these social demonstrations, the demonstration agents go into as many individual homes as possible. As I saw the results of the Junior Clubs of negro boys and girls, I was equally impressed with the success of these young people.

Here again the significant fact is what individual farmers, directed by demonstration leaders, do on their own farms under their own conditions. Farmers are not impressed in India or anywhere else with what they see done on Government show farms, operated with public money, not intimately connected with the farmer, and not on a self-sustaining basis. But they are impressed by what they do themselves ; and the demonstration agent has brought about a high degree of self-help.

The home gardening projects directed by the Educational Department of the Philippine Islands, which I went to study, constitute a large-scale illustration of the demonstration method and its effectiveness.[1] I fervently hope for the time when the schools of India will direct

[1] In 1922-3 there were reported 1,500 garden day celebrations and exhibits at which 250,723 pupils and 39,114 farmers exhibited products. There were 2,511 agricultural clubs. To the people were distributed 312,772 trees and plants by 3,046 school nurseries, while the children from the school planted at their homes 1,043,189 trees and plants.

such work, so in harmony with the fundamental economic needs of the country and the people.

Our experience in the use of demonstration and in introducing self-help in rural India has made us adopt it as our chief teaching method. Other chapters tell how we help villagers to become demonstrators and how we use this method at the Demonstration Centre, in the Village Associations, market places, in schools, camps, churches, at the homes, farms and gardens of the people —wherever instruction is to be given.

Hand in Hand Upwards

Rural India must adopt the co-operative method to bring about reconstruction, and it must adopt it to a far more complete and comprehensive degree than is the tendency so far. The rural people must practise co-operation for not only their economic regeneration but also their moral, spiritual, social and physical uplift. All this simply cannot be accomplished through individualism.

The co-operative principle itself is not new in India. It may be said to be indigenous ; it is as old as the panchayat. Prominent today, it only lives again. The same is no doubt true in Denmark ; it is true in America. In his *Winning of the West,* Roosevelt tells us: 'The first lesson that the backwoodsman learnt was the necessity of self-help ; the next that such a community would only thrive if all joined in helping one another. Log rollings and house raisings were occasions when the neighbours came together to do what the family itself could hardly accomplish alone.'

Co-operative Credit. Co-operation has answered first the call of the great need for credit. India's burden of debt is a crushing load. The question: 'Does the

co-operative movement in India actually reach the peasant?' had to be answered in the negative. J. C. Jack's study in Bengal drove him to the conclusion that it would take centuries for the co-operative movement to reach the bulk of the peasantry. Slater's, Mann's and Darling's subsequent summaries tended to confirm this. When the secretaries of our Association argued that co-operative credit could be extended on a business basis to even the poorest of the Indian people who could give no material security, they were laughed at. The prevailing opinion was 'only a fool or a philanthropist will lend to a pauper'.[1]

It was necessary to demonstrate to Governments, to business, and to others that *character, alone, is an excellent basis for credit.* It is certainly as well to loan for a productive purpose to a poor man of good character as for a shady purpose to a well-to-do man who will try to evade paying back the loan, possibly making it necessary to bring an expensive and protracted law case against him. A drunkard or a slippery individual with plenty of property may prove a very troublesome debtor. 'Character is credit' is a thoroughly sound principle in connexion with unlimited liability banks and unless it is courageously put into practice there is no hope for the masses of India. Character is negotiable as credit. We are helped further in loaning to the poor in that our work in the village has the 'small town' characteristic of everyone knowing his neighbour's business. The panchayat of the co-operative society is able to weigh very well the soundness of the proposition the applicant for a loan lays before them. If it is not for a productive purpose it is refused. If the applicant's character and industri-

[1] Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (Third Edition), p. 13.

ousness are not good it is refused. These men, knowing local conditions so well, judge very accurately whether it is going to enable the borrower so to increase his earnings that he will soon be able to begin paying interest and paying back the loan in small but regular instalments.

The importance of loans for productive purposes has been emphasized by Sir Edward Maclagan: 'We discern that it is not indebtedness that is the evil, but indebtedness for unproductive purposes.'[1] Holding rigidly to giving *loans for productive purposes only* makes the village co-operative work perfectly sound business. Our rural Department secretaries, who have assisted in organizing and nurturing co-operative societies in their infancy among the very poorest people in South Travancore since 1919, can testify that these societies have not lost any money. Occasionally a very poor man has died and the society, not wishing to hold his widow for the loan, has written it off the books, but the society had a surplus fund to cover it.

Other Forms of Co-operation

There is no lack of feeling in India that there should be more of co-operation for purposes other than credit, yet eighty-six per cent of all societies are agricultural credit societies. In Travancore the Dewan in his address before the Sri Moolam Popular Assembly spoke of the 'one fundamental weakness in the movement' as 'the comparative fewness of non-agricultural societies for purposes other than credit'.

Co-operative Stores. Something of our success in co-operative marketing will be described in later chapters.

[1] In Introduction to Darling, op. cit.

In attempting to use the co-operative method in other ways than purely for credit, we tried co-operative stores in a small way without any real success. We laid lack of success to our own inefficiency, and hoped later to make co-operative stores successful. Further study has convinced me, however, that they are unsound in principle, *except in situations peculiarly favourable*. Even in America, where co-operation has been so successful, 99 per cent of all co-operative stores have come to failure.[1]

The co-operative store is too often based on wrong principles ; it is formed with zeal but without knowledge ; it is based on enthusiasm, not on sound commercial practices ; it is usually promoted by a few outsiders, not by the rank and file of those who are supposed to support it ; often it is organized with exaggerated notions about the 'big middlemen profits' in retailing and with no realizing sense of the big middlemen costs in retailing ; it frequently ignores or miscalculates the fierceness of competition in retailing, and the risks involved. All these unsound principles of co-operation are illustrated in the co-operative store movement.

A co-operative store must be an efficiently managed concern with expert management to meet and surpass the competition of other business which has the very best and full attention of its managers. Unpaid workers, who in their spare time render such useful service of various forms as described, cannot give sufficient supervision to a co-operative store, and an employed manager efficient enough to make the co-operative store a success can generally command a better salary elsewhere.

Co-operation Production. The second great step in

[1] Co-operative meat packing houses have been 100 per cent failures.

Indian co-operation should be co-operative production. Let it help us to get enough to eat. Credit can help production and when a country has practised well in production it is expert in other forms and does co-operative marketing very well. Denmark is most often cited as an example of successful co-operative marketing. This praise is merited. But as a matter of fact 90 per cent of Denmark's success is due to co-operation in production and only 10 per cent is due to co-operative marketing.[1] The Danes have based their market success on quality production. The co-operative marketing features which I later explain exist and succeed entirely on quality production. We could lose our market almost overnight by a failure in quality.

We find co-operation in some form advantageous, indeed necessary, in every extension project launched. When improved poultry is to be introduced in an area among the poorest people it is helpful that those who are to take up the new venture shall form themselves into a co-operative poultry society, that they may better work and learn together ; that they may take loans in order to be able to purchase the necessary eggs, birds, housing material (very simple) or fencing to get started. For such societies, I favour simple, easily understood rules. Women are admitted to membership, and boys too. They may be among the most enthusiastic and successful members. The co-operative poultry society involves co-operative marketing. In this a check can be kept on the quality of eggs supplied by each member, and an area may build up a reputation for quality products. Danish eggs by this method rose from a bad reputation in the English market to the very highest.

[1] See Boyle, *Marketing of Agricultural Products*, pp. 31-4.

Co-operative Marketing. The greatest sin of co-operation in India is the stopping short of co-operative marketing. Owen D. Young, known as one of the world's ablest business men, says: 'There cannot be overproduction in the world; what we have is poor distribution and consequent underconsumption.' Distribution of eggs in India becomes increasingly important as production is stimulated and more and more people lay aside religious objections and use eggs for food. With this problem before me, I went to China to study the system by which country eggs are collected in great numbers from the villages by agents of large foreign firms, and are brought into the city factories where they are dried or frozen for shipment to foreign countries for use in baking. This business is so large that it is credited with having been a chief factor in a $3,000,000 loss in cold storage eggs during one season in America. In spite of distance and import duties the 'China eggs' undersold the local ones in America.

Having investigated the processes of drying eggs, my conclusion was that the machinery required was too elaborate and expensive for our rural people and their philanthropic friends to establish co-operatively at present; and furthermore that if a foreign firm were induced to establish such a factory in South India, their requirements in profits would be so great as to leave not much advantage for the villagers who would supply the eggs. An interesting additional finding was that shipments of Chinese egg powder were being made to Calcutta. There is no reason why rural India cannot supply Calcutta and our other cities with sufficient fresh eggs by quick orderly shipments. To the supplying of fresh eggs we and our village friends are in an increasing measure giving attention.

Why should the Hawaiian Islands supply India with pineapples when they grow beautifully in Travancore ; and why should we go on buying 'pearl' tapioca manufactured in and sent from foreign countries, when tapioca grows abundantly with us, and the price is pitifully low to the cultivator, because the only use for it is to eat it as a vegetable—a rather poor vegetable? The process of preparing it for commercial use is a comparatively simple one. We live here in the land of the coconut. Should we buy desiccated coconut prepared in other countries and sent to us? These are matters of 'expert counsel', better cultivation, method and machinery in which co-operation—credit, production and marketing, including co-operation of Government with the people and non-official agencies—can help.

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PART III

THE MARTANDAM DEMONSTRATION

CHAPTER VI

WHERE AND WHY

Choosing a Centre

The really hungry man is of all men most interested in something to eat. Knowing that we would get the best response in self-help from people really in need, we established our Rural Demonstration Centre in the heart of an area where the people were as poor probably as any in the world. Hunger was apparent on every side. Poverty was obviously much more general here than in most other parts of our State.

If our methods would help these people to help themselves it would be a demonstration of what could be done, perhaps with even less effort, in other parts. Many would advise us to choose a more fertile section where it would be easier to make a showing and there would be more rich men to help. But we had at least the example of Denmark where, although the co-operative system was instituted for the poorest farmers, the well-to-do and even the rich had soon found it advantageous to seek admission to the poor men's societies and to share in the benefits.

We wanted a truly rural village, but on a main thoroughfare so that it would be easily accessible to the greatest number of persons ; one which contained people of the different castes and creeds ; which had the great typical Indian needs ; which had some educated people ; and one which was a natural centre to a number of outlying smaller villages. So we chose Martandam. It

is twenty-five miles south of the nearest railway station at Trivandrum. While it is not just like the little villages which lie around it on every side, it is the natural centre of the villages.

Being on a good road and bus line is the greatest convenience to our secretaries who have no cars, to the many who come to the centre, and for our marketing. The little Travellers' Bungalow close by is a great convenience to visitors and workers. The adjacent Government High School makes it the centre of boy and girl life and the educational centre of all the country for eight miles or more around. When we have several times been confronted with the possibility of having to move, we have realized the disadvantages of other places such as any one of our other outlying villages. When recently several commissions, studying us, have asked: 'If you were to start all over again, would you choose this place for a centre?' we have answered: 'Yes, exactly the same place,' with full positiveness.

We and the many honorary workers who would labour with us in the area round would apply ourselves to answering the greatest needs by methods suited to local conditions. We were not strangers here. For a long time there had been our village associations, and one of our rural secretaries had already spent seven years establishing and nourishing co-operative societies in this area and the whole of South Travancore. But when men came and said, 'we want this' and 'we need that', and 'we should do this' (often contradicting each other) we felt even more keenly the need of a survey which would show us actual conditions and facts, beyond all hearsay and guesswork. Many believe in careful surveys before setting up activities, but how comparatively few in India actually get these surveys done!

Survey to Learn Conditions

Experience had already brought us to believe wholeheartedly in intensive work rather than in spreading over a wide area. We decided to concentrate our main activities within a circle with a radius of five miles from the Centre, though the influence of these activities would reach far beyond that circle. Our first survey was restricted to about a three-mile radius from the Centre. In it, as shown by the accompanying map, we have the greater parts of five *pakuthies* (groups of villages) and here we found the surprising number of forty-six villages. The land here between the mountains and the sea is hilly and less fertile, with a smaller acreage of wet lands. The river Tamravarni flows through these *pakuthies* in a westerly direction. It is not a navigable river and is almost dry in the hot season of February to May. Except for some gardens close to its banks it does not help towards irrigation of this area, in which dryness contributes much to poverty. The rainfall is only 40 inches, mostly during the periods of two monsoons, so is not well distributed.

Joining Hands With Whom? A central principle of our work was that it should be fully co-operative, for and by all classes of the people. Who were our people? We found that there were just over thirty thousand Hindus, a little less than a third as many Christians, six hundred Mohammedans and one thousand others. To bring all these to co-operate in a programme of rural improvement would not be easy: the Roman Catholic and the London Mission Christians had a minimum of dealings with each other ; the Mohammedans and Hindus were not over friendly ; the Hindus themselves were divided into eleven main castes of which the Nadars

comprised sixty-nine per cent, the Nayars eighteen, the Ezhavas three and three-eighths, the Cherumas, Vellalas and Parayas each one and a quarter per cent.[1]

This mixed population of 44,829 religiously inclined people had for their worship thirteen Hindu temples, eighteen Catholic and London Mission churches, and three Mohammedan mosques. The little combined church and school buildings of the London Mission were to be of the greatest service to us, for ours is largely a non-equipment work and these buildings have been freely placed at our disposal for meetings when it is not convenient to hold them in the open.

Was Education Sufficient? The extent of literacy and the progress of learning would affect our work materially. Here we were in a State which leads other parts of India in literacy, and especially in the education of women. Yet investigation showed that even here only one person out of seven could read or write. The Government, the London Mission, the Roman Catholics, the Salvation Army and private managers were working at education to the extent of thirty-six schools with 5,282 pupils and 186 teachers. Among the 560 pupils of the English High School adjacent to our Centre we were to find youthful but efficient colleagues for much of our work, and teachers of all the kinds of schools are among our foremost honorary workers and demonstrators.

But 37,000 unlearned in this three-mile radius area showed us at once that our activities must be educational, and that there must be night schools both for the adults, who never had a chance when young, and also for boys and girls who could not attend the day

[1] Other castes, such as Ambattans, Brahmans, Pulayas, Thatans and Parayans, had less than one per cent each.



PALMYRA CLIMBERS

school, being too poor to pay the fees, or having to work during the day. Another fact soon revealed what a study of schools generally in India will reveal, that what was being taught in the schools was not well-related to the life of the pupils and that it would not have sufficient practical value to the learners. It was not rural education.

Need of Social Centres. One of the most valuable possibilities of our programme would be a common meeting and working ground for all castes and creeds, and we looked for any semblance of an existing organized social centre. There was no social centre but plenty of facilities for getting drunk. There were eight toddy and four arrack shops for this small area, and the frequency with which the people resorted to them for drinking was shown by the fact that in 1924-25 Government received in licenses for toddy drinking Rs. 6,565 and for arrack Rs. 9,370. The drink-shop-keepers were doing a thriving business. They had to in order to pay these amounts for licenses.[1] Educational temperance teaching must become one of our activities. That they may be insured big trade from many people coming to them, several of these toddy and arrack shops are ingeniously situated close to the market places, where it is convenient for the poor villagers to spend before going home the few annas they have received for a small bit of produce.

[1] Toddy is made from the juice of palmyra or coconut trees. Climbers obtain the juice by cutting off a flower stem and hanging a pot on the stub. One climber climbs to the high top of 40 trees twice a day—a hard day's work for 6 to 8 annas (6*d.* to 8*d.*). Arrack of a very high alcoholic content is distilled from toddy—a Government monoply. Tree owners are taxed for the privilege of tapping for drink—for a palmyra tree Rs. 3, and for a coconut tree Rs. 6, per year.

The Market Places. Still nearer to social centres are those primitive institutions, most picturesque and interesting from both a sociological and economic point of view—the market places. As many as five thousand people come to a rural market place on market days, each person to barter or sell what he has for what he wants more. This trading day constitutes a large share of the social life of the villager. Here along with his bartering he meets practically every one of his near and far neighbours, and there is always much talking and visiting. The regular weekly gathering for the market gives us one of our most important opportunities to interest many people who never went to any school and who in the normal course of things would never come to our Centre. After meeting them here, they may come to our Centre and we may go to their homes. At nightfall the bustling, noisy, market place quiets down into just a barren country field, so to remain till next market day.

Our survey showed us that there were eleven regular markets available for us, so placed that nearly every person in the area could be reached through them. The Kalikavilla market comes into being Mondays and Thursdays, the one at Thoduvetti Tuesdays and Fridays, with a special market for cattle on Tuesdays ; and there are eight small markets, meeting every evening.

Cottage Vocations. We would try to improve the quality and consequently the prices of the products of the cottage vocations of the area. Jaggery (sugar) making is the chief cottage vocation of the place. The juice brought in by the climbers from the palmyra trees (when not used for intoxicating drink) is boiled down into sugar by the women in their little homes.



THE VILLAGE MARKET PLACE

There were about 100 families, mostly of the weaver caste, engaged in hand-weaving. They generally used uneconomic looms and we were soon to set up a weaving school which would illustrate better methods and would teach poor boys to weave first-class cloth at greater speed.

In the five *pakuthies* we found an average of six families engaged in each of the following other cottage vocations: smithery, the making of baskets and mats, *beedies* (native cigarettes), fibre, pottery, brass-ware. None of these products was of superior quality, and we set ourselves to the task of creating a consciousness among the people to improve the quality, to teach the methods, and then to help to a lucrative co-operative market with better prices for the improved products.

The Daily Wage. We found whole families existing on less than five annas (five pence, 'a dime') a day. When money payments were made, the weaver received six to ten annas, the palmyra climber six to eight, the basket-making women two or three, carpenters (very scarce) eight to sixteen, *beedi* boys two, smiths eight, and day-labourers six to seven, annas. These are hardly living wages, and they are made less sufficient by seasonal idleness for several months in the year.

Common interest charges ranged between 19 and 40 per cent but sometimes the rate went to 300 per cent. One of my Indian colleagues had already given several years' attention to the need of credit for productive purposes at reasonable rates of interest in the wider area of South Travancore. Three of the four Co-operative Credit Societies then in the Martandam area had been organized by him. The other one had been organized by Government for the benefit of Government servants.

Obviously a main reason for greater poverty here was that a large portion of the land was high, dry, rocky and poor. Measurements showed that the proportion of low paddy (or wet) lands was only 19 per cent—2,229 acres against 11,207 acres of dry land.

Tapioca on the dry land and paddy on the wet were both yielding only about tenfold. There were no irrigation works ; paddy was watered by rain-fed tanks and the rainfall was only about 40 inches. The people took practically no interest in improved seeds and purchased no seed from outside.

The Cow Tragedy. The Indian cow generally is a tragedy. Here she is almost more pitiful than usual and we soon were overwhelmed with expressions of the need for taking up improvement of cattle as a major project. Of the 1,985 cows in this small area we could find hardly one that looked as though she were capable of giving milk. The average amount given by a milking cow was found to be less than two pounds a day for a short lactation period. There were five so-called seed bulls in the area, i.e. bulls from which the owners received a small fee for their services, but not one of these was of improved breed.

There was a great deal of carting and ploughing going on as evidenced by 203 carts and 2,098 ploughs, but the 3,762 work-cattle were badly in need of improvement. The area depended upon these oxen and some help from 738 he-buffaloes and 87 she-buffaloes for all its draft work. There were only 3 horses. Other livestock found in the area were 839 calves (many of them half-starved), 4,438 goats (for meat: a very small, poor variety), 13 asses. There were no sheep and the term 'mutton' here meant goat meat and nothing else. The average price of a cow was Rs. 40, of a bull Rs. 60.

Lack of pasture was a most evident need. There was no common and little private pasture. Here was a chief problem. Fodder crops must certainly be instituted.

Poultry. A few small country-hens and often almost as many cocks were found running around nearly every house. Our subsequent special poultry surveys indicated that these were kept at a loss. They were not cared for and laid but few very small eggs.

Bee-keeping. Six or seven miles away from the Centre the rural people tied old pots up in the trees and kept some bees in their primitive way, but in this three-mile-radius area of the first survey there was only one man keeping bees. Still, there were a fair number of wild bees, and our observation led us to believe that bee-keeping could and should be made a profitable cottage industry here.

These findings give some impression of the conditions and the people among whom our Rural Centre with its extension activities was planned. Wishing to understand conditions even better we made at that time a more intensive survey of a typical single village—Maruthankodu. The findings here collected in greater detail helped to confirm and clarify the indications of the general survey.

CHAPTER VII

THE RURAL DEMONSTRATION CENTRE

LOOKING round our Martandam Centre, you will not see any attempt at an impressive show place. The policy is the direct opposite of this. The extension programme in the area, establishing these helps and methods among the people, is the important thing. So the Centre is a simple experiment station, where we try out many things and methods, and an inexpensive illustration of some of the projects and activities. It is an organizing headquarters. It is as near self-supporting as possible, though no purely educational and experimental institution, even in the field of socio-economics, can be fully self-supporting and not sacrifice its aim. The aim of the Centre is education and not business.

The acre of land with the house is rented for Rs. 20 a month. The house has served as a dwelling for the Indian secretary in charge of the Centre, and his wife. Some of the rooms and the verandahs are used for meetings, for storage and for exhibition of teaching equipment, for receiving, testing, grading and packing products.

The palmyra, tamarind, coconut and other trees give shade to the poultry, bees and animals ; they yield some income and serve also for experimentation in manuring and culture. Here and there over the grounds we see various experimental plots. In some of these there is guinea grass, napier grass and Soudan grass for cattle fodder. Lack of pasture for cattle is a serious, almost

forbidding, problem. We illustrate the growing of such fodder plants as can be grown in comparatively small spaces and cut every ten or twenty days as feed to supplement insufficient pasture. We in India must realize that in excellent grass-country it requires an acre of the best or two acres of fairly good pasture to feed a cow in the five best grass months, and on the other hand that it is quite usual to grow fifteen tons of silage to the acre or enough to furnish the main roughage requirements of three cows for seven months. In other plots we illustrate better varieties of garden, field and fodder crops and grasses and methods of growing them, including fertilizer experiments. Cultivators are assisted in securing seeds. The plants illustrated include varieties for green manuring.

We have found that community interest is quickly aroused in superior varieties of vegetables grown here at the Centre. In response to such demonstration comes the demand for seeds and instruction in planting and growing the home-gardens. It is desired that each family shall raise a supply of vegetables and fruit which will through the different seasons furnish them with needed food in variety, and with some extra vegetables which they can trade in the markets for other necessaries.

The poultry yards, houses, and equipment are all very simple and inexpensive. There is no point whatever in showing the poor villager a model poultry house that costs Rs. 75 to build. In his vernacular he will simply say: 'Very nice', and never once think of having one for himself. It would do him no good so to think. We have to build and show him a suitable house for thirty hens that can be built mostly out of the mud, coconut leaves and other materials of his own compound, with an outlay of not more than Rs. 10 to 20. We have to

show fully scientific, self-feeding, drinking fountains, made for almost nothing from old bottles and coconut shells, and other poultry yard equipment as simple as possible.

In the poultry yards and houses there are some of the White Leghorn fowls and the improved breeds of turkeys —Martandam Blacks, and Mammoth Bronz. The White Leghorn has been the breed most introduced so far, it being well fitted to the climate and the best producer of eggs, which is the commodity most desired and most appropriate to the eating customs of the people. My analyses of Indian foods have shown how much the dietary needs those elements which eggs can supply.

We are pushing cross-breeding—White Leghorn cocks with country-hens—which brings a great improvement even in the first generation ; and is easier for the poor villager than breeding pure ones. All surplus cocks are put out and moved from family to family on a two-months-shift circuit. The economy and far-reaching effects of this system can be imagined.

The slogan for this project 'twice as many eggs and twice as large ones' is rather an understatement than an exaggeration ; and an atmosphere of flourishing success has pervaded the whole poultry movement here since the establishment of co-operative marketing of eggs. If you are at the Centre on either of the two market days of the week, Monday or Thursday, you will see all these village people coming in with their eggs, to be tested, graded, stamped and shipped as I describe in the chapter on how we use the co-operative method.

We have here some of the heavy milking strain of Surat goats which are recommended to the villagers under the sobriquet, 'the poor man's cow'. A good goat gives more milk than the average Indian cow, and

can be fed at much less cost. The villagers bring their common goats for crossing with the Surti male.

The handsome Sindhi (Karachi) bull thinks he is lord of all he surveys. He and other individuals of his breed, which we consider best of the Indian breeds for milk, are kept here to further the cattle project of which I tell elsewhere.

A simple inexpensive bamboo shed houses our weaving school. We should like to see a loom in every rural home on which the bread-winner of the home and also the wife and larger children can make profitable their spare and idle time. Here instruction is given to poor boys and others on the improved but inexpensive types of looms. These boys while in the school learn about all the other projects and methods we are furthering and so are better fitted to combine weaving and other cottage vocations with agriculture, to which they shall generally be subsidiary.

Hand in hand with weaving may go dyeing, that ancient indigenous cottage vocation. At our Ramanathapuram Centre the villagers are shown how to make fast-colour dyes out of barks, roots, seeds and leaves at minimum expense. Barks, roots, leaves and fruits of various trees and plants have been experimented upon in connexion with certain chemicals with the result that new processes have now been discovered for dyeing certain new shades of colours. Experiments and research continue to be carried on with the hope of adding to the vegetable dyes which have made Oriental rugs and fabrics world renowned and permanent.

Farm implements of improved varieties are kept on exhibition and their use is demonstrated. In this as in several other features of the work we have the helpful co-operation of the State Agriculture Department.

The very activities of our village work require us to teach and to do some carpentry and basket making. We have to make the baskets and boxes and tins required for shipping the commodities of our co-operative marketing. The shipping of eggs, for instance, alone requires some 4,000 baskets a year and the making of these baskets is in itself a cottage industry. After instruction is given it is done in the village homes. We make, and teach how to make, beehives and accessories, poultry houses, and equipment for the various projects.

All about the Centre compound you see the bees in their improved hives. Up in a tree are bees kept in an old pot, the primitive way indigenous to this area, and here is a swarm in a natural 'bee tree'. Elsewhere I tell how in the extension work we teach the people the more productive methods. In the Centre building we are gradually building up a permanent exhibit, illustrative of the products and activities of the work in the area, which is educative to students and especially to visitors who cannot spend much time out in the extension area.

Besides serving as headquarters for the extension work of its area, the Rural Centre, being in a village itself, serves to illustrate many of the activities of a model village association. This little Centre library, standing by the chicken yards and the play court, is one of the most useful buildings of South India. It was built by the night-school boys with their own hands at a cost of Rs. 40. It is so inexpensive that almost any village can have one like it, and villages are copying it for even less cost. It is the centre of the circulating library system for the area. These two volley ball play courts are for games and physical education. Here are models of the bore-hole latrines which are a feature

of our extension health service. Our Travancore Centre pioneered scouting and gives it encouragement. Our scouts are among our best helpers in community service of all kinds. Our Boys' work groups, and girls' groups use the Centre play field, have a small building of their own, and help in many of our activities.

The Demonstration Centre is truly a 'Community Centre', a convenient and popular place for special functions which are of general interest to the whole countryside. To these people come in great numbers, walking barefoot from villages far and near. Such occasions include lectures by prominent persons, exhibitions, dramas, sports meets, scout and health demonstrations, conferences and week-end study groups. The Martandam Practical Training School in Rural Reconstruction to which students come from various parts of India, Burma and Ceylon and some more distant countries, is held at the Centre and in the extension villages.

The Staff of the Centre as well as that of the Extension Department consists entirely of young Indian men and women with high school or more education who are active, able to move about quickly, well-trained and skilled in the methods which they have to practise and teach, and willing to live in simple rural manner, not too expensive for the budget available. The Secretary who had been in charge of the Centre, who holds a Master of Arts degree, has been loaned to the Cochin Government to help that State to establish Rural Reconstruction. I am in general charge of the whole work, including extension projects over a distance of 200 miles, giving direction and help in all ways I can.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture, coming out strongly in its report for demonstration in the cultivators'

own fields, declares against the opening of any more demonstration farms until this has been done.[1] Two facts, as far as any observation goes, worked against the success of the Government demonstration farms; they did not have adequate and appropriate enough extension facilities; and their official staff were not on intimate enough terms with the rural people. It is only a very personal, even brotherly, extension service that makes our Rural Demonstration Centre able to spread its teaching and the benefits thereof to large numbers.

How May All India Have Centres?

A main question put by various commissions who have studied us indicates to me that I should tell here something of the cost of the Centre and of its Extension activities. What is the cost of this work? The cost for 1938 to our National Council, under whose auspices the work is conducted, is Rs. 1,184-15-0 for the year. The remainder of costs is made up from income from the Centre itself and within the area including local Government grants. It would be increased if the Centre found it necessary to recall or to employ a more expensive Secretary to be in charge. My own maintenance is paid from outside India for general services in Travancore and Cochin and for direction of Rural Reconstruction both within this district and beyond.

There is a small grant from Government to help each of the following: night schools, maintenance of service bull, weaving school, central library, and central exhibition. Since 1932 we have also had a block grant from Government. We try to make each feature of the work, such as weaving, cattle, poultry, bee-keeping, self-sup-

[1] *Final Report*, par. 131.

porting as far as we can without sacrificing its educational aim, and being sure to keep its benefits within reach of the poorest people. The economic level of the area is extraordinarily low, but the people are given an opportunity to contribute to Centre funds.

Such centres for Rural Reconstruction work are being advocated for all parts of India, and the worry of the advocates and all missions or other organizations, even provincial and state Governments, which contemplate them is, 'How can we afford them?' India's larger interest asks dubiously how such centres can be spread all over India. This fear comes largely from over-emphasis of the importance of the Centre with often no mention at all of extension activities. Centres as close as possible, each with a five-mile-radius of working area, have been advocated.

I should like to point out as some comfort to those who worry, that it is not at all necessary to have such centres in every five mile area. While we have a five to seven miles range for intensive work we continually receive evidence showing that the influence and inspiration of this work is felt for more than a hundred miles.[1] And anyone so interested, no matter what his distance, is welcome to come and study with us and learn how to put our methods into practice in his locality. Every one who practises these methods well and profitably becomes a demonstrating centre to his neighbours.

Then when there is a main centre like ours, a small centre for a single village or a few villages can be started

[1] Read in Hatch, *Further Upward*, Chap. I, The Story of Paranium, and Chap. IX, the Story of Oollannore.

anywhere within a hundred miles with a young, trained and energetic but very inexpensive worker in charge. His centre should be little more than headquarters and his work nearly all extension work out among the people. He need do almost no experimental work. Such a worker as either of our young assistants can manage such a centre and do excellent extension work. The important thing is that he be thoroughly trained through experience so that he can actually do all the things he teaches. There is so much disrespect for youth in India that people will not follow his personal teaching without some authoritative backing. He must have the larger centre and its staff behind him, and the people must feel that what he is teaching is not only his knowledge but that of the larger centre. On this basis I am enjoying seeing ignorant age sit respectfully at the feet of well-informed youth—to learn.

By this method Rural Reconstruction work can be done over a large area, inexpensively, with not more than one main centre for a radius of a hundred miles or more.

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CHAPTER VIII

RURAL EXTENSION SERVICE

The Village Appropriates the College

When he is yet a great way off, the villagers see him and run out to meet him. This picture of one of my Indian colleagues approaching a village is both beautiful and full of hopeful significance. There is always a waiting list of invitations from many villages for our secretaries to come and give teaching and guidance towards more abundant life in the villages. And then, when trouble comes... As I write a tired but animated young man comes riding up on a bicycle. He has ridden all the way from the village of Paranium, seventeen miles away, to request the Centre secretaries to come and help about the terrible epidemic that has attacked the poultry of Paranium and is even causing the crows to drop dead in the roads.[1] When a palmyra climber loses his hold, falls from a high tree and is killed, his poor widow, whether she be Christian or Hindu, runs to the Centre for help.

This situation is the right one. The demand should come from the villages themselves. Agricultural extension should be like a suction pump rather than a force pump. Too often an agricultural college or department has something it wants to propagate and it goes about squirting it out to the people as with a force pump. The situation of felt-need should first either exist or

[1] A most virulent disease, which takes off whole flocks of beautiful laying hens in a few hours or days.

be created so that there is, as it were, a real suction and demand from the people for the helps teaching agencies are prepared to give. We have after study embarked upon the giving of such help as the people really need, and this is the secret of the demands coming so strong from them. It is the secret of much hearty co-operation.

Taking the advantages of the practical knowledge resulting from college teaching and from research to the rural Indian villager, who may never have been in even a primary school, is our extension task and privilege.

Chief attention is given to extending to rural families those features of practice and living illustrated at the Rural Demonstration Centre, though it is not by any means confined to these. All the advantages of what scientific education we workers have, the literature of agricultural colleges and experiment stations in India and in foreign countries, the world of experience of many experienced and able men, are all, to a large extent, available for our use. It may be laid down as a principle that no foreign method can be taken to India and used with maximum success just as it was used in the foreign place ; but all sound principles, truths and methods can be adapted to India's use, and in this adaptation or non-adaptation lies success or failure.

In general the extension service aims to foster and develop those lines of endeavour which make for better homes, better social and religious life, better health, better income and better rural living in every sense. An industry or method may or may not be self-supporting in our demonstration centres. That is not the important fact. *Are the villagers taking to it and with profit ?* That is the whole test.

Village Associations

The strong and fortunate basis for our extension work is the village Young Men's Christian Associations. Through them as the chief units of our simple organization, of which we have explained the need in Chapter II, we work and teach. They are parent and nurturing agents for the other forms such as the co-operative societies of all kinds, the clubs, and the Rural Development Association.

What are these associations? They are not artificial. The great and appealing needs of the village press in hourly upon the consciousness of all who live there. These associations are a banding together of young men of the community to do something to better conditions, to answer the needs, and make the village a better and happier place in which to live. They come of a desire to serve, and of a realization of the truth that a single village young man can be effective only when he bands himself with the strength of others.

The strength of these associations lies in their 'Who's who' ; most of them are without buildings and equipment. Their committee-men and members are young men and boys *imbued with the spirit of service, above the mean of the village in education and enlightenment, trained in service* (by their service in the associations). Young school teachers, lawyers, farmers, high school boys and others are the leaders. They work in their spare time without material reward and one cannot but marvel at the devotion and amount of time and energy some of them put into this labour of love.

So we have in our Travancore and Cochin district these working groups in one hundred and thirty-one villages, ultra-rural and simple in their organization, their work

adapted to the local needs. The work is not stereotyped and in no two villages will it be exactly alike. When a group of young men in each village ask themselves: 'What are the greatest needs of our village that no one else will meet?' the answer will not be quite the same in any two villages. Even though this be true, we find that in every place there are needs under the following five general classifications: Religious, Educational, Physical, Social and Economic.

The natural religious tendency which is in most Indians, it matters not of what caste or religion, should always be made the foundation for all kinds of work towards better things. He serves best who keeps this religious tendency glowing brightly in his life. A truly deeply religious Hindu and a truly deeply religious Christian, we find, work better together because of the common bond of religion. A truly religious nature even in men of different religions is a help to joining hands and not the hindrance that many suppose. When our groups of village leaders ask themselves, as they often do: 'What is the greatest one need in our village?' the answer generally is: 'That our religious life be quickened, made vital to control and guide all we do, seven days in the week.' Then they conduct their religious department activities with that end in view.

This is largely non-equipment work. Only a few of the associations have buildings. They would like to have little buildings, could they afford it, to serve as headquarters for their work, house their little libraries and other simple working equipment, accommodate their smaller meetings. In the few places which have them, their little verandahs serve as stage, platform, or pulpit for large audiences which sit on the ground in the open during good weather. The few which have been built



THE VILLAGE ASSOCIATION: A VERITABLE LIGHTHOUSE TO MANY VILLAGES AROUND

This Association in a small remote village has a neat little building that cost Rs. 400. The members helped to put up the building with their own hands. For larger meetings, the little verandah is used as a stage, and many hundreds of people may stand or sit outside.

by the members' own hands are veritable lighthouses, not only to the villages in which they stand but to the other villages around. In most villages the members hold their rainy weather meetings in some little church or school building.

Each association has its honorary general secretary; and each of the departments, religious, educational, physical, social and economic, has its honorary departmental secretary. There is a general committee for the whole work, and smaller ones for each department. The religious work secretary in our organization will naturally be a Christian, but members of other religions may take leadership in the religious work, as when a Hindu leads a class in study of the Bhagavad Gita. In the other departments non-Christians often become committee members or even secretaries. Sometimes special committees are formed for specific projects, as for educational temperance work. Hindus and Mohammedans sometimes take the greatest interest in this work and consequently take the leadership and secretaryship of it. In some associations there is a paying membership. In most, however, membership is free; and for necessary funds specific appeals are made as needs arise in the work.

A list of the great variety of services rendered by these voluntary workers would be too lengthy to print here. It would be difficult for an outsider to imagine what a prominent place the village association holds in the village and how devoted the members are to it. We are sometimes asked how we 'go about organizing new associations'. We do not try to have more of them. When a village has one, the next is not satisfied until it has one too. When an honorary secretary or member is transferred to another place, he is not satisfied until

he has started an association there through which he and others can carry out their desire to serve. This is how the movement spreads. Where in any village there is a sufficient nucleus of such young men, the association will flourish—where there is not it is better not to try to have one.

I have already indicated that the village associations are our fortunate foundation for spreading any new method. If we come with a new and better breed of poultry, it is these honorary workers who can best demonstrate the advantages of these fowls by having some themselves and then teaching others how to have them and their profits. These workers have proved themselves and their example is trusted.

In their educational departments they think a great deal of their little libraries, kept sometimes in a borrowed or rented room. Only a very small percentage of the people can read but there is the very picturesque and truly co-operative custom of men sitting around and listening while one who can read reads aloud. And those who have had educational opportunities conduct night schools for adults who missed schooling when they were young and for boys and girls who have to work daytimes or are too poor to pay the school fees.

In the physical department there is so much to do in the way of physical and health education among people who look forward to the shortest life span of any people in the world, that it is given special emphasis in our schemes for training workers and in local programmes.

Socially these associations, constituted on a whole-community basis to be worked for and by men of all castes and religions and conditions, have a unique opportunity denied to any sectarian or denominational body. They can do good without being suspected of

proselytizing motives. On this common platform all can meet, get to know and appreciate one another, work and serve, and enjoy it all together.

Likewise with efforts and methods toward economic improvement, these village associations are our basic machinery for spreading any new teaching or help so that many people may adopt it and enjoy its benefits.

A further illustration of the usefulness of village associations, and more particularly the committee system, was the relief given to the poorest classes of sufferers in Travancore during one of the most disastrous of India's floods in 1924. One-third of Travancore State was flooded. The Travancore Central Flood Relief Committee quickly set up an organization which worked through forty-seven sub-area local committees over the flooded parts. It raised Rs. 73,307 and, besides immediate relief in food and clothing, helped toward rebuilding 29,000 huts and houses of the poor which had been washed away. The accomplishment of the Travancore Central Flood Relief Committee, though not a part of the brotherhood of affiliated village associations of which I have been writing, illustrates the efficacy of the same type of honorary, unpaid service. When the floods came so suddenly with their unprecedented devastation, I was asked to be secretary in charge of organizing relief, and I helped to set up quickly essentially the same committee system. Several of these associations carried on relief as part of the work of the Central Flood Relief Committee. They responded again in the cholera epidemics of 1928 and 1937. If there is some such form of local association in a village, the village has then a body of sympathetic men trained in united service who can quickly and effectively take up relief work in case of floods, famine, pestilence, cyclones or any other emergency.

Socialization

Socialization is one of the very uppermost aims of all this extension programme. By socialization I mean the bringing together of all persons in the area to work together and move together freely and happily—members of all castes and religions, the poor and the more well-to-do, the illiterate and the educated. The extremely slow degree of socialization in India has most tenaciously helped to hold this country in poverty, thereby justifying our making it a major object of study and effort. Failure in economy means failure in socialization.

Socialization and co-operation must go hand in hand, and I may preface here the chapter on 'How We Use the Co-operative Method' by saying that we are absolutely opposed in our rural work to communal societies of any kind. We will not be connected with a society of any particular religion or caste if it means that other castes and creeds are excluded. Often a group of persons come to us and say: 'There is a Co-operative Society in our village. Those of our caste and religion are not allowed to join.' If they be Christians they may say: 'We want to start a Christian Co-operative Society'. When asked if they like being excluded, they say: 'No'. Then they begin to see that it is not quite the thing to go and do likewise. No, they may start a co-operative society but it must be truly co-operative—wide open in membership to all persons of worthy character. We can approach and work with the various castes and creeds without being suspected as a denominational body may be—hence this bringing of union becomes at once a greater responsibility upon us as well as a rare privilege.

The inter-caste co-operative society draws into its membership, out of their similar needs, former ultra-individualists. Such men find themselves associating in a very personal venture, not only with other men but with men of other castes and creeds. The member finds himself benefited by this kind of association. He experiences joint liability, but still for his benefit. There is clear evidence in our villages that such a man becomes willing and even keen to join in other inter-communal ventures for his personal and the general good.

The South Travancore Rural Development Association. To bring into one working group all interested persons who may or may not belong to any of our village associations or any of our co-operative societies of various kinds we have the South Travancore Rural Development Association. And, as is seen by the objects here given, its very first purpose is to speed up socialization throughout our whole extension field. The objects are:

1. To bring people of all castes and religions to join hands in this work of improving the economic, social, moral and spiritual welfare of the people living in the villages of the Martandam Extension Area.

2. To demonstrate and popularize in the villages better methods of agriculture, and cottage industries proved to be profitable by the Government, the YMCA Rural Demonstration Centre and other agencies.

3. To help rural families to increase their incomes by the application of co-operative principles and methods in the production and marketing of agricultural and industrial products.

4. To help towards better livestock, poultry and varieties of plants.

5. To improve the health of the people by introducing methods of sanitation, by sinking wells, teaching

health and character-forming games and carrying on health education.

6. To help in the holding of exhibitions in the villages and at the Rural Demonstration Centre at Martandam which show results of our reconstruction work, and to stimulate others to have better products.

7. To check the evils resulting from the use of alcoholic drinks and drugs by educating the masses through lectures, exhibitions of charts and pictures, lantern lectures, distribution of literature, etc.

8. To improve road communication to villages.

9. To settle disputes by means of arbitration by panchayats.

10. To do any other things possible to promote the well-being of village people irrespective of caste or creed.

This association has a majority of non-Christian members ; its first president is a Nayar-Hindu gentleman who is the headmaster of the large Government high school adjacent to our Centre, which school is the educational centre of the extension area and helps materially through its pupils in spreading what we teach. The other members of its committee are elected from different castes and religions ; and its membership admits all persons, male or female, who will work for the objects of the associations and contribute towards them.

The Rural Reconstruction Unit in Action

All agencies in a given local area should mobilize all their powers and all their interests for the common good of the whole group. To this end it has been recommended that 'Rural Reconstruction Units' be started. Our method was rather to start serving, and then gradually and naturally to enlist the co-operation of all agencies

until we had the full Rural Reconstruction Unit in action. I do not know that this could be successfully done artificially or from a 'set-up' at the start. The success of the work owes everything to the hearty co-operation and participation of all agencies, which include the London Mission (missionaries, pastors, and catechists of the churches, the home mission workers—who when we came with this new type of work into their old field welcomed us saying: 'This was needed to complete the Christian programme. When we had taught the people the better way of life—the Christian way—many of them were actually too poor to live it') ; the village YMCAs (which are autonomous) ; the Salvation Army ; the school authorities (as I have described)—the Director of Public Instruction, the headmaster of the Central High School ; and the teachers of the village schools ; members of the staffs of the State Colleges ; the officials of the Government Co-operative Department ; the Agricultural Department and the Department of Industries ; the Commercial Chemist, the Dewan Peishkar (chief revenue officer) ; the Tahsildars ; the village officers ; the doctors of the Medical Mission (which has a small hospital across the road from our Centre) and the Government doctors ; the Department of Public Health ; the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides authorities ; and above all the people—the people of all castes and creeds and conditions.

Along Extension Pathways

Come with us on an 'extension' trip among the villages. Part of the way we may have to walk as we may visit some of the roadless villages. We shall meet the honorary workers who staff some of our rural associations which, as I have said, are foundations for spreading new knowledge, methods and vocations among the rural families.

In some village we may find them conducting an Educational Week. These weeks are accompanied in each place with an exhibition of educational material. Outside speakers and demonstrators are brought in. Such functions are very popular and are attended by large numbers from the near and far countryside. The rural secretary will be giving attention to the co-operative societies, especially the younger ones. He assists them in starting, and nurses them along until they are self-able. We may step in at a meeting of a co-operative society and hear members tell of the loans they have taken and what they have accomplished with them.

We shall stop at one of the rural market places. Here will be as many as five thousand really rural people, most of whom never attended any school, demonstration centre or any directed education whatsoever. We shall see how at a stand or tent in the centre or just at the side of the market place our secretaries are exhibiting and explaining the demonstration materials, implements, livestock and poultry. On the trees and under their friendly shade, are hung the illustrative charts. All day long people come to look over the exhibit and to ask questions of the rural secretary who is happy at the opportunity to explain. Since most of the enquirers reside in the local area there is opportunity of inviting them to the Centre and in further following up the contacts and helping them later at their own houses.

The Circulating Library. On the occasion of one extension trip like this, a hand-made village cart, two lean bulls, an almost naked bull-driver, and a young man waited at the corner where the village road joins the main one. They had come six miles from the village to meet Mrs. Hatch and me who after a while got down from a bus. We climbed in and sat on the board-floor of



TEACHING IN THE MARKET PLACE

the springless cart. The driver prodding the bulls and twisting their tails to breaking point accomplished from them a slow walk over an impossible road which was so bad because 'Government high officials never came that way.' It was near midday and very hot. There was no room to sit up straight in the cart. Sometimes we got out and walked.

The young man who had come to conduct us to the village association was the honorary 'Library Secretary'. To make conversation as we slowly proceeded, he said: 'Mr. E. . . . gave us a book. It is a very interesting and helpful book ; it has meant a lot to our village and is being passed about from person to person.' I happened to ask him: 'When did Mr. E. . . . give you the book?' 'Oh, we have had it over three years now,' was the reply. One book—still something to talk about—after three years! What does one copy of one book mean to the whole population of a western town?

I tell this incident as an index to what even little things, done by voluntary workers in their spare time or by others in answer to the great needs of backward, poverty-stricken Indian villages, mean to their people. There is an appreciation here, rare and sincere and gladdening to the heart.

As we continue along Extension pathways we shall see in the villages which subscribe to the circulating library (the headquarters of which we have seen at the Centre) the tin boxes for holding the books ; and the villagers will tell of the paucity of literature and how much these books mean to them. There is now a children's section in the circulating library with not only children's books but also games. There are practically no toys in the villages, but the little child dragging a broken coconut in the gutter by a leaf-fibre he had tied to it, pitifully

indicated that he has the same longing for toys and games as those fortunate children who have so many. Now the villages can take out games for the children, changing them every month, like the books, for new ones.

The secretaries will be giving direction to poultry-clubs, co-operative bee-keepers' associations, cashew-nut and jaggery societies, cattle and seed-bull associations and the like. Some of the boys' club projects will be found most interesting, and the young extension assistant who has had careful training in boys' work has special responsibility for listing and looking after every boy who is practising any of the projects we teach.

We must include one depressed class dwelling section in our Extension trip. Let it be a Sambavar village. Picturesque black rocks push their rounded heads up out of the paddy-fields owned by Nairs and Brahmins. On these worthless rocks live the Sambavar outcastes who do the work for the Nairs and Brahmins in the paddy-fields but whose station in life does not grant them a foot of land on which to live. In their spare time these Sambavar men and women collect smooth wild reeds (*kora*) from the marshes. These when woven together with the thread made from the aloe plant make serviceable mats commonly used in India. The aloe-fibre is collected from the by-ways and hedges. Thus all the materials needed for making the mats are at hand. But alas, they do not know how. They sell these materials for a petty price to Mohammedan merchants who themselves make up the mats and sell them. The Sambavars tell us that they will gladly make the mats and we are attempting to put facilities for learning within their reach. If they learn to dye the reeds various colours, higher-priced mats can be made. Then they will need

help in co-operative marketing of the mats. We see that these outcastes are availing themselves of the benefits of some of the other cottage vocations.

All along the way we shall be asked many questions by those who have taken up the various vocations, practices and methods we are propagating. The most effective instruction can be given when actual problems arise in working at the projects.

We shall enquire about any surveys that are going on. The Indian village still stands, almost untouched, as the most fertile, intriguing and needy field for surveys and studies. Village and area surveys, general and specific, and especially studies of limited phases of village life which present problems, are greatly needed. Our policy is to make a general survey ahead of the introduction of a programme in any place, and a specific survey for each new vocation, or established vocation to be improved. With a limited staff and limited means this is difficult. But, increasingly, honorary workers join in to help in these studies when we have laid out for each a specific outline and plan. The students in our Practical Training School in Rural Reconstruction go out into the villages to make surveys as among their first lessons.

We see along the way some of the health education work. Rural ill-health is appalling. How many of our finest village leaders—strong athletic young men—have been stricken and died ; and whole groups of villages have been affected by their passing! Who would have dreamed that there could be so much typhoid fever in purely rural places? Cholera took over 9,000 of our people here in South Travancore in 1928 and raged again in 1937. Hook-worm surveys by the Rockefeller Foundation indicate that in some of our villages every person has hook-worm. Hook-worm is

largely spread through walking barefoot in human excreta and other filth. At our Centre and in our extension work we ever do what we can towards sanitation and health. The encouraging response we get is illustrated in the case of the bore-hole latrine the use of which we have pioneered.

This is a latrine which combines utility with sanitation and disease prevention. We loan the borer. The only cost to the villager, who can bore the hole and build a wall around it himself, is for the locally-made granite slab which we have invented for the top. It costs only one rupee. The concrete ones used in Madras would never be adopted by our poor rural families for it would take more keenness about latrines than can be expected to make them spend nearly half a month's salary on a squatting slab when that salary is already insufficient to allay the hunger of the family for food. We were forced to invent a cheaper one and out of the local stone it is hewn for one rupee. The nightsoil deposited in these latrines instead of all about where it spreads hook-worm and other diseases can be taken out later, an odourless, germless, excellent manure, made so by time and the action of soil bacteria. Even before we had experimented with this borer as much as we wished, village after village wanted it. They wanted it to bore near schools which had up to 300 boys and girls and teachers and no sanitary arrangements whatever. They wanted to bore in their home compounds.[1]

After nightfall we may attend a rural drama. The direction of this powerful, innate and indigenous vehicle

[1] In these parts we often strike rock and have to try in another place. We find that in the rainy seasons or by pouring water into the holes as we bore in dry seasons, we can put down excellent permanent holes through solid laterite.

for Indian rural education, for cheering entertainment and recreation, for socialization and self-expression, is another responsibility of the rural extension secretary. The powerful Indian moon makes it easy for large crowds to walk in barefoot from distant places; and after the show it will light them home and us back to the Centre for the night.

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CHAPTER IX

HOW WE TEACH RURAL VOCATIONS

FEW seem to realize fully how much a matter of education rural uplift in India must be. Education has shunned it. Many seem not to realize that the work described in the preceding chapters is essentially educational. This lack of realization is responsible for programmes for rural improvement based on other than sound educational practice and consequently weak in fitting for full self-ability to do and perform.

Practical application of the most effectual educational method is wanted rather than theory. I have, therefore, thought it valuable to outline how we go about teaching the subsidiary home vocations right out in the villages. This simple course in bee-keeping is presented as an example. Similar technique is used for the other vocations.

TEACHING BEE-KEEPING AS A SUBSIDIARY VOCATION

This course is divided into the following twelve lessons, and conveniently fits into the programme of ordinary day schools, night or summer schools, and it is one of those we use in our Practical Training School in Rural Reconstruction. We have to give such teaching to groups of bee-keepers and prospective bee-keepers right out in the country, when possible, under wild-bee trees or those in which the primitive honey-pots are now hung.

Bee-keeping is practically unknown in India except in a few spots. Most Indian honey is robbed from wild bees. But some bees in our area are kept in old

earthen pots. According to the simple, indigenous method which has been developed, these empty pots are tied, opening downward, in the higher branches of the trees. Swarms of bees come and take up their abode in these pots. Once a year the pots are taken down, the colonies are broken up and the honey taken without much regard for the bees. It takes another year for a colony to reorganize, if it ever does, and to make any more honey. There is practically no profit from this method of bee-keeping, though honey brings a comparatively high price in India, being so scarce and much appreciated. This educational project is to teach scientific and up-to-date bee-keeping, and to popularize it. It makes the learner able to transfer his bees from pots or bee-trees or caves into modern hives, to multiply production, and profitably to market his honey.

The Twelve Lessons

1. Opportunity of Greater Income Through Improved Bee-keeping as a Subsidiary Industry. (Main object in this lesson is to create interest and favourable attitude.)

2. Nature of the Honey-bee. How to work (co-operate) with him.

3. The improved Hive. Its Parts and Use. How to Obtain It. Other Equipment. (Hives and Equipment shown and explained.)

4. Making New Home (Hive) acceptable to Bees. (Actually done in class.)

5. Transferring Wild Bees from Pots, Rocks, Trees, Caves to Improved Hives. (After the class lesson this process is demonstrated. The teacher first transfers a swarm ; then every student actually does transferring.)

6. Pests, Diseases, Bad Seasons, Scarcity of Flowers. How to Guard Against Them.

7. Removing Honey. When? How? What per cent?

8. Doubling Production by Extracting. Encouraging Indian Bees to Work Harder. The Process and Equipment. (Demonstrated with equipment.)

9. Bee Pasturage. Adding to the Natural Supply. (Accompanied by charts.)

10. Sale. Bottling. Labelling. Comb-honey Cartons. Markets. (Demonstrated with equipment.)

11. The Co-operative Bee-keepers' Society. (For production, marketing and mutual improvement.) This is touched upon in lesson No. 1.

12. Bee-keeping in other countries. The Italian Bee, *Apis melifera,* for larger production. The Egyptian Bee. (This lesson is to give larger vision to those who have achieved success and skill in handling the smaller Indian bee, *Apis indica.*)

Content of course and methods taught would vary in different areas. Adaptation to local conditions is most important.

This is properly a vocational course. It definitely prepares for the subsidiary industry of honey-production, giving the Indian farmer or boy the skill and knowledge necessary to pursue it profitably ; and along with this instruction is given certain cultural and social training with the aim generally to improve the learner.

Securing and Holding Interest. The best teaching principles demand that we appeal to the individual in terms of his native tendencies so as to release his energy to learning. This holds interest. If the instructor cannot release this energy he cannot teach.

Why does educational philanthropy in the way of self-help methods for economic improvement get a better response than most other forms of teaching? It is

because poverty and hunger give a very definite felt want. A felt want—a keen feeling of need—is the best basis for securing and holding interest. We have this actively present in the poor and hungry. One of the very first things to do is to show the learners that by keeping bees (or whatever the economic project is) by the methods taught for adoption there will result more income with which to purchase the necessities of life. The Indian peasant, though an outcaste and illiterate, readily responds to advice when he thinks it for his benefit. The money-lender and others take advantage of this virtue—that he believes and responds and can therefore be exploited more easily. Over and above this natural responsiveness, there is the fact of his terrible suffering. One need only refer to his debts, his crops, the vagaries of the monsoon, his nerveless cattle, his poverty in general, to secure his immediate and unlimited interest. It has been truly said that the way to the Indian ryot's mind is through his stomach.

There are the following further truths concerning interest.[1] I have arranged them in the order in which I think they most readily apply to the teaching of bee-keeping or other vocations to the Indian villager:

1. *Interest, in the final analysis, is a personal matter.* The villager wants to see the value of the new proposal, and its study, to his own or his family's well-being.

2. *Interest centres more in the concrete than the abstract.* We teach simple demonstrable facts rather than generalities.

[1] See Colvin, *An Introduction to High School Teaching*, pp. 76-80.

3. *Interest is stimulated to the extent that the learner is also a doer.* It is a general principle of educational psychology that there is no learning without activity. As far as possible and as soon as possible, all of our bee-keeping students have bees of their own. Bees are actually handled in class.

4. *Interest is more easily aroused when the attention is concentrated on the thing to be accomplished, than when it is occupied with the details that lead to accomplishment.* See my lesson No. 1, designed especially to create interest. It is more interesting to contemplate more income, more to eat, from honey-products, than to contemplate how to place supers on a hive.

5. *Interest is dependent not merely on presenting facts but on the interpretation of them in terms of their meaning.* The learner in this case wants to see what the facts actually mean in honey-production and in income.

As in all learning, the Indian bee-keeper can only learn from past experience as a basis. This is one of the reasons why it is necessary to know the local situation very well, and to know each individual. The pupil there looks at the new equipment and new methods almost entirely from the standpoint of his own hives and methods. So will he compare the new, larger and more productive bees with those which he has known and handled.

Availability of Subject Matter. The success of teaching profitable bee-keeping will depend partly on the subject matter available. This is very limited in a rural Indian village.

The available subject matter as we have it for the course in Travancore at present includes: (1) The learners' knowledge of bees as they know and keep them. (2) My own knowledge of bees and that of my Indian colleagues, gained by study and actual keeping of bees by scientific, improved methods. (3) Knowledge of certain other persons who have kept bees in India. (4) At least one Government of India bulletin on the keeping of bees in India. (5) Various books, journals and bulletins (foreign) on bee-keeping. (6) Bee-keeping equipment brought to the place of instruction for demonstration. (7) Bee-keeping by improved methods at the Rural Demonstration Centre (where these farmer bee-keepers can come and see our illustration and demonstration of how they also may keep bees). (8) Bee-keeping by individuals who have adopted improved methods and to whose apiaries the learners may be taken to visit. (9) Wild bees, in trees, caves and other places. The boys of any school, if asked to look, will generally in a few days find several swarms.

The first man in one of our villages to make a success of bees and to know how to take care of them properly is very proud of it. It gives him a certain prestige. He becomes an enthusiast and can serve to encourage and lead others. His experience becomes a part of our subject matter.

Analysis. The next step is to break down the whole unit of instruction into its component factors, analyzing its specific objectives. This is necessary in order that the various main points may be given their proper significance ; and indeed, to ascertain whether the unit and its various lessons are appropriate to the men or boys who are being taught.

This analysis furthermore helps us to know whether we have sufficient subject matter, materials and equipment for teaching. When the unit is divided into its various lessons we can then see more clearly whether for any lesson or main point we lack the necessary material or knowledge for teaching, according to our objective. Maybe we can then secure what is lacking. If the necessary material is not available it may be better to leave out that lesson from the unit.

A different section of materials is used with the primitive unschooled pupils of the villages than with, for instance, the better school-educated people whom we teach in our summer schools. The type of pupils always affects the emphasis to be put on skill, attitude and knowledge.

Reasoning. It will probably be thought that the ignorant, unschooled, adult Indian villager hardly belongs to the ranks of rational reasoners, to whom the philosopher John Dewey gives counsel.[1] But in comparison with the rank and file of hurrying Westerners, the Indian rural villager is a deliberately thoughtful man.

Selection of subject matter for teaching him has to be done so expertly that it has in it all that is necessary to answer logically and convincingly his questionings, all of which are influenced by his natural conservative disinclination toward things new. Show him the new hen's egg twice as large, and he still asks: 'But may not the quality be twice as poor?' The rural villager has not yet, however, that emotional set against things foreign that is so pronounced now in the politically-tempered minds of a large percentage of sophisticated town and city Indians.

[1] See *How We Think*, pp. 68-78.

The villager in effect, though of course not consciously, demands that our instruction allow him to go through the five distinct steps of reflection: (1) a felt difficulty, (2) its location and definition, (3) suggestion and possible solution, (4) development by reasoning of the bearings of the suggestion, (5) further observation and experiment leading to its acceptance or rejection, that is, the conclusion of belief or disbelief.[1] The first step suggests the very great importance of doing the teaching carefully enough, and then the further importance of following up—staying with the learner in his actual working-out of the vocation taught in order that he may not have 'bad luck' ; or, if he does, that he may receive further encouragement at that time. Bad luck or failure is very apt to bring 'rejection' and 'disbelief'. And this last state of the man is worse than the first, in that he now has an emotional set against the proposal, based upon experience.

Instincts. The idea that 'education must address itself to the instincts, for they are the springs of conduct' is still held by many ; though the very latest developments in psychology tend to deny that the instincts are useful as an explanation of conduct. We are now looking more to nurture than to nature for the explanation of conduct, with close study of the emotions. Closely related to instinct in the Indian villager is the tendency to hold to social and religious customs. This comes largely from nurture—environment. Education must take note of this also.

We have the complication in this work of having to deal both with the young and with adults. However, while interest, ambitions and ideals take on new forms,

[1] Ibid., p. 72.

the great fundamental principles of learning are the same for the child, the youth and the adult. With all ages it is important to appeal to the natural interests of the learners. Dry-as-dust methods have no place in any teaching, but the Indian villager, especially the adult, may go to sleep on them sooner than the average.

The gregarious tendency is deep-seated in the human race, and best preserved in rural peoples of less sophisticated culture. This 'feeling of kind' is a part of the social tendency so strong in our Indian village. Indeed, it is one of the major causes for the very existence of the village. While individual instruction is also given, it is better to make the whole unit of instruction social. This is one of the reasons for the Bee-keepers' Co-operative Society which is formed to include those in the immediate locality studying improved bee-keeping. Much added interest, and even stimulating competition, is engendered through this socializing of the educational movement. The vocational interest is always present. Advantage should be taken of it. The matter of instinct and interest has intimately to do with the all-important necessity of relating the teaching to the local life the pupil knows.

That note needs to be taken of the deep social and religious ideas and ideals of the locality is illustrated by the case of an excellent student who studied bee-keeping in one of our summer schools. He became greatly interested and bought improved equipment for starting in the vocation. But, on going home and meditating, his early training in the Indian religious philosophy of the close brotherhood of animals and insects to man came into consideration. He wrote me that upon reflection he had come to think it wrong to disturb the bees from their natural way of living, to manipulate

them for man's selfish ends, and to take their honey which they had made for their own use. I had to show him that scientific bee-culture is a help and kindness to the bees, giving them a better-than-nature dwelling place; watching over and protecting them from pests which often exterminate whole colonies; and so aiding them in their greatest delight and interest—the producing of honey—that, after the bee-keeper has removed the surplus of production, the bees will still have more honey left for their own enjoyment and eating than by the way of undisturbed and precarious nature.

Plasticity and Adult Education. 'You cannot teach old dogs new tricks' is not necessarily true. The claim that adults cannot learn as readily as youths has been over-emphasized. My experience has shown me that the older person may learn much better. It is very possible that he may see greater reasons for learning. If this creates in him a strong desire to learn he may learn with great readiness. It is true that with age comes greater fixity and less plasticity. And we desire a certain amount of fixity fairly early in life in order that the individual may have stability, and a set of fixed principles, thoroughly tested and believed, to guide him. On the other hand we never want him to become so fixed that he cannot accommodate himself to new light and new ways, to adjust himself better to the situations, also changing, amid which he lives. Given this measure of plasticity and a desire to learn, the adult will learn well in comparison with the young.[1] Interest is the very

[1] I have been greatly encouraged by Thorndike's book *Adult Learning*. He shows that ability to learn increases gradually through early childhood and early teens until it probably reaches its fastest development during the middle teens; it still increases almost surely through eighteen and nineteen on to sometime between

important element. The old, interested, will learn better than the young with no basis for interest. Notice again that the chief purpose of my lesson No. 1 for bee-keepers is to stimulate interest to a very high point.

This matter is very important to us in India where there are such numbers of adults who missed schooling in youth. It is important since the prevailing idea that adults cannot learn prevents many from trying. It is important because of the governmental attitude that adult-education must be left largely to non-official bodies. The Royal Commission has declared: 'The advancement of adult-education is a matter for non-official activity rather than for Government departments, but the latter should assist it in all possible ways.'[1]

Experience of the individual ought to contribute to his understanding, and so to his ability to learn. It is interesting to note, however, that there are cases where the learner knows so much that it hinders rather than

then and twenty-five. It then drops about one per cent a year. At forty-two, one is better able to learn than at fifteen and much better than at ten. Nobody under forty-five should restrain himself through fear of not being able to learn anything that his work in the world demands. Thorndike gives arguments for a person's education being distributed from the years 6 to 35 rather than its all being given between the age of 6 and 16. Three-fourths of 10,000 hours of schooling might be given between 6 and 16 and the other one-fourth be distributed in the years until he is 35 at the rate of 100 to 200 hours per year. Our summer schools, night schools and other classes are a step in this direction, as are the folk schools in Denmark and the winter short courses in American Agricultural colleges. Rural children may become illiterate again after they leave school and literate contacts cease. The college graduate in Travancore and Cochin sometimes hardly opens another book after he has left college, and his education rapidly evaporates.

[1] *Final Report*, par. 449.

helps him to learn. I have recently witnessed the interesting case of teachers of psychology taking a summer course in psychology. These pupils who have taught this subject for years are having great difficulty, and are even failing in examinations—having more trouble than fellow-students new to the subject—because they depend upon what they know and are thinking about that when the professor is presenting the subject in a new way. They are not learning. When it comes to examinations, all they possess is their former ideas ; the new ones presented in the class have entirely escaped them. Likewise, in the villages we sometimes have a pupil who has some knowledge of the subject being taught ; and this may prevent his learning the new method as readily as a pupil new to the subject. This is a possibility, but is not true with a more intelligent student who will apply himself to what is being taught.

The Discussion Method, though not popular, is most useful in our rural teaching in India. Discussion is the logical means of making clear the lesson in hand. Carefully-selected experience of pupils may become the logical basis for the introduction of the new problem. It is the method of directing development. Through it we find out what successful and what unsuccessful practices have been experienced, and from this we proceed to new ideas and methods.

Discussion is an improvement upon the recitation method as it relates the problems more closely to the learners' lives and experience. It is valuable in pointing to applications. The suggestions which arise in discussions should be used in practical application. Our bee-keepers discuss with us how they now manipulate their bees, and we together work out how we could do it better.

This discussion method is most easily correlated with other methods. It can be used in the same class-period as other methods. It utilizes the activities of the pupils. The give-and-take of life and experience is interesting, and this method tends to make pupils self-active. A part of the period in the recitation, the demonstration, the field-trip, the laboratory or practice period may well be devoted to discussion, and discussion can well follow supervised study. Our people like lectures too well. At first they may not see the greater good that comes from stirring themselves in mind and voice and taking part in discussion; but there is no doubt that lectures should be discouraged in favour of more discussion sessions, each under a prepared and competent leader.

To organize and prepare for the discussion is all-important. The dangers of the discussion method so easy to fall into, in fact, sure to be present if not guarded against, are digression, guessing, irrelevancy, and hodge-podge. The outline should be carefully made in advance. It will serve to prevent digression and will show the way back if it should occur.

A simple outline for discussion in my lesson No. 4 is as follows:

MAKING THE NEW HOME (HIVE) ACCEPTABLE TO THE BEES

I. How are the bees found living in the woods?
   (*a*) How many have seen a bee-tree?
      1. Where did the tree stand (take a particular one)?
      2. In a shady or a sunny place?

II. Have you seen inside a bee-tree?
   (*a*) What sort of a cavity was it?

(*b*) How were the combs arranged?
(*c*) What was the entrance like?

III. Would bees be more apt to like a new home resembling or differing from the old?

IV. What can we do to make the new home like the old (only better)?
(*a*) Put in a shady place.
(*b*) Not too light—quiet.
(*c*) Plenty of air.
(*d*) 'Antique' inside of hive.
(*e*) Suspend honey-combs with a little honey from the tops of the frames.
(*f*) When transferring, put in bees' own comb and brood.
(*g*) Arrange protection from all kinds of enemies.

This is a conversational method and depends upon questions and answers. Questioning is the way of science—the way of learning and growth. From the lesson outlined above questions may be asked on each of the points in order. The test of all the questions should be that they be appropriate to accomplish the teaching purpose that they are expected to serve. The outline itself is formed of basic questions, and, under each question, other subsidiary ones should be asked. The pupils themselves will no doubt think out and ask part of them themselves. That is very desirable. Rightly-conducted discussion gives us the best teaching results.

When one is sure of one's methods, there is no more satisfying occupation than teaching out in the fields amid the quiet scenes of rural India—teaching rural vocations

which shall occupy waste time and help to bring enough to eat to the learners and their families.

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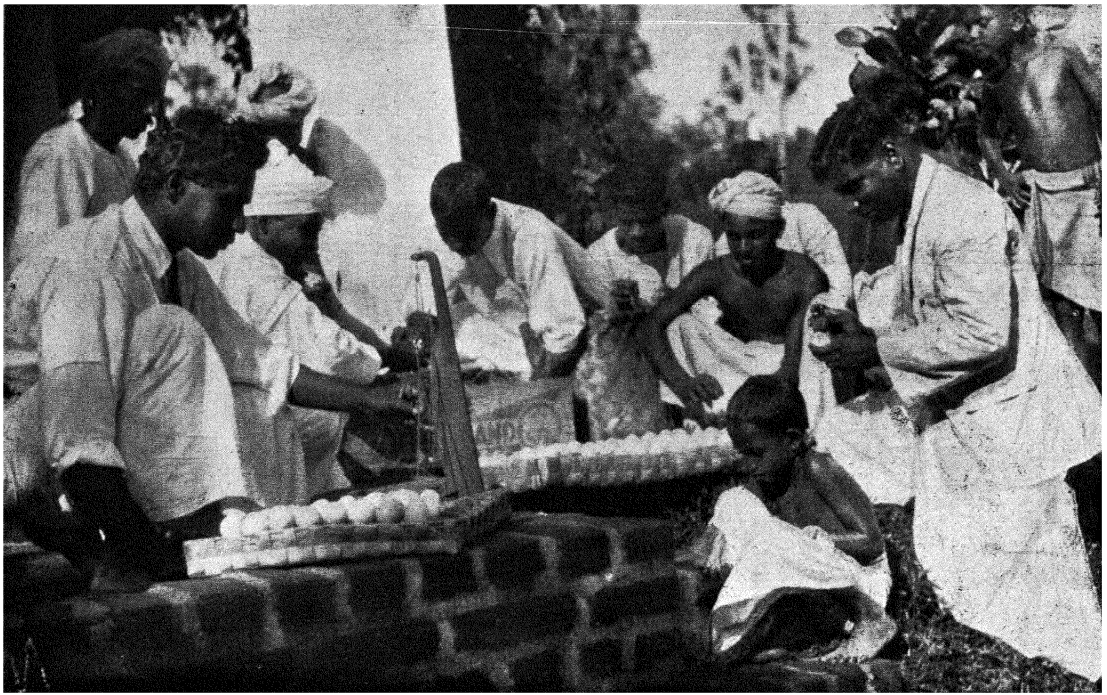
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EGG MARKETING DAY AT THE CENTRE

Testing, weighing, grading, stamping, wrapping, packing

CHAPTER X

HOW WE USE THE CO-OPERATIVE METHOD

Hand-in-Hand Upward

Egg-marketing day at the Centre is a great day. An inspiring day! Old men, young men, old women, young women, boys and girls come in with eggs. Some come by bullock cart, some by bus, but most of them walk barefoot. Some come from villages as far as fourteen miles distant. Some bring a single egg, or two or three tied in a handkerchief. Some bring as many as forty. They will come again like this in three or four days, for eggs are shipped twice in each week.

Then the egg gauntlet. The hopeful, eager producer watches his eggs go first to the weighing scales. If any are no larger than the ordinary country eggs they are rejected and must be sold in the local market. Those which are as large as the largest now produced in the area since the improved breeds were introduced are marked with a rubber stamp 'A'; those almost as large and larger than the common eggs are marked 'B'. The price is about twice that for eggs in the local market. By either the water or light tests or both they must be found perfectly fresh without the least shadow of doubt. If found absolutely fresh they are accepted; and the owner has recorded, on his page in the egg book, credit for his number of 'A' and his number of 'B' sized eggs supplied. In this book every supplier of eggs is known by a number, and his number is also stamped on every egg accepted from him. If ever a customer should later

find an egg not perfectly fresh after this severe gauntlet, it can be traced back to the supplier.

The villagers are paid at once for the eggs accepted. The price is about twice that for eggs in the local market, where price is based on small, untested and unsafe eggs. This is a fully co-operative business—for, by, and of, these poultry-keepers—so they stay and help. They help with the grading. They help with the stamping. They help wrap the eggs—each egg in attractive tissue. They help with getting the shipping baskets and boxes made ready. They help with the packing, closing and labelling of the parcels. Then perhaps one of them goes with the eggs on the bus twenty-five miles to the railway station to book and see them safely on the train. Even marketing is made a part of education—the aim being that the people themselves shall know how to do all this.

The eggs go mostly to private customers who appreciate freshness, dependability and quality and are willing to pay for them. Then the returns come in, and the producers find that after paying all expenses they can still have a reasonable surplus and each a small percentage bonus based on the number of eggs he has sold —this on top of having already received about twice the price of ordinary eggs.

Our customers have the eggs on a three-day guarantee. If ever they find a bad egg within three days of receipt they note and report the number which has been stamped on the egg, and it is replaced free in the next shipment. The producer can then be dealt with ; and under this system the customer has absolutely no chance of loss from our eggs. As far as we know this was the first guaranteed-egg system in the Orient. We have many testimonials from customers telling what it means to dare to face boiled eggs again and know they will

open up fresh and sweet. We know the joy of this for we use no other kind in our own home either for cooking or for table, and should dread to go back to the ordinary market-eggs which have taken their time through the slow, torrid Indian market route where there is no test and nothing to induce the many middlemen to hurry them on to the consumer or to protect them along the way.

The above picture does not show how much help there had to be from our Centre staff. The demonstration Centre had to make the central egg business its own. The co-operative principle obtained throughout, in that the Centre helped to build up, in the various villages of the extension area, co-operative societies and clubs, and enabled them to market through the Centre as much of their produce as was to the advantage of these village organizations or individuals. We of the Centre staff had to get and maintain these select customers in various parts of South India, and to fill the orders from whichever villages, societies, clubs or individuals as was best for the benefit of all the people. We had to make the whole central demonstration as ideal as possible, employing that vision and interest in all the people of the whole area which local societies could not be expected to have. We had to use all our business training and ingenuity, all the results of our study and experience in marketing rural produce in other countries, had to help in advertising and in setting up a workable system, and we had to be relentless in emphasizing quality of product and care and constancy in every detail of the business. In one of our earliest attempts at co-operative marketing of eggs, the lure of a higher price was so irresistible that I fear some bad eggs got through. That was before we perfected our 'gauntlet', and before perhaps even our

own workers fully realized that the whole business depended upon quality.

On December 1, 1935 the business was entirely handed over to the Society. They moved to a new building and with their Own Business Manager they have kept up the quality and increased the business.

Eggs are so valuable now that the villagers in this area will not sell their hens, either pure breds or grades. Before we got this marketing going there was much discouragement and doubt about the whole poultry business. For five years we had been encouraging the people to raise better poultry, putting improved breeds within their reach, teaching them how to take care of them, helping them over their bad luck and difficulties—and now, when the area could produce up to two thousand superior-sized eggs every week, the egg-middleman in the market-place stubbornly said: 'An egg is an egg', and he was never known to give any more for a fine big double or more than double-sized egg. Now there is the greatest interest in poultry. Poultry-keeping is growing and is only held back by the serious poultry epidemic of the past years. Eggs are kept back on market days for setting to increase the size of flocks, and the neighbours of poultry-keepers come to them for eggs for hatching.

The co-operative marketing of eggs has been described somewhat in detail as an example of how we are making an effort to improve the quality of every important local product—one by one—and then to help market it. We manifest no interest at all in the ordinary product except to improve it, and this attitude is in itself a great stimulus to improvement. One of the first steps in connexion with any product is to form those engaged in producing it into a simple co-operative society. So

at present we have our separate societies for producers of poultry and eggs, cashew nuts, honey, palmyra-sugar, cattle, and goats. These societies are at first exceedingly simple. They may be without rules or shares or admission fees. They need involve hardly more than the individual members agreeing to join for their mutual benefit and having their names on the membership list. Then they feel they 'belong'. With even this simplest form of organization, the teaching process can much better proceed. Later on, credit can be introduced to assist members in getting needed equipment, and co-operative marketing becomes a feature. When the society is sufficiently developed it may be advantageous for it to be registered with the State co-operative movement.

Cashew Nuts. We and our villagers have set up a system for marketing, all over India, the finest selected cashew nuts. It is rather remarkable that even on the poor land here there grow the finest cashew nuts we have ever seen. We found that our friends even as near as the city of Madras were having to buy dirty, wormy, broken, stale, and burned cashew nuts. What would they be as far away as Calcutta, Lahore, the Army cantonments in the Khaiber Pass, and in Rangoon to which our nuts now go quickly by mail?

We learned how to fry the nuts without burning the ends, and are teaching village families how to do it. It is the same picturesque indigenous home process of frying them in the oil of their own shells—simply improved and perfected. The heating of the nuts in the shells makes it possible to take out the nuts whole. This work, being hard work and staining the fingers, has become an outcaste industry; so this project helps some of the poorest people the world knows. Seventy-five per cent of those who bring nuts are old women.

Rural people bring the nuts in to the Centre. The nuts like the eggs run a gauntlet and only whole, first quality ones are accepted. Before they understood, the women especially got very angry at our sorting and rejecting a part of the nuts each brought. Below I give extracts from the attractive coloured folder we send out advertising Martandam Brand Cashew Nuts and telling our customers how to prepare them for serving:

In helping the Rural people of the Martandam Demonstration Area to market their cashew nuts in a way which will best please consumers, emphasis is put on quality. All nuts not up to highest quality are rejected.

A SUPER-RICH FOOD. The following chemical analysis of the CASHEW NUT shows it to be one of the most nourishing of foods. It also shows that this Nut has, in large proportions, just those constituents which so many foods in India lack. Serve CASHEW NUTS to balance every dinner.

CHEMICAL ANALYSIS

Protein	19·89
Fat	62·58
Carbohydrates (by diffce.)	6·03
Ash	2·74
Fibre	1·09
Moisture	7·67

How to Prepare and Serve. This delectable Nut is most enjoyable when prepared for serving according to these directions:

Always serve *hot* and *crisp*.

Place in a pan in the oven. In about 5 minutes the outer skin will become brittle and can easily be removed. Replace Nuts in slow oven 15 or 20 minutes, or until brittle. Do not break Nuts: serve whole. Serve hot with salt.

Or

Practically every household has a hot case. Forty-five minutes on the top shelf of your case will make the Nuts brittle. The outer skin can be removed after 15 minutes.

In a dry place or in an airtight tin, these Nuts will keep a long time.

Delivered at your door prepaid anywhere in India by V.P.P. (in South India shipments may be made by railway).



THE CASHEW NUT CLUB RECEIVES PAYMENT

Friends have advised us not to bother with the Indian market, but to ship to America. But what do our poor villagers know about the science of international trade in perishable products or of the many a slip and complication that is between Tuticorin and Kansas City? We do ship to America and to Europe when orders come, but we do not emphasize the foreign business. Our cashew nut marketing is a simple mail order business, all the process of which our villagers can understand and perform themselves. And they can ship daily from the little thatched, mud-walled post office on the road near the Centre.

Palmyra Sugar. The refined 'jaggery' which we are teaching the villagers to produce and helping them to market, we call palmyra sugar. The juice of the palmyra, boiled down, is such a delicious product that without any addition it makes approach towards being as attractive to the taste as the renowned maple sugar. As it is, it makes a good sweet for dessert, and it should be used freely in both European and Indian cookery. With all its natural minerals it is so much more healthful than ordinary white sugar which has been demineralized. We are getting out a cookery-book to guide house-wives and others in the use of this natural, healthful, nourishing, delicious sweet.

But as the villagers have been making it, it is so full of dirt and impurities that they must accept a low price for it. It is a sticky product and picks up more dirt as it lies and moves about in the markets and bazaars. The producers have to pay costs also of outside firms collecting the jaggery. This cost can be saved by their bringing the jaggery together themselves co-operatively.

Jaggery-making is our largest cottage industry in this area. Some of the boys of the rural high school adjacent

to our Centre were the first to take up plamyra sugar-making. Working with their mothers they turn out a delicious product, keeping the sap clean as it is brought down by the climbers from the trees, and boiling it down in their little cottages. It is moulded into convenient-sized cakes under our supervision and wrapped attractively in butter-paper in one and three-pound packets. It bears the printed label 'Martandam Palmyra Sugar, Guaranteed'.

Besides eggs, cashew nuts and palmyra sugar we have so far sold, through our Centre, pineapples and pine-apple plants, papayas, plantains, ginger, vegetables, tree cotton, milk, ghee, tamarind, pappadams, honey, bees, bees-wax, bee-keeping equipment, goats, poultry and poultry supplies, mats, fans, baskets, palmyra-leaf Christmas cards and cloth of various types made in our weaving school, knives, *kuftgari* sliver work, books, rural games and equipment. The Centre caters for rural conferences, retreats and camps and has shown that it can provide, very satisfactorily, all the food needed.

Co-operative Credit

The strong co-operative trio—co-operative credit, co-operative production, and co-operative marketing—help each other and never should be practised singly for long. We started with credit societies which first applied themselves especially to helping the people to get out of otherwise hopeless debt. Very soon, however, this credit came to be used toward co-operative production—to furnishing money for better stock, seeds and equipment in order that the borrowers might increase their products in amount and quality, and receive the greater returns therefrom. The co-operative marketing was immediately needed to help to sell those better products

and to bring to the producers the better price and more money these products deserved.

For the co-operative credit, which started first, much personal, repeated visitation and nursing was necessary. One Indian secretary spent the greater part of his time for some years on this—finding in each village the proper man for secretary, training him, and then instilling in the people of the community the whole broad idea of co-operation and how to use it advantageously. Holding fast to the principle of giving loans for productive purposes only, the credit societies were formed and nurtured.

These three anecdotes in a letter from a rural secretary are typical of the countless simple ways the village co-operative societies are helping the very poor:

'An eight-seater Ford car used as a bus was the only means of earning a livelihood for a man and his family in Nagercoil. The motor went out of order. The man and his large family were actually facing starvation, since he could find no one who would lend him the money for repairs. Then the wife and mother related their miseries to the secretary of the co-operative society, who is a sympathetic Christian gentleman. The society advanced a loan of Rs. 40, the amount needed for the repairs. The poor man was soon earning about Rs. 5 per day, and repaying the loan in instalments.'

'At Parassalai, one day while I was talking with the secretary of the village co-operative society, a bullock-cart loaded with crude sugar, or jaggery, and drawn by a pair of old bulls, passed. The secretary drew my attention, and said, "Those bulls were bought through a loan of Rs. 25 to poor Levi, the driver. Levi has paid back Rs. 9 out of his daily earnings of about Rs. 2, and says that when the whole amount is paid,

he wishes to buy, with the further help of the society, a better pair of bulls with which to earn a better income." '

'At Amaravilla village, a young man, failing to secure a village schoolmaster's post, wanted to earn a livelihood by market gardening and raising goats. As a member of the co-operative society a loan of Rs. 15 was taken. With it he bought a goat and two kids. Within a few months he sold the two kids for Rs. 15, repaid the whole loan, and the goat became his own.'

The record of loans which were given through the first five years in the co-operative societies organized and nurtured by one Indian secretary,[1] pioneering for our Association the co-operative work among the poor in rural South Travancore, shows they were given for the following purposes: (1) payment of prior debts, (2) purchase and improvement of land, (3) purchase of farm stock, (4) purchase of seed, manure, agricultural equipment, (5) educational expenses of children, (6) purchase of houses, house-sites and repairs to houses, (7) loans to weavers and artisans for implements, (8) for helping persons to start petty trade or business, (9) purchasing food grains and other necessaries, (10) marriage expenses.

A glance through this statement of the nature of loans will show that with the possible exception of those in the last category they are all for productive purposes. Even those given for marriage expenses prevented the contracting parties from borrowing money at usurious rates and getting into perhaps eternal debt thereby. In every case the parties were urged to make the marriage ceremonies simple and inexpensive. The man inextricably enmeshed in debt, having no hope of ever paying off more than the interest, joined the co-operative society,

[1] S. Manuel.

took a new loan of the amount of his loan from the money-lender, paid that loan and was then paying only 7 per cent interest, as compared with from 12 to 300 per cent which he had been paying. He now had a chance to begin paying off the principal. The usefulness and help of the other kinds of loans can be readily imagined in the light of the conditions and needs which have been stated in other chapters. Loans in connexion with our weaving school may be given as an example.

Poor boys are graduated from the school. They are now equipped with the knowledge and ability to weave, but they are helpless. What use is it knowing how to weave—without a loom? And the Rs. 40 or 60 required for a loom is a large sum of money to a poor boy—ordinarily an impossible sum. But he can now, on the good reputation he has established in the school, join one of the co-operative credit societies ; take a loan with which to purchase a loom ; and immediately begin making and selling cloth and paying back the loan in small instalments.

It is always a joy to be present at a meeting of a village co-operative society ; to have the members who have taken loans stand up one after another and each one tell for what purpose he took the loan, what he accomplished with it, how much of it he has paid back, or when he finished paying it all back.

It should be borne in mind that much of this loaning had been done among people lower in the economic and social scale than other agencies were touching. That was its object. This work had to be pioneered in a very personal, even brotherly, way. The secretary had to go into the village, convince the people that in co-operation there was a chance for help, explain to them its workings, find an enlightened, trusted man to be secretary

of the society (in a village where we had a local association this was easier), teach him how to keep the books of the society properly in standard books which were supplied, visit the young society often, and help it on to strength and ability to manage itself.

As the system became better established the personal touch, though always valuable, was not so essential. Government appointed more organizing agents. It appointed the above-mentioned rural secretary as one of its honorary organizers. It became possible for us to turn more of our attention to other uses of the co-operative method. I have however to record a disappointment in connexion with turning over these co-operative societies to a less personal agency. Coming back to study them after two years I find that evils have tended to creep in. Their panchayats begin to speak of unpaid loans as a great problem, when formerly we used to rejoice thankfully that this was never a problem in our societies. They have allowed the economically unsound *chitti* system of loans to become mixed in with the co-operative societies in such a way that some societies have gone in debt because of losses on *chitties*. This is an unholy alliance. This experience is a warning of the truth that such pioneering work in economic betterment must be a personal thing and official routine cannot too soon (if ever) take the place of brotherly guidance.

As I travel about in other areas, I find widespread criticism and even ridicule of the co-operative system because the societies are in such bad shape and loans are not repaid. Analyzing this trouble I find the cause in nearly every case to be *lack of proper supervision*. There must be personal supervision all the way—supervision of the giving of the loan to see that it is for a

known productive purpose, supervision over the borrower to see that he spends the money for the agreed purpose, supervision to see that he looks well, diligently and energetically after the project for which the money is spent, supervision to see that the money is paid back when due. With adequate, all-the-way, supervision, co-operation will suceed ; without it, it will fail.

A Model Co-operative Extension Project

'We want to say it nicely—but we think it is a lie.' So, with characteristic Indian courtesy, spoke the students of our Martandam Tamil Summer School when I showed them a photo of the Holstein Cow, Lady Jannek Konign, and told them that she had given 112 pounds of milk in a day.[1] The best cows they knew in the area around never gave over five pounds and averaged two pounds. The stretch of the imagination has limits. If anything gave 112 pounds of milk in a day it simply could not be a cow. That they honestly thought.

These students from the villages were so impressed with the need of milk and better cattle that they came back to it with questions time after time, even in the midst of discussions on other subjects. The almost numberless little children all about needed milk. The underfed mothers needed milk to drink. They nursed their children until they were two years or more old. Such a too-long-nursed child would look fairly well and its mother would look ghastly. Then when the child was weaned to make way for the coming of the next

[1] Registry No. 445,560 of Starr Farm, Richfield Springs, New York. She produced 32·22 lbs. butter from 750 lbs. milk in seven days.

one, it could have no milk—just the insufficient and imperfectly balanced ration of the poor adults. The child soon looked bad and its mother continued looking ghastly.

This area, like the rest of India, needed better cows. It was also necessary that cows should add to the insufficient income rather than be an economic drain on people already poverty-stricken. So we chose the introduction of better cattle as one of the projects to answer existing needs. I tell about it here, somewhat in detail, as an example of how we should go about any of the other co-operative projects. Philanthropic, educational and administrative organizations, including Government Departments, may find some guidance in this plan which illustrates the kind of study which should be made before launching any propect.[1] The Martandam better cattle effort is only begun. A special attempt is being made now to have a few good cattle raised in each village, which cattle will be a demonstration to encourage other families to have them. We proceed step by step toward the accomplishment of the plans as outlined here.

A co-operative extension project is an educational undertaking. In order that leaders may have the problem well in hand we must study it from three viewpoints: (1) *aim*: (2) *method and organization,* which includes selection and arrangement: and (3) *results*. The following is an example of the general problem which should be worked out by any of us leaders to show us what the

[1] I have used as a guide to this outline *Some Suggestions Concerning on Educative Extension Project* (MS) by Dr. T. H. Eaton, and have had his personal assistance in its preparation. This outline applies to milch cattle.

aims, organization and results are to be. It fixes the project in our minds in a definite form.

Aim

I. *Ultimate Aim.*

Through better cattle to bring to the people of the area:

1. Greater income.
2. Greater health (through the use of more good milk).

II. The first objective on the way to accomplishing the ultimate aim is:

A. To bring the people (especially the young) thoroughly to *believe in improved cattle,* well taken care of; that is, the aim is a result in educative change; and, also,

B. To make it possible for the people to have these cattle; that is, to effect a change in ability (knowledge, habit, skill) usable in dealing successfully with the situation; and also to make such cattle available in the area generally.

III. Some characteristics of aim in this educational extension project.

This project, or any project, is sound in so far as it is based upon:

1. A need known (not assumed or guessed at) of a group known (not assumed or guessed at).
2. A need that is a real factor in the welfare of the society of which the group is a part—community, state, nation.
3. A need that is a real factor in the welfare of those who are to be educated to see it or to deal with it.

4. A need which no Government department or any other agency is able or willing to meet at present, and which, therefore, our Association should at least pioneer an attempt to meet.

How truly an effort for better cattle in Martandam or in India generally is 'sound' or 'unsound' according to the above tests!

This project is *useful* in the degree:

1. That it is a clearly conceived, appropriate means of meeting the known need of the known group.
2. That it is clearly cut and analyzable into its components, the objectives of the project.
3. That so conceived and so analyzed it is in the light of available resources feasible of accomplishment.

Method and Organization

The organization of this or any other educative project involves (*a*) the choice of the things we put into the effort and (*b*) the way we put these things together. It includes:

1. A plan (a scheme laid out in advance for attaining the improvement desired).
2. A 'getting-done' (accomplishing our object under the actual conditions we find in the field).

The organization of the project is sound in the degree we succeed in finding out the activities that are essential to reaching the aim.

Method and Organization of the Martandam Area Better Cattle Project

(Concretely according to the above)

I and II. Features of the Plan and Methods for accomplishing Project

1. The cattle surveys.
2. Improved breed of cattle illustrated by a few specimens at the rural demonstration Centres.
3. Extension education in the surrounding villages and communities in accordance with our extension system as described.
4. Market place, village, home and field demonstrations.
5. Educational lectures. Educational literature, especially in the vernacular. We have to write much of this or get writers to do it.
6. Courses in Training and Summer Schools on breeding, feeding and care of cattle.
7. Personal and intimate persuasion and instruction.
8. Better cattle clubs. These are co-operative societies to help individuals finance their improved cattle, to stimulate interest, and to promote knowledge of cattle and their care.
9. Popularizing and spreading the project through the village associations—our strongest allies and helpers in 'getting done' any project or needed improvement.
10. Co-operative bull clubs and breeding associations, as explained in this chapter.
11. Exhibitions and competitions.

Selection

Good organization in a co-operative project requires selection:

1. That we should choose those particular features (as we have above) which will contribute directly to the results desired through the project.
2. That what the extension teacher (with us the secretary) says and does shall be effective in bringing about the very activities on the part of the people (being taught), which will enable them to learn just what they should learn.
3. That the equipment used in teaching shall be just that which is effective in bringing about and allowing and carrying through the observing, using, criticizing, planning, approving and rejecting, etc., that the learners must do to learn what the project is to teach.
4. That the subject matter presented shall be such as contributes directly towards rousing the particular attitudes, giving the particular knowledge, or developing the particular habits or skill which it is desired that the people shall have as a result of the teaching.

Arrangement

Good organization in a co-operative project requires arrangements:

1. That the project shall be flexible. It should allow of adjustment to varying requirements of different groups, having the same general need, and to the differences in the opportunities for teaching. The methods of the better cattle

project, for instance, vary somewhat with each different group and community and as new light comes as the project develops.[1]

The successful teacher or extension worker so knows his subject and his methods that he can and does adjust himself to varying conditions, abandoning rigid sequence.

2. That in teaching we shall follow the sound educational principles involving:

   (*a*) Moving from what is known to the unknown. For instance, start with the cattle and the cattle husbandry methods that exist in the area, no matter how poor, after a careful survey of them ; then proceed to breeds and methods as yet unknown to the people.

   (*b*) Moving from the relatively simple principles of care and feeding of dairy cattle, and proceeding towards a more scientific understanding.

3. That the work in each unit should make a very definite start and come to a very clear cut finish. In India how commonly do projects started dwindle out, because they drag on toward no definite end, and interest dies!

If selection is based upon actual need and interest, approach may be direct ; and everything

[1] 'For if there has been one guiding principle which has led me these years, it has been this: No plans that cannot be changed if they cease to be vital and real, and no convictions that cannot be altered if fuller light comes' (E. Stanley Jones in *Christ at the Round Table,* p. 7).

that the people are taught, that they see or hear, or are called upon to do, will appeal to them as pertinent, reasonable and worth while.

4. That, as a rule, the people co-operating in and affected by the project shall see, as early as possible, results. For instance, in this project, they should soon see that they are getting better cattle, better income from cattle, and better health in their families through the availability of more good milk.

Results

The results of the project are the sum of the actual effects of what we have planned and done in the project, whether we intended all of them or not.

We are bound to get some effects that we did not plan to get, some good and perhaps some bad. These are by-products. We can count the project 'successful' as a project if the effects we intended to get are among those we do get.

The results from the project standpoint are good when we have accomplished the aim projected, that is (in this case):

(*a*) When a goodly number of people have formed habits, inclinations and abilities to have and profitably take care of improved cattle.

(*b*) When a goodly number of the people of the area have better cattle, and through these cattle:

i. Better income.

ii. More to eat.

iii. Better health (through the use of more good milk and milk-products).

Co-operative Bull Clubs

The educative change to bring the people thoroughly to believe in improved cattle, well taken care of, mentioned as the first objective on the way to the accomplishment of the aim of our cattle project, has already to a large extent been accomplished in the Martandam Demonstration Area. There is a live interest in actually possessing better cattle. To make it possible for large numbers to possess them will be an accomplishment of great import.

Having as the aim helping the poor to better cattle, I have not gone in for foreign breeds of cattle. I have avoided having friends (breeders of excellent cattle) at home give me cattle to bring out. My Brother on the staff of the Agricultural Institute, Allahabad, where they have had much to do with foreign cattle, tells me that it is hard to realize the complication one runs into in breeding such cattle in India or in crossing them with native stock. The mortality of the imported animals is very great. Working with such poor people as we do, the best of the Indian cattle seem more advisable at present.

Our Martandam Centre has a seed-bull, and two younger bulls of the excellent Sindhi breed (the only bulls of improved breed in the area). The older bull is a handsome specimen. By carefully engineering as to what cows shall be served by him, we can have a few of his offspring born and grow up as living demonstrators in each village. In the first year there were born in villages within twenty miles of the Centre nearly 75 of his calves. As we go about seeing them, these calves look to be a real improvement over their mothers. The villagers are not keen to fill the orders for heifer calves that have

immediately come in good numbers. They want to keep them themselves until they get more. I outline here a co-operative plan for seed-bulls in local sections and a co-operative breeding association for the Centre area.

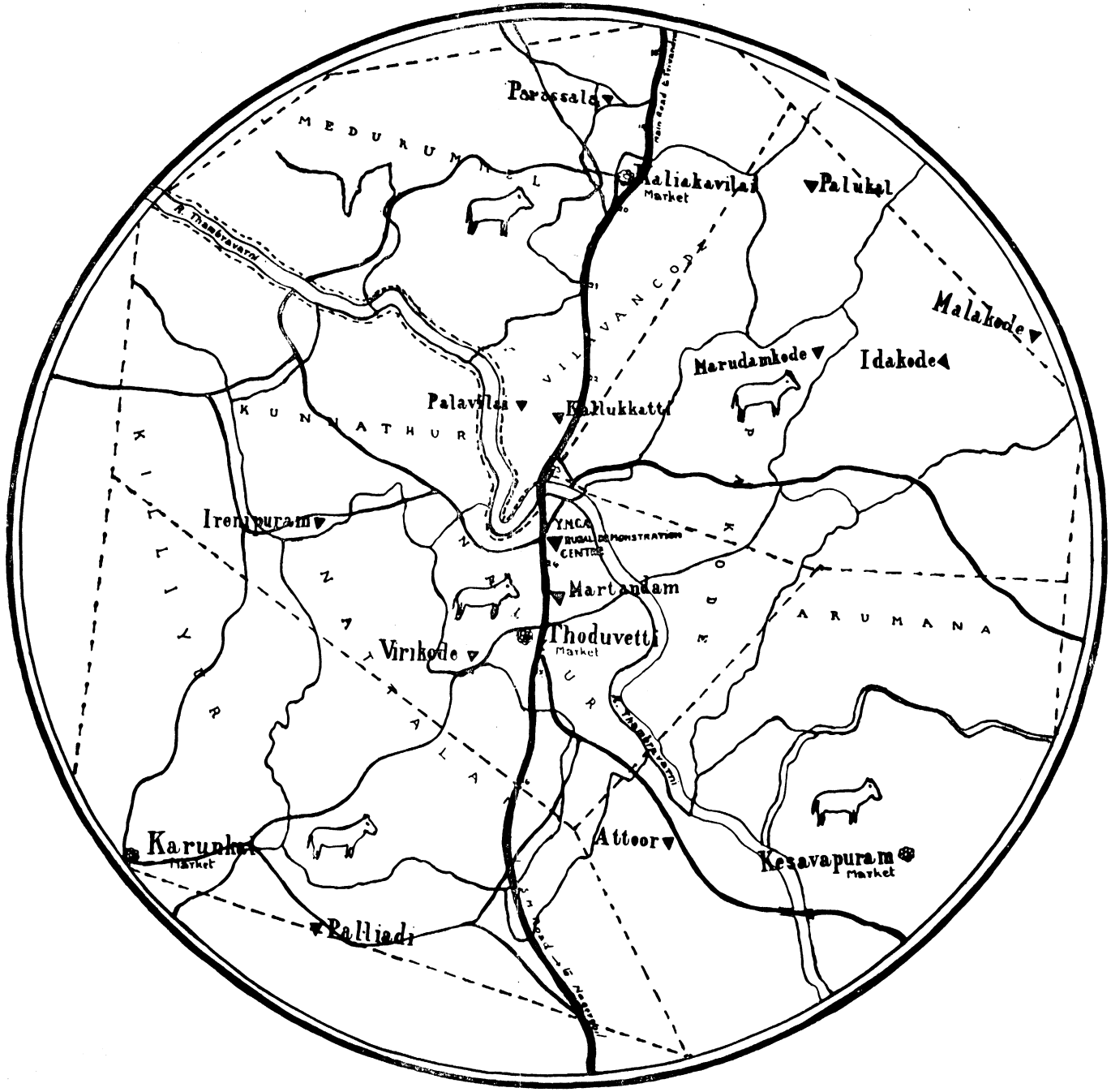
The Martandam Co-operative Bull and Buck Clubs

The need for better cattle is plain. The cattle in our area are so poor that the results of our cattle surveys make humorous reading—but the matter is really so serious. The bulls used are often poorer than the cows. The aim of the bull clubs is better sires. The cheapest, and under our conditions probably the only, way to get better sires is through bull associations.

Very few of our rural people—none of the poorest families who should have at least a couple of cows—can afford to purchase or keep a really first class pure-bred bull for a small number of cows. It is, in fact, the poor man with cows as a subsidiary home vocation, who needs high producing cows. He is the man who can least afford the great losses that come from carelessness in breeding. In our two-fold cattle project we are interested in introducing pure-bred cattle, and also in breeding up the best of the local cattle. The bull club is adapted to help in doing both, among large herds as well as small, among good and poorer cattle ; but it is especially adapted to the building up of the cattle in a region where each family has but a few cows.[1]

The plan for the Sindhi bulls of the Martandam Centre is that interested cow-owners form themselves into the

[1] I have been greatly aided in plans for this project by the record of 248 active Co-operative Bull Associations in the United States ; also by information received from Professor S. J. Brownell of Pennsylvania State College of Agriculture.



BULL AND BUCK (GOAT) CLUBS IN THE AREA

(showing the Martandam Breeding Association's plan)

bull association for the study and practice of better breeding, better feeding and care. In this instance, in order to give the movement a start, the first bull was purchased by and is owned by the Centre. The Travancore Government gives a grant towards his maintenance. Members of the bull club are entitled, for a moderate fee, to have their cows bred by this bull, under certain regulations as to the type of cows bred.

In the accompanying map, the Martandam Demonstration Centre Area is divided in such a way as to show what is the logical distribution of bull and buck clubs for the Martandam area.[1] Near the centre of each of the breeding areas it is planned to keep as soon as available a carefully selected, well-fed, well-cared for, pure-bred bull of good type.

None of the poor families in these areas, each with a few cows, could hope to keep a really first class pure-bred bull. But every one may hope to own a small share in such a bull. Here the bull in each of the five areas may be owned co-operatively. Each man's share will cost much less than it does to keep a stud-bull. One member of the club, the member best fitted, will be entrusted with the care of the bull and all will contribute towards his maintenance. Being apportioned among so many, the cost of feed and care, like the cost of the animal, will fall lightly on the members. A Government grant toward the maintenance of each bull will be a probability. The five clubs will be affiliated to form the Martandam Area Co-operative Breeders' Association. My colleagues and I are working towards the completion of this scheme.

New Bulls Without Cost. In-breeding too often happens in India. Our Co-operative Breeders' Associ-

[1] Surti breeding goat bucks are stationed and moved in the same way.

ation offers an excellent arrangement for the avoidance of in-breeding. In order to prevent in-breeding each bull is advanced to the next club at the end of every two-year period. That is:

Martandam bull goes to Maruthankodu
Maruthankodu bull goes to Parassala
Parassala bull goes to Palliadi
Palliadi bull goes to Kesavapuram
Kesavapuram bull goes to Martandam.

After two years more the bulls are moved on again. Here is another clear saving of the whole cost of a new high value bull to the members of each club every two years, for perhaps a period of ten years. The scheme enables bulls to be kept as long as they live or are fit for service. When we have developed the cattle project further, the production records of the daughters can be ascertained and those bulls retained which sire the highest producing daughters.

We plan to keep only one breed of milch cows in this area, as it is better to do so. This obviates the tendency to mix breeds. Also an area keeping to one breed builds up a reputation and buyers looking for animals of that breed naturally are attracted to this district. By encouraging as many cattle as possible of a particular breed in an area, the breeding association brings about a better sale for cattle at good prices.

Fine Calves and the Evil Eye. An index of the high value that owners of the first improved young cattle in the area place upon them is given by the fact that none of them could be induced to show this stock at our annual exhibition which brings together the 'fruits' of this development work. The belief in the 'evil eye' keeps many an Indian parent from exhibiting his baby at the baby-show, and makes him wish you would not utter any

words of praise about his really beautiful child. The owner of a fine calf just across the road from the exhibition could not be induced to bring it across to the show even when he was sure of Rs. 5 premium. A multitude of people would admire the calf there. Might not the 'evil eye' strike it dead? He thought too much of it to take the chance.

The ordinary price of cattle around Martandam is Rs. 20 to Rs. 35. One Martandam man recently sold one of his cross-bred heifers to another Martandam man for Rs. 119.

Arbitration—The Co-operative Panchayat

The curse of litigation in India is well known. It is one of the grave causes of debt and subsequent poverty. In the West an ordinary man would never expect to have any litigation in his whole lifetime, but the extraordinary fact that litigation is something to be anticipated in India is evidenced by the Government of India Act providing for Co-operative Arbitration Societies of which men are urged to become members.[1]

Government is attempting now to establish again in the villages the old panchayat and perhaps the duty most prominently assigned to it is that it performs a judicial function and takes care of some of the work of the courts. We nowhere find much difficulty in getting together a panchayat capable of responding to the training offered by our secretaries.

[1] (*a*) To provide a means for the equitable settlement of disputes and thereby save them from the trouble and wasteful expenditures caused by false, frivolous and unnecessary litigation: (*b*) to provide a means of defence for members against such litigation initiated by others: (*c*) to secure, when necessary, professional legal opinion for the assistance of members (Bye-laws of Co-operative Arbitration Society under Act II of 1922).

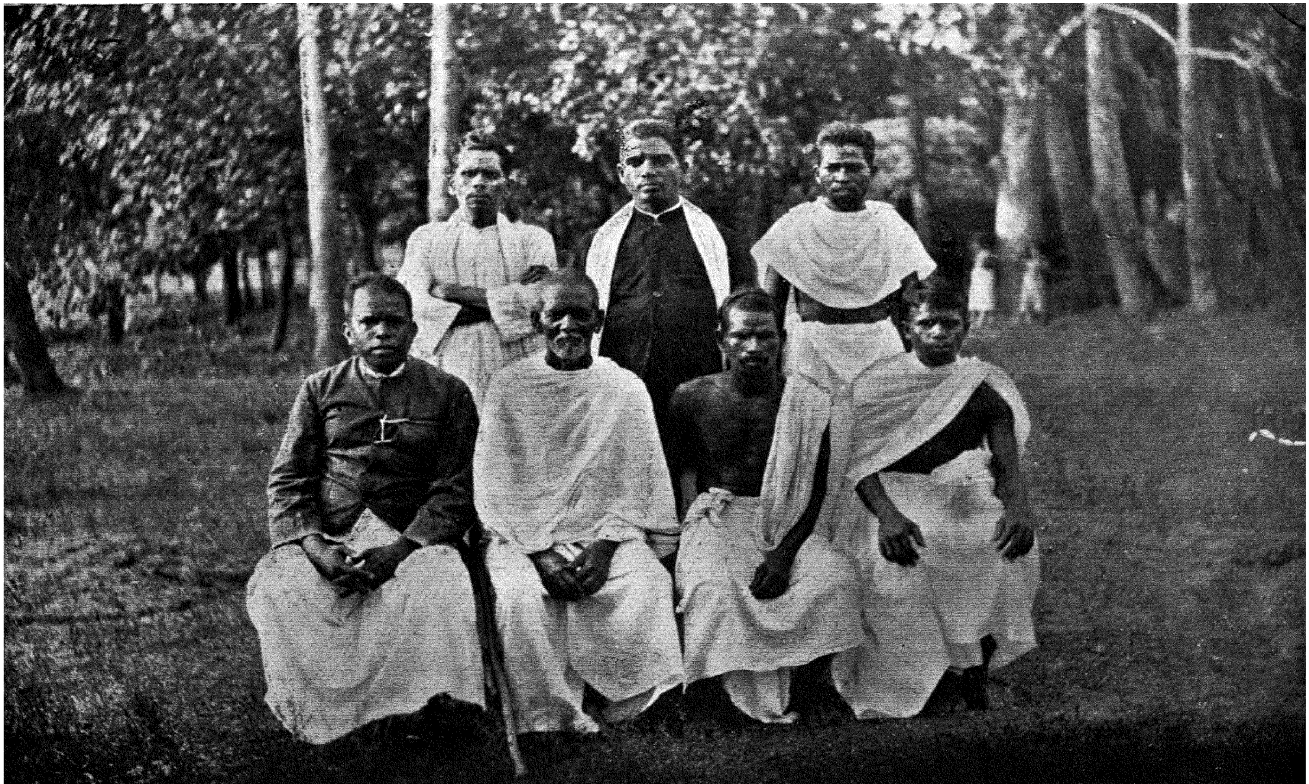
Arbitration is one of the most valuable products of our village co-operative work. The ordinary co-operative society is an important institution in a village and the villagers are proud of it. The committee of the society is looked up to. It is in position to act as a panchayat. The society stands for economic saving. It is quite natural that its honoured committee, actually called the co-operative panchayat, should be looked to to save the toll of litigation, as well as to promote accord and good feeling.

So it comes about that the co-operative panchayats handle a number and variety of cases which would otherwise go to court. Members of the societies and our rural secretaries persuade him who has 'aught against his neighbour' to take his grievances to the panchayat and persuade the neighbour also to agree to abide by its decision. The panchayat hears both sides of the case in a simple and unofficial manner and renders decision.

In one or two villages near one rural reconstruction centre which makes arbitration through co-operative societies a very special feature, the *vakil* (lawyer) has been eliminated almost entirely. I know one or two splendid-spirited young lawyers who have seen the rightness of the movement and have assisted in persuading prospective litigants to arbitrate. Arbitration is one of the finest fruits of co-operation in our area.

Carry-over from Co-operatives

A prominent question on which sociologists are not yet able to agree is whether there is any carry-over from the co-operative society that makes the members more efficient in performing other useful functions in the com-



THE VILLAGE PANCHAYAT

munity. For India, I can answer this in the affirmative from experience. The carry-over is at least of two kinds.

Establish a co-operative society in a village that has not even a village association of the kind already described. The intercaste co-operative draws into the membership, out of their similar needs, formerly ultra-individualists. Such men find themselves associating in a very personal business venture (this form of co-operative society is personal) not only with other men, but even with men of other castes and creeds. The individual member finds himself benefited by this kind of association, formerly unknown to him, and he experiences also joint liability with members of other castes—joint liability, but still for his benefit. We can find quite clear evidence in the various villages that such a member becomes willing and even keen to join in other inter-communal ventures for his personal and the general good.

The other kind of carry-over of which I have plain evidence is really a matter of business. Except in the money-lender and certain other clever individuals in the usual village, there is the previously mentioned general unbusinesslike tendency to let things take their course—to be 'easy going'. There is even the feeling that the course of things is preordained and that there is not much use of trying to be methodical, definite or business-like—not much use to be on time ; tomorrow is as good as today. 'Tomorrow' in the various vernaculars has been said to be the most oft-used word in India. And when a man says he will do a thing 'tomorrow' he does not mean the following day, as he is often misunderstood to mean. He means some time in the future, which he probably conscientiously feels will be just as well.

Into this situation comes the co-operative society, and the very first thing presented is a very definite, regulation set of books, a system of book-keeping and a procedure which must be followed. All the members are very soon able to see how the business of the society works. They see that unless these simple rules are followed the society cannot be healthy. They see how punctual payment of interest and payment of loans means a society of which they can report with pride (as they are so fond of doing)—a society of benefit to each and every member. I have seen the effect of relationship to co-operative societies carry-over even in certain of our employed secretaries who, however rich in other qualities, were weak in efficiency and who were unbusinesslike. Village associations and other village institutions are often ineffective because they run on lines of the least resistance—mostly on meetings which are easiest to call, with little planning or thinking or system. I have seen the effect of participation in the co-operative method carry-over to make these other institutions accomplish more worth-while results.

The principle of co-operation is used as a method of helping to accomplish those lines of improvement upon which the rural people venture. The individualistic tendency not to co-operate, existent in all rural people, is multiplied in India because of caste. In former chapters it has been emphasized that it is necessary for the rural family to be 'surrounded with benefits', helped, not piecemeal but on all sides of their lives. In order for this to become a reality, individuals and families cannot act separately ; the community must come to act as one body.

We find that in the rural Indian community where co-operative societies have been successful, the people

have learned to work together, and the more ably and quickly take up and accomplish any new project upon which they decide. Their ability to accomplish is striking in comparison with the community which has not learned and practised co-operation.

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CHAPTER XI

THE RURAL DRAMA

Footlights and Moonlight

'That's the best Devil I have ever seen!'

He was a most devilish Devil. The fiendishness of his get-up and the Satan-likeness of his acting brought this enthusiastic remark from a Western sociologist who had seen many Devils. He was taller than his fellow actors. He had tusks in his mouth a foot long which worked up and down with the moving of his jaws. He had horns to match. He was dark, but his brief skirt was darker, made from an old umbrella with the ribs left in. His face was hand-made of cardboard, so skilfully modelled that the desired Luciferian effect was all there. He carried a cruel three-pronged spear and a lighted torch.

We were at a Rural Drama in an isolated, roadless village. An announcer told us in the prologue that the play was written in that village, that all the actors belonged to the backward classes, that most of them were palmyra climbers and had not been in school beyond the third class. The visitors marvelled at the talent displayed that night.

A play put on at the rural Centre will bring out a large audience of people from many villages, some of them walking in a distance of ten or more miles. The country folk always try if possible to stage such events on moonlight nights. The brilliant Indian moonlight is a much-appreciated boon and safeguard to those who walk barefoot in the night.

The presentation of dramas is one of the oldest customs of India. The Sanskrit drama flourished during the first centuries of the Christian era. Some of India's greatest poets have left unique contributions to the art of literature as well as to the art of the drama, in their plays. There is every reason why the India of the present should take advantage of this ancient heritage.

The drama is used in our extension programme as a means of education, entertainment and socialization. It is peculiarly effective in education because it brings out a greater number of people of all castes and creeds and both sexes than any other educational method. It is also effective because facts and ideas presented through this medium make a deeper and more lasting impression than other forms of teaching. The sombreness of the rural life in which there is so much poverty and distress makes here an unusually great need for wholesome entertainment.

The hindering effects of caste make urgent the need for a common social platform. How few opportunities there are for all to meet together. The service of the local association and its programme in providing a common platform for social life and community improvement has been described. It is really remarkable how in orthodox communities all people, including orthodox women who do not ordinarily appear in public and who would never attend a lecture, will come to the drama. When all classes of people meet together in the atmosphere of good spirit which a drama provides, there is real advance in socialization.

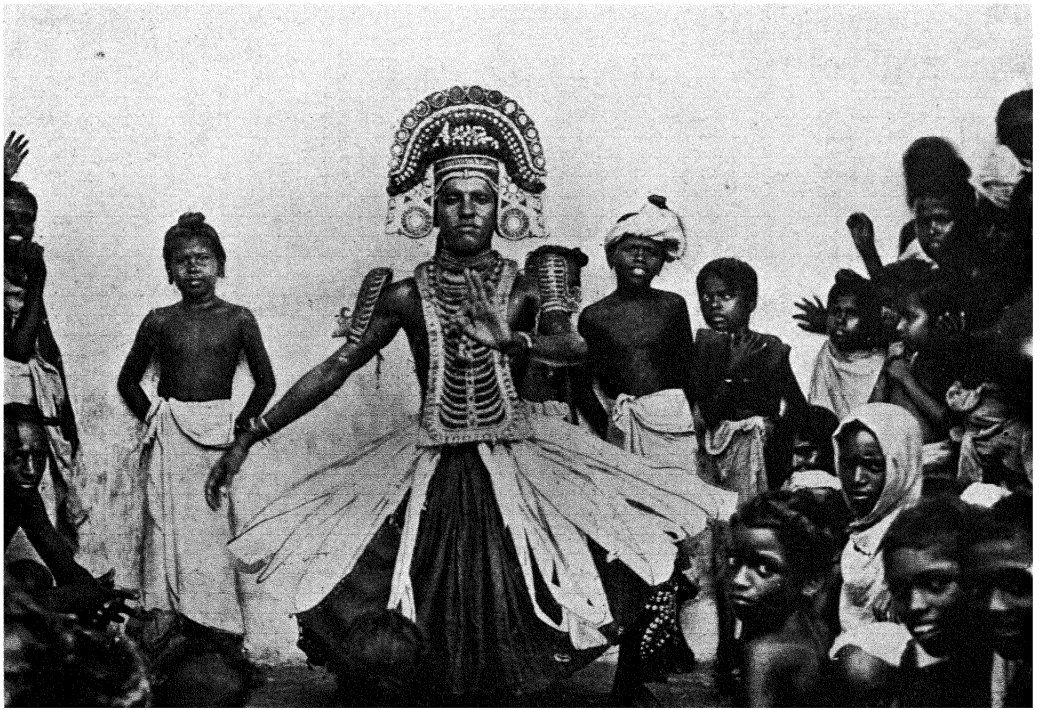
In the most rural village, anywhere in India, we find extraordinary interest, emphasizing the fact that the dramatic tendency is inherent in the Indian nature. This inherent tendency makes for much real ability. The

pity is that the art has declined and that presentations are so infrequent. What remains of the old heritage that is as yet untouched by outside influences is naïve and picturesque.

In a form of survival of the old drama our West Coast villagers are visited by a troupe of players which puts on the stage Puranic stories in the form of pantomimes and *natakas* or dramas. We have a celebrated Malabar pantomime known as *Kathakali*. It is fascinating to watch. Weirdness and grotesqueness are outstanding characteristics. A big landlord or leading citizen may take the initiative and form a troupe of players which will be sent around. This will be after the monsoons. When a troupe comes into a village, a well-to-do and influential man of the village is expected to make arrangements for a performance. He pays the expenses of the troupe for that day together wih a small donation which seldom exceeds Rs. 10. The villagers can witness the performance free of charge. A troupe's reputation depends a great deal on that of the person who organizes it. When the pantomime takes place in the local temple the *devaswom* authorities are bound to meet the day's expenses of the players and the donation is dispensed with. Having travelled from place to place the troupe returns at the end of the season to where it started and the members engage again in their respective occupations. They go on the road the next season in the same way.[1]

There are various ways in which Puranic lore is taught through the Drama. A particular caste, the Chakiyar, recite certain Sanskrit *slokas* illustrative of stories from the Puranas and interpret them with wit and humour.

[1] See Subbarama Aiyar, *Economic Life in a Malabar Village*, pp. 141-6.



THE *Ottam Thullal* IN FULL SWING

This is is so well done that there is much laughter and enjoyment in the audience. In another form called the *Ottam Thullal* another caste, the Banniyar, recite with gestures, in short Malayalam metre, verses dealing with Puranic stories. While the above are indigenous to Malabar, travelling *sastrigals* often visit the Tamil Brahmin people of our area. They read Puranic stories in Sanskrit and interpret them in Tamil. 'In every decent home a member of the family reads stories from the Puranas to the other inmates in the vernacular. They listen in rapt attention and sometimes engage in lively discussion. Tamil Brahmin ladies usually learn by heart Puranic stories in the shape of songs which they recite in the leisure hours of the noon. The lower castes have their own Malayalam versions of the Puranas.'[1] Songs are a very important part in practically all Indian drama. Sanskrit is generally recited in a peculiarly dramatic manner which adds interest.

There is another common form of dramatic entertainment in India called the *Kalakshapam*. It is especially popular in the village. It consists of singing a story in a dramatic manner. The singer usually accompanies himself with a musical instrument, or is accompanied by another player or drummer. This ancient Hindu art form is also carried on by the Christians who sing Bible stories. Various incidents in the life of Christ, His parables and other Bible portions have been put into lyrical form and published. This method attracts large audiences and holds them enthralled for hours. The method is especially effective when it is combined with lantern pictures, thus making a three-fold appeal to the eye, the ear and the emotions.

The majority of actors outside the large cities of

[1] Ibid., pp. 146-7.

India are amateurs who can give only their spare time to the drama. Many of these actors find a social satisfaction in amateur dramatics and make this their chief form of recreation. It has been mentioned that one of our main aims in using the drama is socialization. No doubt the class in India most interested in the drama is the most conservative class, namely, the Brahmins. They furnish the incentive for many dramatic performances and for many amateur societies. Some of them write plays. Then others join with them in producing the plays and in the acting. All castes and creeds meet in the audience and sociological advance is furthered.

The universal appeal of the drama brings out great numbers of spectators whose interest and enthusiasm are so strong that they will remain throughout a show lasting most of the night in spite of the uncomfortable temporary quarters. In fact, we have to make the shows long to satisfy. Persuasive advertising is not necessary. Word need only be passed on from mouth to mouth that there is to be a drama, giving the place and the time.

The drama as presented leaves much to be desired. Owing to the lack of facilities, equipment and technical knowledge, the preparations for the drama are generally insufficient. A critic can always see many possibilities which have been left untouched. The actors, though enthusiastic, do not realize the necessity of memorizing lines, which means an excessive amount of prompting and often dangerous improvising. Indian actors are extraordinarily clever at improvising.

There is a dearth of good plays which allow simple enough settings and staging for rural amateurs. Popular stories are dramatized and presented. It is regret-

table that so much work is frequently done in producing a poorly written play. Often such a play is written overnight by a vakil or other friend of the players. Even a playwright genius could not turn out a play worth acting under these conditions. To illustrate better the need of simple plays appropriate to the rural life and actors, it may be mentioned that Mrs. Hatch wrote such a play for a particular performance of the boys in one of our villages. An editor got hold of the play and printed it ; and within the course of the year this play, intended only for local use, had been translated into nine vernaculars and had been staged before thousands in various parts of India, Burma and Ceylon. Now after six years requests still come for permission to translate and produce it.

There have been periods in practically every country when the stage has been in disrepute. Such was the case in India. Emily Gilchriest Hatch writes in *The Indian Theatre,* 'According to the laws of Manu, an actor was classed with one who marries an outcaste, a keeper of a gambling house, a drunkard, a criminal, a betrayer, a hypocrite, a usurer, a white leper, a madman, and all must be avoided! Conditions too must have changed, for the introductions of the plays refer to the poets as the personal friends of the actors, and a poet of tolerable merit in India, under the ancient regime, was the friend and associate of sages and kings. If there be traces of the low and unsavoury, there are traces of a higher side to counterbalance.'

Some people object even now to the drama. It is so in any country. The need is to establish in the minds of all that the drama in itself is one of the highest forms of art. It, like all other good things, can be misused. Some of the Christian missions have felt it necessary to

prohibit the enactment of dramas on mission property. This has created opposition from Indian members of the missions who are drama enthusiasts, especially the younger people, and has created a delicate problem for us who believe so whole-heartedly in the use of the drama. The main cause leading to this prohibition was that the actors, enthused by the applause of the audience, allowed indiscretions to creep into their improvised speeches. Careful preparation, choice of plays, insistence upon learning lines, and supervision, will obviate this invasion into the true realm of the drama.

The Drama in Rural Progress

The drama is one of the most useful aids in our rural reconstruction. My colleagues and I are especially fortunate for we have to guide us in our dramatic projects Emily Gilchriest who, before she left her chosen and much loved profession to come with me to India, had completed her college course in dramatic art and was winning success on the stage as well as in teaching dramatics, pageantry and æsthetic dancing. Her interest, study and practice have not abated but have simply turned Indian-wards. She is my companion and counsellor in all I do, but in the rural drama project my colleagues and I are conscious that, here especially, we are teaching 'self-help under intimate expert counsel'.

The aim is to bring, so far as possible, the best of the theatre to rural places, encouraging the production of high class, even literary, plays for cheering drab existence, for education, for heightening ideas and ideals, for joy of working together, and even for culture. In order to carry out these purposes, especially the educational one, we find it necessary to write some of the plays, or have them written especially for us. Plays

which embody teaching in connexion with special projects we find especially useful. The danger in plays written for such purposes is that interest and art may be sacrificed. The prospective playwright should remember that the first duty of the drama is to be interesting and entertaining. A play can embody true teaching and still be highly entertaining and not pedantic.

A large crowd had assembled from many villages to see the show which was to be given after dark on the last night of our Practical Training School in Rural Reconstruction. It was good to see the lean farmers and farm labourers, calloused on hands and bare feet by hard labour on the soil, feeling that this show was theirs and that a shirt was not necessary to entitle them to a good seat on the ground. Many of them were sitting right down in front eagerly awaiting the curtain.

Interest rose to the point of absolute forgetfulness of self and all their poverty when—could they ever believe it—across the front of the stage walked a cow,—yes, a real one—and then another! One was a well-cared-for cow of the improved breed which we are now making available and the other cow was a small thin ordinary one of the locality. The cows were accompanied by their owners, who talked about cows; and the cows, through their interpreters, also conversed. The farmers in the audience excitedly nudged their neighbours and began to talk about these unusual utterances of this unusual show which was dealing in most usual everyday things—cows. Everybody talked at once. Poking one another in the ribs, they repeated what the actors were saying—then listened. The actors might wish for more silence, but never for a better 'capture' of their audience. The play was an unqualified success

—and the audience were learning things so vividly that they never could forget them.

The curtain went down on this one-act play, 'Moo-cow-moo'. Would the inevitable buffoon, the fool, appear in the interim? Here he came, right down into the circle in front of the stage. Not one but two! And one buffoon was a rearing, bucking, splendid, snow-white Surti he-goat, and the other his tall lanky care-taker. They put on as good a fool show as could be wished, bringing forth that throat-aching laughter so rare in the villages. The goat seemed to enjoy it all as much as the audience. He was full of life, did some spectacular, high-in-the-air, rearing and butting of his master; and incidentally he taught everyone there, both men and women, that he was the kind of goat to have.

Then the curtain rose on 'Cock-a-doodle-do', and there were the chickens in the typical rural Indian market place, the old women and the loud charter, the little squabbles, the talks about ordinary and better chickens—ordinary and better care—small and few eggs—more and bigger eggs—better ways of selling—poverty prices, big prices. The audience were again on the edges of their ground seats. When a vigorous white Leghorn cock suddenly escaped from one of the actors and ran off the side of the stage, a man in the audience jumped up and shouted: 'I'll help you catch him'. The audience had so entered into the spirit of the play that the show was their show. Audience and actors were one in producing it. The zenith of dramatic effect which is so elaborately sought after amid the dazzling white lights of Broadway had been attained in the rural Indian village.

The Rural Demonstration Centre and its equipment, staff and honorary workers give the essentials for model

or demonstraion staging of selected plays. The country people, men, women and children, rich and poor, of all castes and creeds, come walking in from near and distant villages. They come to see and they go back wanting to stage good plays in their own villages. This is the aim of the drama project. The rural secretaries are ready to give counsel, to help in providing plays, and to advise in staging and coaching. The local village association members are generally active in organization and participation.

The Circuit. It is desirable to get the maximum amount of enjoyment and benefit from the efforts of the particular group who stage a drama. This can be effected by the circuit method. The performance of a drama in the home village is an event. It is an even greater event to perform it in another village. And it is a great and proud event for that village to have a drama played for them by a visiting company. We make all effort to bring about the interchange of playing from village to village. This is really an economy measure which we use with other kinds of programmes which are sent round to as many different associations and villages as possible.

It should be mentioned as a minor point that the drama, having the advantage of greater appeal than most other projects, may aid in financing these others. Since the attendance inclines to be so large, the drama can do this with very little tax on the individual. Thirty young men who were studying in the night schools of the Ramanathapuram Centre staged a number of plays. The average attendance at these plays was five hundred. On one night, partly to test further the popularity of these dramas and to see if people would come when they had to pay, spectators were admitted by tickets.

One half anna (one cent, a halfpenny) admission was charged. Thirty rupees was collected at the gate. This means that the attendance that night was 960.

We have plain evidence in our villages that the use of the drama has contributed to education, entertainment and socialization. And in the hearts of our rural people there is a desire for many more plays on many more moonlight nights.

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CHAPTER XII

SHOWING THE RESULTS

Rural Exhibitions[1]

A GREAT arch is erected across the gateway of the Centre welcoming the people of Travancore to the annual Rural Service Exhibition. The whole place is decorated with ferns and bright-coloured, home-made, paper flags and streamers. Boy Scouts in a fern-covered booth at the gate gaily make a somewhat musical, big, invitational din with drums and horns.

Upon entering the grounds one is first attracted by the large exhibit of poultry extending along three sides of the gardens. There is evidence, this year, that the villagers have learned that only the best fowls can win in this competition. The grade of fowls is high, showing most careful selection on the part of the villagers before sending in their entries. There are exhibits of single hens and pullets, single cocks and cockerels, pairs, breeding pens, broods of seven and more chickens, and broods of chickens over two months old. White Leghorns are present in greatest numbers, but there are a goodly number of Australian Orpingtons, some excellent

[1] The term 'exhibition' is used in preference to 'fair' as better expressing a showing of the products of the village or countryside in friendly competition, direct sale being at the most a very minor object. 'Fair' is more commonly used to designate a gathering of buyers and sellers, or special assemblage of goods for sale, but the term may be used in place of 'exhibition', as may the term 'show'.

Rhode Island Reds, some Black Minorcas and a good show of Indian Games. This year the cross-bred fowls which are more easily within the financial reach of the poorest villagers, are very hardy and a great improvement over the country fowls, are shown in goodly numbers. This is the result of the extra emphasis the Demonstration Centre, after much study and experimenting, is putting upon cross-breeding. Leghorn and Australorp crosses predominate. The large numbers of young chickens shown this year are indicative of the losses from cholera and of how the people are making every effort to raise enough young stock which will more than replace the ones lost. There are very few country-fowls, owing largely to the fact that the eggs of pure country-birds are not big enough to sell in the co-operative market we have built up, and the people are coming to see that they do not lay enough to pay for keeping them.

There is an especially interesting competition in the eggs section. Here we see that in some instances the eggs of cross-breds are as large as or larger than the pure-bred Leghorn eggs. Some of these balance the scales at 2½ ounces each. An incubator, correctly-timed, is turning out a flock of fluffy chickens and is constantly occupying the attention of interested onlookers.

A good showing of turkeys indicates that the local breed is fairly good. There is competition in models of poultry-houses suitable for the villager to house twenty hens and costing not over Rs. 10. The competitors have built these models on the exhibition grounds. There is also an interesting competition of collections of at least six home-made appliances for the poultry yard such as feeding troughs, dust baths, water fountains, nests, trap nests, etc., in which the competitors are all boys who have made the appliances themselves.

In the bees and honey department are shown colonies of bees some of which have been brought several miles in hives. They are especially strong colonies and one at least has a good supply of honey even up to the fourth-story super. Several exhibitors have also brought displays of honey produced in their own apiaries. Supplemented by the Centre stock, the honey exhibit comprises about a hundred bottles-full, attractively labelled. A line of bee equipment is also shown.

In the cattle section there is a display by the Travancore Government and the YMCA of Sindhi Karachi cattle. The competition of milch cows with Sindhi-cross calves by their sides has brought few specimens owing to the 'evil eye', the superstition that makes owners of these animals fear that evil would come upon their animals were they brought to the show and admired by many people. There is a class for milch cows of any breed. There are milch goats, most of them with two kids each.

Agricultural and garden products are shown. In each case the exhibit has been grown by the exhibitor. The co-operative marketing of cashew nuts through the Centre has brought out some excellent exhibits of these nuts.

There is a showing of locally-made palmyra baskets, mats, and ropes ; and also a class for like articles in bamboo. Spinning and weaving products make a very good exhibit. There is hand-spun yarn, khaddar, and hand-woven cloth from machine-made yarn—the product made in every case by the exhibitor.

Several appetising-looking exhibits of refined jaggery —palmyra sugar—in various shapes and weights are on the tables. The attractive style in which it is wrapped, labelled and marketed is shown.

As boys and girls are given a large place in this attempt to introduce improved stock and methods for

the economic development of the poor people of the villages, there are boy and girl exhibitors in all the above-mentioned departments. There is also a department exclusively for boy and girl exhibitors including hobbies and handicrafts. Collections of stamps, coins, a class for book-binding, one for other handicrafts, drawings and prints, models and maps attract a great deal of interest. Some of the collections represent most careful observation and search as well as discriminating arrangement on the part of the boys and girls. The needlework of the girls and the drawings of both boys and girls show some high talent and careful application.

The Travancore Agricultural Department is exhibiting besides cattle some specimens of agricultural implements, samples and improved grains, manures of various kinds, and a large number of charts describing how to battle with various pests, what sorts of manures to use according to soil analysis, etc. There is a small showing of products made by private firms. The poultry, cattle, bees, goats, garden plots, weaving school, central library, latrine borers, demonstration latrine and other sanitary equipment of our Demonstration Centre can also be seen.

Such an exhibition under our village conditions brings together most of those interested in the vocation or vocations represented in the exhibition. It gives excellent opportunity for conferences of poultry men, cattle breeders, cashew nut, honey and jaggery producers, general farmers and others.

At the first four of these annual central shows small money prizes were given. With such poor people money prizes seemed almost a necessity, as they helped to compensate exhibitors for the small costs they went to in order to exhibit and which they could ill afford. But

during the last eight years no money prizes have been given. The prizes were mostly good quality brass vessels and articles which are much prized in the homes. The satisfaction these prizes gave was encouraging and several of the winners said they were even more acceptable than money. As far as possible it is well to give articles which will help to further the village vocations, such as equipment, breeding stock, birds, and plants; but in this case the greatest care must be taken that the persons who get them will use them to the best advantage. If a pure bred cock, for instance, is given as a prize, the winner must be one who needs and wants a cock of that breed.

Some of the awards are special ones, offered by prominent persons, such as for 'The Best Bird in the Show', or 'Progressive Poor Man's Prize', the latter for the poor man who in the opinion of the judges had taken best advantage of the benefits of the reconstruction programme as evidenced by his exhibits. The owners parade their winning exhibits so that 'why they won' may be explained. 'The Best Bird in the Show' as selected by the judges last year was a very large Australian Orpington cock. He was shown on the platform at the time of the prize-giving. Then when the large audience demanded to see the owner, a small boy came forward, mounted the platform and proudly held up his 'best bird'. One rural teacher who entered nine exhibits in various departments of the show won nine prizes which he and his small children were seen proudly carrying away with the birds and their other exhibits.

A visit to this show cannot help but be an encouragement and an inspiration to all who see it, and nothing serves better than a competitive exhibition to induce more

and more villagers to have profitable crops and live-stock, to practise the improved methods and to get the benefits therefrom.

The village exhibition is another means of education—another means of demonstration. It is one of the best means for increasing interest and pride in local achievement. It gives an opportunity for the exhibition of the best products of the community. The spirit of co-operation is fostered in that this is a community enterprise in which large numbers can take part, and all can attend. It affords opportunity for wholesome community recreation. Through all my early years at home I and other youngsters looked forward eagerly to the annual fair as the great event of the year ; and later one of my findings in a social survey was that the country fair held by the local agricultural society 'comes nearer bringing the whole community together than any other event. It also brings the local people in touch with those from a distance.'

In Indian country parts it is very important to let people know early about the shows. In this area the people are urged at the preceding show, a year ahead, to begin getting their live-stock and poultry ready for the next exhibition ; and as reconstruction workers meet them in their villages during the year they remind them of the coming exhibition. Two months before the show a definite prize list is put out and the sections and classes under which exhibits may be shown are explained to the people. These prize lists as well as the coloured posters which are put up in the villages are printed in the vernacular.

The success of an exhibition is partly measured by the people who see it. More widespread advertising in the villages and extra attractions such as an opening meeting with prominent speakers and music, a musical

variety entertainment, and, on the last day, the prize presentation meeting followed by a health cinema show, attract very large crowds. The students of the Training Schools in Rural Reconstruction coming from various parts of India, Burma and Ceylon display real talent and contribute much to the entertainment.

The poultry and other stock has to be protected from sun and possible rain. Sheds of bamboo frame and thatched roof are put up several days before the show. There is always the problem of show crates for so many birds. The Demonstration Centre now has a large number of knock-down crates of wire netting on wooden frames. These are placed in position under the sheds before the entries begin to come in. The sheds, the whole grounds even to the posts under the bee hives, are beautifully decorated with ferns.

The length of the show is only two days, as it is found a bit difficult to keep the birds and other animals happy for a longer show. This means that the entries must close on the afternoon before the first day of the show. These factors have to be emphasized early in the advertising in the villages. It is essential that judging should begin in the morning of the first day, which means that all entries must be in position by that time.

Besides the central show, each individual Indian village should have its local exhibition, fairly simple (but it is nevertheless a big event for the village, attracting a goodly number of people from surrounding villages and countryside). The local exhibition in each village is of primary importance, and it encourages local people to exhibit products at more distant exhibitions arranged for the whole countryside. The best place for the central exhibition at present is the Rural Demonstration Centre of our area. From ideas and knowledge the people of

any particular village get at the central exhibition, they can more readily and intelligently go ahead in arranging one for themselves. We have been immensely gratified to see how this idea has caught on. Nothing can be so encouraging to rural reconstruction workers as to be able to count more and more places and people copying what they demonstrate. Even the boys and girls of some of our very rural villages are putting on shows, the excellence and magnitude of which surprise us; and the other strikingly encouraging thing is how much the second year village show excels the first one and so on.

The whole idea of a rural man exhibiting his products has to be cultivated. Superstition and custom help to make him reluctant. I suppose Government Departments would say that the chief difficulty with the shows is that Government itself has so largely to make up the whole exhibit, even sometimes to buy articles to show in order to have them there, and that there are not enough exhibits from the people. One of our great encouragements is that as a result of personal teaching and persuasion the people will now make these shows more truly their own.

It was in October 1926, about two years after the better poultry project was launched, that our first Travancore Poultry Exhibition was held at Martandam. Our other projects had not developed so far, and this first show was confined to poultry. The chief improvement in the annual shows which have followed this first one, apart from coming to include many kinds of products, has been in the quality of exhibits. At first the people brought whatever they had, seemingly with almost no discrimination. They now know pretty well what a good fowl or other good product is. One bit of technology

which has brought improvement in the exhibits is that the Rural Centre sends out some weeks before the exhibition, as an educational feature, printed instructions telling the villagers how to prepare their exhibits for the show.

One of the chief results of exhibitions comes through exhibits selling for good prices at the show. In the first show a trio of birds shown by a poor man won prizes to the amount of Rs. 5 and then sold for Rs. 20. There was great excitement, as the village mind had never thought three chickens could ever bring so much. This encouraged many to take up the industry. But one of our problems is to keep up the quality of stock in our area in the face of the natural selling off of the best. How can the very poor resist a big price? How could my outcaste Sambavar friend whom I started in business with white Leghorns, and who proudly takes from his pocket and shows a first prize certificate he won, keep from selling entirely out of poultry-keeping when a good price was offered? He couldn't. He now has only the certificate to show. His present small part in the poultry business has one advantage, that he can carry it about with him in his pocket at all times.

I have recently imported a new heavy laying strain of Leghorns to counteract the tendency towards deterioration in qauality. We must bring in some such new blood at least every second year. That the villagers are learning values was encouragingly illustrated this year when buyers from such far distant places as Calcutta and Ceylon were able to make very few purchases and even suggested that the people in this area were unbusiness-like since they were not interested in selling. The Indian villager however is rightly credited with having the best mind in India. This good mind makes the villager know

better than to sell his birds, which have been cut down in number by the epidemic, when he now has his co-operative marketing and when his laying fowls bring him such good income. He is bent on building up his flock to larger numbers. There are many orders for this fine stock.

Inter-village Competitions. The central exhibition can now well include exhibits of all kinds of products of the area, and it is planned to work toward a competition by villages. Each village will have a section in which to show its produce. Prizes will be awarded to those villages having the best collective exhibit. There is nothing better than inter-village competition to strengthen village spirit and ability to act together. This has shown itself most strikingly in our inter-village athletic competitions participated in by inter-caste teams from villages of this same area. We have witnessed hardly anything else which has so quickly developed a common spirit and sense of village oneness.

It is very important that as far as possible the whole village community be concerned in the local exhibition or exhibit. It should be launched at a whole community meeting. Expenses should be kept low and this is possible since most of the work is done by volunteers. The value of prizes should be small. In some instances ribbons and certificates are enough. Interested persons of means are often willing to donate prizes if requested to do so. In fact this is a form of giving that most of us rather like.

The exhibition becomes a truly educational project when used as one of the means of lifting the community to a happier, more comfortable and better status. If the exhibit is to be educative, the way it is arranged, and what we include in it, is important. Care in this

particular can increase its value. Exhibits in India tend to be set up very carelessly without apparent realization that arrangement adds to their value.

I keep before me the following outline indicating what I want each of our educative exhibits to do to all who visit it:

A. It should stimulate attentive observation by
   1. Attracting the observer
      (i) By use of contrast, elements of novelty, conspicuous placing, etc.
   2. Permitting observation
      (i) By being readily accessible to the observer.
   3. Directing or guiding observation
      (i) By systematic arrangement.
      (ii) By labels, placards, pointers, diagrams, charts, etc.
   4. Satisfying the observer
      (i) By unity, harmony, simplicity, etc.
      (ii) By quality of materials, accurate workmanship and the like.

B. It should serve as a suggestive guide to the (possibly) convinced observer, either
   1. As a means to satisfy a want of his
      (i) By showing a result, product, service, or method within the observer's resources, or
   2. In the case of a want newly created or defined for the observer
      (i) By pointing clearly to the need or desirability of knowledge, skill, or materials attainable by him.

(ii) By suggesting definite or promising means of obtaining information, instruction materials, etc. appropriate to satisfying his new want.[1]

We as extension workers try to make sure that exhibits have the maximum educative effect. This applies to the animals, poultry or agricultural produce shown, and especially to the charts such as we use in the market places, educational weeks and also in exhibitions. As in other rural work all these things are novel and even marvellous to the people. Each feature is a bigger event to them than it would be to sophisticated town and city people. Care in the technology of exhibiting brings marked appreciation and makes for a deep and lasting impression.

We have learned by experience that a recreational and educational programme should always accompany an exhibition. Too much cannot be done to make it a 'big event' in the minds of all the people of the whole country around, and there should be lots of fun. High officials to be patron and president, well-known authorities to lecture, and amusements, are needed to reinforce the simple appeal of the exhibits. This is one place where we want big crowds. Side shows and the commercialized amusements of the ordinary fair are left out. But dramas, pageants, variety shows, athletic contests, cinemas, and lantern pictures will help to give everyone a good time and insure that he or she goes home happy. Different villages may compete in enacting dramas, in athletics and folk dances.

[1] Eaton, *Characteristics of a Good Education Exhibit in Extension.*

The rural exhibition is one of the indispensable means by which a village or area may promote its social and economic life.

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PART IV

TACKLING THE PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP

CHAPTER XIII

TACKLING THE PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP—I

The First Bull-Cart over the New Road

Nearly every man and boy of the roadless village out with picks, shovels, crowbars and gun-powder in order that roadlessness for them shall be no more! During all its ancient existence, the generations who have been born, have lived and have died in this village have suffered the disadvantages of having no road; and every time they entered or left the village they had to cross private land which they had no legal right to cross. Such people are a kind of 'shut-ins'.

Year after year in recent times they have renewed their petition that Government would build them a road. Government, having so many roads to keep up and so many petitions from other roadless villages, considered this a relatively unimportant out-of-the-way one. On dark nights we often took visitors from afar to features of our programme in this village, and some said they had never thought there could be a village without a road to it. As we walked along the villagers ran out to meet us, romantically carrying lights to avoid the rocks and possible snakes. Government did run a survey trace for a longer road which might connect this and several other villages; but this would be expensive. Many more years passed and prediction would not expect anything to be done in the next fifty years.

But in this village, leadership and realization of self-help ability had been developing. The two types of

leaders had been joining hands—doing things: local honorary leaders assisted and inspired by our secretaries. The young men were coming to realize what they could do in the way of self-help through co-operative method. This growing strength inspired the thought: 'Must we wait for ever—must we wait for Government? Can we not build a road ourselves, not by the long trace but by the shortest way out to the main road?' The young local leaders called a road meeting in their little association. They raised some money. They went out and with great difficulty got possession of the many 'fragmented' pieces of land over which the road would go. All the owners except the last one nearest the main road agreed to sell or to give the land. Government here helped to bring a settlement with the last man ; and they were ready for road building.

The way was hilly and extremely rocky. Dynamite was not available, so they used village-made gun-powder. It was a rare picture—nearly every man and boy of the village at work.

Recently I attended the formal opening of the road. The village band and a company of loin-clothed children led our cars and procession from the main road. We proceeded along the road, but not only to this village. Having built the road so far they wanted to build further ; and the next village, even more distantly roadless, now inspired by the neighbouring demonstration, wanted a road. They had turned out and helped and the new road went well beyond even this second village. The plans are to go on until the road connects with the important highway running parallel with the main road ; so the new road will be a main cross road. Of course, the road they have built is narrow and far from finished ; but the Dewan Peishkar presiding at the formal opening

said that he expected Government would take over the road, widen it and build the necessary culverts and drainage ditches. He pointed out, with great truth, that when people help themselves, Government, as well as other agencies, is willing to help on top of that worthy effort. Incidentally, from his knowledge as officer in charge of land revenue, he pointed out that when the road was completed the worth of land along the new road would be three times the former value.

The story of this road is given as an illustration of how humble village leaders in the midst of all the adversities of their condition can inspire and rouse whole communities to do big things. The chief leader in this instance was one U. Joseph, teacher and honorary secretary of the village association. He spent all his spare time in connexion with activities for the uplift of the villagers and worked hard for this road. Succumbing to the scourge of typhoid fever, which I have mentioned as so disastrous in our villages, the first bullock cart that went over the new road was the one carrying his dead body. But his spirit, influence and inspiration live on!

Who is a leader? Who is a leader in an Indian village or elsewhere? Any person who is more than ordinarily efficient in stimulating response from others may be called a leader. Both the paid and the honorary, unpaid, leader in our socio-economic uplift work stimulate collective response toward better ways of life and practice.

The average quiet villager in all his poverty does not make himself felt. Men despair of his ever being a leader. Yet there are in this Indian peasant unexplored powers of leadership. In my experience he responds and shows himself a man of affairs, able to lead wisely,

as soon as he sees the way and understands the issues at hand.

The Attributes of Leadership

Modern social psychologists claim concerning leadership that it is what the following think their leader is that counts rather than what he really is. That may be true for a one-night actor; but we are considering long-time, intimate leadership in a small Indian village. Here what the people think of a leader and what he is are apt to be about the same thing. Character must square with words in long-time rural leadership. That is, the people must know him thoroughly. Until they do, their conservatism will retard their response. It seems that the attributes of the leader are essentially the same for all races of people. The attributes which the villagers must believe to be in the leader have been listed as follows:[1]

1. Ability to inspire a following in sympathy with and loyal to the task.
2. Knowledge of situation and clear conception of problem.
3. Sympathy with and loyalty to situation.
4. Ability to solve problems and put theory into practice.
5. Group harmoniser, spokesman, planner, in short, integrator.
6. Initiative, organizing ability, intangible personal factors.
7. Reflecting morals and emotions of group, but may change both.
8. Sufficient strength to carry out project.

[1] Nafe, *Outline on Leadership*, pp. 2-3.

9. Willingness to be leader.
10. Faith and hope in the goal sought.

It is contended that all these must necessarily be attributed to every leader, but that it is not possible to discover others that are essential.

The following sixteen points have been put down as attributes of character of the great leaders: simplicity, earnestness, self-control, assiduity, common sense, judgement, justice, enthusiasm, perseverance, tact, courage, faith, loyalty, acumen, truthfulness, honour.[1] The extent to which they are ingredients in the character and personality of a man indicate his value as a leader. The main purpose of giving this list here is to point out four of these attributes which characteristics of the Indian rural people make especially valuable to their leaders—simplicity, enthusiasm, perseverance, faith. I wish to show also that there are two attributes not mentioned in the list which are essential to the most effective leadership in the Indian village—sympathy and spirituality.

Simplicity. It is noticeable that every one of our Indian secretaries whose life and work are having a great influence toward uplift of the villagers possesses to a marked degree the characteristic of simplicity. This he must possess along with assiduity and acumen, diligence and intellectual discernment. This attribute is the more valuable and essential to self-help leadership. The gentleman who has risen to such a high state in life that he cannot bend to take a hand with the villager in a common task, that he cannot associate intimately with boys, so high that villagers have, in a measure, to stand

[1] See Miller, *Leadership*, pp. 13-55, adapted in *Readings in Sociology* by Davis and Barnes, pp. 592-5.

when he sits, bend when he stands, and take care that their breath does not pollute him, can hand out charity to them, but he cannot lead them in self-help.

Enthusiasm in the original Greek means 'God striving within us'. Valuable in all leadership, it is especially appealing and begetting of interest to the villager whose environment and fellow villagers are characterized by the opposite of enthusiasm—listlessness and hopelessness.

Perseverance is important because in India the mortality of things started is perhaps the highest in the world. A study of projects and organizations started in any place for a period of years will show that the 'expectancy of life' of worthy ventures is as short in days as is the life of the people in years. You can call a meeting and start a society, organization, or project any day, but you can only succeed as a leader if you can keep it going—if you have it in you to do as Kipling expresses:

> 'If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew
> To serve your turn long after they are gone,
> And so hold on when there is nothing in you
> Except the will which says to them: Hold on! '

Faith in the leader has three parts: faith in himself, faith in his followers, and faith in the cause for which he is striving. Hopelessness in the village makes greater demands on enthusiasm and calls also for strong faith. The leader must have faith in his own ability, and faith in the villagers whose experiences, so far, have given them little reason for faith in their own ability or faith in the possibility of better things. Faith in the cause or goal sought strengthens the perseverance necessary. Faith is contagious, it transmits itself to the followers and fellow-leaders. Faith gives confidence. 'Persons with these (faith and hope) always exercise

ascendency even when inferior in every other characteristic.'[1]

Sympathy is one of the qualities not mentioned in the list quoted above, and which I find essential to the most effective leadership in the Indian village. In a situation where there is so much hunger, backwardness, disease and distress, absence of sympathy in the leader would mean a deficiency in his personality, and would mean, almost surely, that he was working for selfish reasons. For leadership anywhere, sympathy is important. We do not have to go through the same experience as others to have sympathy, but to have it involves personal insight. Range of sympathy is the measure of personality ; sympathy is a requisite of social power, and only as a man understands the life around him does he have any effective existence. A person of character who comprehends our ways of thought is sure to have power with us. Presence or absence of mental health may always be expressed in terms of sympathy. The leader cannot really belong to a community without sympathy for it, for his sympathy represents as much of society as he truly belongs to.

Spirituality seems not to be included as an attribute by the psychologists, sociologists, philosophers and educationalists who have written on leadership, but I emphatically include it as an attribute for leading in India. The non-spiritual man can be but a foreigner to the Indian people. How innately religious the Indian people are is expressed by Dr. Stanley Jones as he speaks of his Round Table Conferences: 'I must confess that I

[1] Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order,* chap. IX. See also Prof. Nafe's *Outline* quoted above ; and Miller, op. cit., p. 594 ; also Bernard, *The Qualities of Leaders : Introduction to*

never approach these Round Tables without feeling my heart beat a little faster, for here before us sit members of the most religiously inclined race of the world, men who belong to a people who have persistently searched for God and reality as no other people on earth have searched ; sons of a philosophical and cultural past that stretched back millenniums before Europe awoke from barbarity.'

The spiritual emphasis made by Mr. Gandhi has an especially wide appeal, reaching Indians of all religions. In China I spoke with my former college classmate, Dr. Hu Shi, who is now called the Father of the Chinese Educational Renaissance, concerning the possibility of Gandhi visiting China. He doubted whether a visit from the great Indian leader would do China any good. He would bring them more spirituality and religion, when their great need is the Western type of material efficiency, Dr. Hu Shi said. Even the Far East recognizes Gandhi as a spiritual leader. India needs desperately to add efficiency, but she needs to retain her spirituality.

My experience with leaders bears this out. If one who could be a leader is careless in religious matters, this destroys the confidence that the Indian people would have in him. In fact the staunchest leaders, be they Hindu, Mohammedan or Christian, who are most effectual in influence for more efficient and higher ways of living and practice, are those who remain true to their innate, deeply spiritual natures. I notice this especially among the Hindus, some of whom are among our most efficient colleagues in the work described in former chapters. The most effectual of even those who have been educated abroad are those who have retained and brought back this deep spirituality. This volume is concerned much

with the improvement of economic conditions, but even that field is spiritual in India, as it should be, for the spiritual realm permeates all life. For leadership in this field in India spirituality is needed.

Employed Leaders

My Indian colleagues who serve in our Demonstration Centre and its extension service are called Rural Secretaries. They receive a nominal salary, near the maintenance level, all on the same rate-schedule, increasing moderately with years of service. Where it has been possible to establish these Centres, one or two secretaries are employed. These trained men are the executive staff of both the Centres and the extension activities. They work under the general supervision of a regional secretary for rural work like myself.

The Task of the extension service of the Rural Demonstration Centres is to contribute to consistent and continual increase

(*a*) In the efficiency and satisfaction of those who follow rural pursuits in the area ;

(*b*) In the welfare and satisfaction of home and community life of the people of the area ;

(*c*) In the appropriateness, efficiency and usefulness of the socio-economic organization of the area as a whole.

These are not separate functions, but are aspects of an integrated educative service.

The extension part of the activities of the rural secretary is here classified in three groups:[1]

[1] See outline for course in T. H. Eaton, *Extension Teaching.*

I. Activities connected with the *development of a programme of objectives and methods* appropriate to the needs and resources of the people of the area.

II. Activities connected with the *carrying through* of the work implied in the *programme* of objectives and methods.

III. Activities connected with the checking and *valuation of the results* accomplished under the programme.

It is in these activities that the rural secretaries have to lead—studying the conditions and needs in order to map out the most useful programme, seeing the programme carried through, and finally checking and evaluating the results accomplished in order to improve it and better adapt it.

The leaders need proper training as described in the next chapter. But their superior preparation as compared with the villagers must not prevent their working hand in hand with the villagers. The most important part of their services is the multiplying of themselves through local honorary workers. With these the secretary must move intimately. His success is largely to be judged by the success with which he is able to transfer leadership to the shoulders of others after he has assisted in the pioneering steps. This is the test of leadership. It is not the leadership of a captain or of emphasized superiority. It is the leadership of the teacher whose success is in making himself unnecessary, and free for new tasks.

Honorary, Unpaid Leaders

These leaders are 'those within the village group actually belonging to the group'. The work carried on in

our over one hundred village associations, previously described is an outstanding example of unpaid service. In none of the associations in truly rural places is there any paid secretary or worker. But in each there is the honorary secretary, and secretaries of the branches and departments representing the divisions of the work. Each department—as religious, educational, physical, social and economic—has its committee men, and there are committees for special projects such as temperance and surveys. Those leaders in associations which are in Demonstration Centre areas work closely with the employed rural secretaries in the extension activities. It is upon them that the success of the work largely depends.

Some of the active workers and real leaders are boys. I do not find very different principles involved in leadership among boys. Boys in India invariably surpass the expectation of their elders when given a chance. So generally does the village leader. It is a striking fact how little the ordinary individual gets a chance to express himself in India. A member of almost any other race takes up so much room in comparison. A whole city population of Indians could be housed in a country town in England or America. This is but one evidence of the low degree of individualization among Indians. Yet the strongest desire of the human being is to be an individual, to attain individualization.[1] The Indian villager finds individualization when he finds a chance to serve others of his group. In leading in that service, unpaid, and hoping not for personal reward, he attains the highest and most important type of leadership.

[1] See Hinkle, *The Re-Creating of the Individual*, p. 283.

The combination of employed and honorary workers is exceedingly effective. In the last chapter I show how these unpaid leaders originate—how they, working together, develop a group spirit, and what sacrifices they will make in order to become better fitted for their work. It would be impossible, I think, to express in words the interest they take in their service activities.

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CHAPTER XIV

TACKLING THE PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP—II

The Making of Employed Leaders

Most of our employed leaders for rural work recruit themselves. It is a problem of selection rather than recruitment. The rural secretaries are mostly young men who after successful experience in other forms of service have come to see the villages as a needy and neglected field. They come in far greater numbers than our present establishment can accommodate. This gives opportunity to select carefully. After selection the policy is to give the man the best possible training. He may have at least one college degree already. This further training, designed to make him best fitted for effective dealing with rural problems and people, has to be within the range of the limited means and the limited time that the man can be spared from the work for which he has been selected.

Supposing the money and time were available, should we first send the new rural secretary to Europe or America for highly technical training in agriculture, rural economy, rural sociology, and rural education? Emphatically, No!

Outstanding are the cases of splendid young men who were each the hope of an Indian countryside—of a whole area of villages. The plan was that the young man was to go away, get the best possible preparation, come back with the best educational equipment the world could give him, then live in a village and impart leader-

ship which would be of untold value to all that rural area. The young man had this single purpose equally with his village friends. But where is one who has come back to live and serve in the Indian village? I can point out to you where some of them sit today in very high and honourable places—in the big cities. The Indian rural boys, like the western country boys, later take their share, or more, of coveted places in the cities of their country. But the Indian village? Probably the young man should not be blamed for not making an attempt amid the conditions of his village after he had his training: high position and salary, a decent house, cultured friends, many advantages, all beckoned—in the city.

This is one of the problems of training rural leaders. Instead of sending the new recruit away to be trained for the villages, it would be better to send him as soon as possible back to the villages. Let it be hoped he is village bred. No one can ever understand the Indian village quite so well as he who grew up in a village and who has been away long enough, assisted by his education, to get a detached view of the village, its people, their conditions and problems.

Training Found Successful

Having carefully chosen a man who embodies as far as possible the attributes necessary to leadership, as discussed in the preceding chapter, our experience has shown the following to be a successful method of fitting him for his rural work. If possible he should have had an agricultural college training. Whether he has or not, the general course of procedure will be the same.

Learning by Doing. Locate the new worker at the Rural Demonstration Centre. Give him definite

responsibilities in the scheme of division of labour at the Centre ; but choose these responsibilities carefully, making sure that they are educative (not just routine and drudgery), that he will learn from bearing them. Responsibilities assigned should not be too many—they must leave plenty of time for reading and directed study along lines related to his practical work.

Besides this, and even more important, he is associated as an apprentice[1] with a seasoned secretary in the extension work in the villages. This is where he receives his most fundamental training.

Course of Study at Selected Institutions. In various parts of India there can be found a few outstanding examples of successful research, training, and practice in matters relating to those for which the new worker is training. After going through our own Practical Training School in Rural Reconstruction, the next step for his training—one which we have found very successful—is to send him for a certain number of weeks to each of a number of these institutions, careful arrangements being made with the authorities concerned. Eight months is the longest period that we have been able to give for this part of the training. Time spent at the various institutes varies according to the amount to be learned at each. Taking such possibilities as mentioned in the footnote[2] a schedule is worked out. Such

[1] For discussion of true apprenticeship see T. H. Eaton, *Education and Vocations,* pp. 112ff.

[2] (*a*) The other YMCA Rural Reconstruction Centres in India. Each has similar problems and similar projects to his own Centre, yet some others ; and he will find variations in methodology. (*b*) The National College of Physical Education (including Boys' work) in Madras. A several months' course here fits the rural secretary to be an outstanding leader in the much needed village games and

a course has proved very practical and satisfactory in results.

After the secretary or worker returns to his Centre, he is given responsibility for a definite part of the work. He is given help and direction concerning his further reading. Certain items of research and village survey work can well come into his early activities.

When the secretary has worked some years in the rural field, it may become possible financially, and then seem wise, to give him training abroad. The vision he can get through seeing some things better done and more advanced than can be seen in India will be a great help to him now. The satisfaction of the results he has seen in his village service, the joys of the association he knows with the village people, will have removed the danger of his not returning to the village.

athletics. (*c*) Dr. Tagore's Santineketan at Bohlpur, a school conducted in simple fashion close to nature and including agriculture. (*d*) The Allahabad Agricultural Institute. (*e*) The Poultry Project work at Etah, where this cottage vocation is doing so much for the depressed classes. (*f*) The Community school at Moga, an illustration of the so-called 'Moga system of teaching'. (*g*) The Village Uplift work in the Punjab. (*h*) The Government Poultry Farm at Lucknow. Here the student may take a regular six weeks' short course in Poultry Husbandry. (*i*) The Agricultural Mission Work at Sangli, Bombay Presidency, and at Vadala. (*j*) Agricultural and Industrial work of the American Madura Mission, the Arcot (at Katpadi) and the Guntur Missions. (*k*) Various cattle farms, including those in the Sind region, at Huzur and other selected places conducted by the various Provincial and State Governments. (*l*) Some time at Government agricultural colleges such as those at Poona and Coimbatore. Also the Experiment and Research Station at Pusa. (*m*) Mr. Gandhi's Village Industries Centre at Wardha. (*n*) A Summer School at a Demonstration Centre such as is explained in this and the next chapter. (*o*) Certain conferences and conventions are likely to occur during this training period which it will be advantageous for the student to attend.

The Martandam Practical Training School in Rural Reconstruction

In the preface to this story of our experience, I predict that many of the methods we have found and will find successful will be useful to others in various parts of India. Our conviction has been that if a thorough enough piece of comprehensive uplift work is done anywhere in India, it matters not so much where, its influence and helpfulness will spread far. We have been very desirous however to talk little and keep our light almost hid under a bushel until there was thoroughness of practice and proved results.

Now requests come in almost alarmingly increasing numbers from individuals, government agencies, mission, educational and service organizations, wishing to send men and women to us to be trained in rural reconstruction. The recommendations of Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, after his study in India of the possibilities for such training, somewhat accentuated this demand upon us. Dr. Butterfield recommended Martandam as a training Centre on the grounds, we are told, of its comprehensive programme, its actual work in many villages and its aim to lift the whole community by self-help. Feeling that giving training in methods for the reconstruction of rural India is one of the most important services anyone could give, we could not be sorry that this call to be an all-India training centre for rural workers had come to us, though we were greatly humbled by its responsibilities.

Apprentices we have with us most of the year, and we have a definite training course for them to follow ; but with our small staff we could not do justice to all these

possible of them to come during a definite six weeks in March and April. Then our regular staff and other instructors secured for the period gave all their energies to this practical intensive training.

The spectacle of some 125 students, staff and old boys of the Martandam Practical Training School in Rural Reconstruction and the Summer School assembled for the final exercises of the 1931 session was a happy and impressive one. Nearly seventy students had just received their certificates signifying that they had completed the courses and passed the examinations. Some forty old boys, students of former annual schools, had come back as guests of honour for the final exercises and the Old Boys' Luncheon, in which all joined. It has since been an annual event.

Science and Business. The desire to do rural reconstruction is sweeping over India like a great regenerating fire. But when we enter this field of rural reconstruction we enter a field of deep and exacting practical science ; and, to educate the hungry rural masses to feed themselves, we also have to enter the field of business. Science and business are the two fields for which most of those who desire to do rural reconstruction in India are least fitted. There is so much need, in the language of the Lindsay Commission, of 'putting the scientific mind behind the merciful heart'. Training—thorough, practical training, and a great deal of it,—is absolutely essential. There are so many pitiful examples of the blind trying to lead those only slightly more blind with stumbling results.

The Martandam Practical Training School in Rural Reconstruction is built on a foundation of Summer Schools, held annually since 1926. These summer schools have given intensive training to from 25 to 75

students each year, the majority—honorary rural workers who do so much in their spare time to improve their villages and who wished to become more efficient in the comprehensive programmes they were trying to further. These schools were short; but it was surprising how much ground could be covered by an intensive programme of teaching and study on a limited number of subjects with the day's work starting at 5-30 in the morning and lasting till 9-30 at night. The students worked harder than they ever could in a long course; and the encouraging thing has been that they actually went out and put into practice what they learned during these weeks. The training period is now lengthened to two four-months courses in a year, with opportunity for advanced study.

Programmes in Action Essential. It is impractical to give training in rural reconstruction anywhere away from a rural reconstruction programme in action. We try to give our students in this new venture the advantage of the twenty years' work and experimenting in rural reconstruction in India which our Association has pioneered and developed, together with that of the considerable study we have made in this and other countries to select the best known methods which can be adapted to need and conditions in India. The teaching is done from our three Centres at Martandam, Paranium, and Oollannore, which are Centres of many villages in which active and intensive work is being carried on. The students go out to these other villages actually to see and to help with what is being done. The field method, though somewhat unique in India, has the best educational wisdom behind it.

The work at Martandam, Paranium and Oollannore is comprehensive, helping to benefit all members of rural families, male and female, young and

old, of different castes and religions, in all phases of their life—physical, mental, spiritual, social and economic. There is not much use in training students in one or two lines of improvement when the villager has to be helped on all sides of his life. The self-help basis is the only worth-while basis for any part of India.

There is the emphasis on co-operative marketing and the chance really to take part in doing it. Students want especially to learn this, owing to the fact that most co-operation in India stops short of marketing. The Martandam area being one of excessive poverty, here they can see whether the methods (and just what methods) are bringing real benefits of fuller and happier life to some of the poorest of this world's people. They have a chance to study and help with our summer schools for local leaders. Coming to know this large number of honorary workers who come in to study, they actually learn how to run local summer schools or training classes which will be necessary in every field to which they go back to work.

Making the School Practical. We teach about no subject with which we do not practise in the comprehensive programme at the Centre and in the extension field. The curriculum includes the following subjects as they are dealt with in our work:

Poverty and its Elimination
Village Surveys
Quickening of the Religious Life of the Village
Methods of Physical Education
Other forms of Adult Education
Instruction in the Market Places
The Village Library and the Circulating Library system

Games and Sports
Night Schools for the Young and Adults
Village Organization for Effective Service (such as the village YMCAs)
Socialization—working for and with the whole community: all castes, and creeds and conditions
Temperance Education
Information Service—public speaking, writing, advertizing
Boys' Work
Women's and Girls' Work
The Demonstration Method
Village Sanitation and Health (includes the bore-hole Latrine)
Co-operative Credit
Co-operative Production (improving quality)
Co-operative Marketing of improved local products
Cottage Industries
Poultry Keeping
The use of Charts, Pictures, etc.
Bee-keeping
Weaving
Gardening (use of better seeds, varieties and methods)
Improvement of Cattle (including pasturage and fodder crops)
Goats (the poor man's cow)
Exhibitions (showing results centrally and in the individual villages. The students help to conduct the annual Central Exhibition)
The Drama—its uses in the village
The Rural Centre
The Extension Department
Co-operating with Government and other agencies
Rural Leadership

Now, after the experience of the school, we are more than ever convinced that the field training—that is, having the students go into the villages and actually help the honorary workers in their villages with the programmes of rural uplift they are carrying on, combined

with a right percentage of class work with analysis of what they have seen and done in the villages—is the best type of training. Every day, also, the students have practical work at the Centre.

In the very first days of the school we start with the surveys, dividing the school into groups to make surveys regarding different conditions in different villages. Our students this year made surveys regarding the state of poultry, cattle, goats, bees and bee-keeping, intemperance, health and sanitation, as a basis for improvements to be carried out in regard to these subjects. They later took part in two village exhibitions and finally in the central exhibition, which amount to 'the showing of results' of the reconstruction programme.

Perpetual Thirst for Knowledge. The most enjoyable feature of the 1931 school, to us of the staff, was the students themselves. Those organizations which had sent men had picked such ones as they thought would be competent enough to bring back what they learned from this study, and to put features of it into operation in their respective fields. This meant a body of able, energetic, fine-spirited men with a foundation for what they were to learn. Their eagerness to know all about everything was remarkable. It was difficult to bring any session to a close because there were always more questions. Some members of the staff were surprised that even at the end of these intensive weeks of very hard work this eagerness for knowledge had not at all abated. The same characteristics are true of the students of the schools of later years, who have come from even a wider area of India, Burma and Ceylon.

We do not have a large staff and do not invite any one to teach who is not actually, either locally or elsewhere, working at the subject which he is to teach. The

regular staffs of our Martandam, Paranium and Oollannore Rural Centres and Extension area do most of the teaching, avoiding calling in persons, however competent, for stray lectures. Those who do come from outside are so carefully chosen and so competent that they are deeply appreciated by the students. One of the most popular of these is Danish ; and he tells the students that a school like this is more like the Folk High Schools of Denmark than any other form of instruction now given in India.

The School seems destined to continue annually, and it has been encouraging to find our visiting staff members as well as the students feeling that, centred in the Martandam Rural Reconstruction programme, it is based upon right lines and valuable. Mr. J. Z. Hodge, General Secretary of the National Christian Council, who joined our teaching staff for a while, wrote a parting message in which he said we were 'getting down to the rural problem effectively and hopefully, and pointing the way to a united advance in rural reconstruction'. 'This strikes me,' he wrote, 'as an admirable training centre, and I should like to see its facilities more widely utilised. Over 900 students have already received training here and are now practising the spirit and methods of Martandam in India, Burma and Ceylon. That is a great achievement. It is a permanent contribution to the well-being of village life in Travancore and a good illustration of the "Rural Reconstruction Unit" principle. Having seen Martandam and knowing something of the needs of rural India, I thank God and take courage.'

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CHAPTER XV

TACKLING THE PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP—III

The Making of Honorary Leaders

These unpaid, spare-time leaders are fundamentally important ones. 'We need,' says Butterfield,[1] 'a host of men and women who have caught a vision of the rural field, who are willing to dedicate their lives to its service, and who can receive a training adequate to the task so that efficiency shall be linked with high purpose.' I am asked, 'How is it that in the Travancore and Cochin villages you approach having this host of leaders? How comes such success in recruitment?' In many places and in different countries there is a dearth of those willing to lead. The answer is simple—*Service is the basis for leadership.*

Leaders are not born leaders. Neither do many true leaders set out to be leaders. Leaders are not made in schools for leadership ; and such schools are on the wrong track if they propose to train men so that they will be general experts in leading in anything and everything instead of showing themselves efficient in some productive occupation. Schools of leadership can only be justified when they train for efficiency in meeting a specific situation and need.

The best leaders arise in two ways:

1. *They are chosen by their own group,* because the group sees in them fitness to lead.

[1] *Principles and Methods of Christian Work in Rural Areas,* p. 19.

2. *They create the group* unintentionally, and probably without any thought of being leaders. A man may, for instance, become a leader by practising a subsidiary vocation so successfully that his neighbours follow his example and try to do like him. This is the 'static leader'.

The situation often creates the leader. Our village leaders are created by the great needs, and by the inculcation of the spirit of service to answer the various aspects of those needs.

Most of them were persons of very few advantages and of ordinary ability; they lacked self-assertiveness and self-confidence and experience in leading. But they thought of their village as a poor and poverty-stricken place. They saw distress all about. They knew things could be better. They had visited another village which had a local association, or a co-operative society, a village which was helping itself with cottage vocations. They wanted the same for their village. Furthermore, in their area, the village associations, the rural demonstration extension and certain church and other religious influences had taught them the *ideal of service*. At first such young men have little or no thought of becoming leaders but they talk and discuss and study much about 'How can we serve our village?' Then addressing themselves to such service, effective leaders arise. They are made out of quite ordinary village young men and boys.

And so we have an attitude which communities in other countries, not 'primitive' and 'backward' (as they would call us) need. Without it our village self-help improvement could not proceed. This attitude is a strong desire on the part of many individuals to do whatever they can to better their village and its people.

So the problem in connexion with honorary leaders is not recruiting, for there are many ; not selection, for we need all, and their own groups will do the selecting for the various services ; it is training to make into more effective leaders willing but unskilled men and boys, and girls and women too, who come forward to serve.

The Training of Honorary Leaders

We have developed seven principal methods in the training of the honorary village workers who in such splendid numbers come forward wanting to help in their spare time: Learning by Doing, Camps, Conferences, Week-end Study Groups, Special Courses, Specialized Schools and Summer Schools.

Learning by Doing. The most effective way for workers to learn is to go ahead and practise, with the expert counsel and companionship in the work of the rural secretary or other full-time worker. Growth in efficiency through this method is easily seen. We see men taking up and practising cottage vocations so successfully and profitably at their own homes that others copy and they become static leaders. A day-school teacher organizes and teaches a night-school for working men and adult boys. The village may be distressed over the harm that drink is doing locally. One person is selected as chairman of a temperance committee and others join with him as working members of the committee to make a survey study, to know how much harm drink really is doing, and then to educate the people against drinking. This may lead to Government removing the drink shops from the village.[1] In the committee-service

[1] The Travancore Government has for a number of years proclaimed that whenever a majority in any village should ask that a liquor shop be removed from its midst, the Government would

the chairman and members grow in ability to study and handle problems.

Camps. These are mostly used with boys of high school or college age. Some of those in such a camp, however, may be leaders experienced in boys' work. As counsellors in camp they have more time actually with the boys during a camp of seven to ten days than a teacher has in many weeks. These camps include, along with a good time, a carefully-planned programme of instruction and discussion. Effort is made to arrange camps in places whose environs will add to the instruction. This is illustrated by our Boys' Camp at Vazhoor held on the estate of a retired High Court Judge and progressive agriculturists. Among the industries of the estate are the production of rubber, tapioca, sugar, coconut products, rice, nutmegs, cardamoms, pepper, honey, mangoes, sweet potatoes, coffee, tea, lemons, timber and dairy products. The boys had an opportunity to study all these processes. In the centre of the estate is a forest full of interest for boys. Flowing through it is a clear river, ideal for bathing and swimming. In our boys' camps responsibility is placed upon the boys. They plan the programmes and carry them out, thus in a few days getting much real training in leadership.

As many as possible of our village honorary leaders and workers are scouts ; and we help to organize and teach scouting in the villages. Boy scout camps include many educational features, as do girl guide camps held for leaders among the girls.

either abolish it or move it to a greater distance. This has given opportunity and incentive for local leaders and workers to test this promise by carrying on educational temperance efforts, which form public opinion. It also lessens drinking even when the shops cannot be removed.

Conferences. Conferences are useful if rightly planned and conducted. The Indian people are fond of conferences. They may be an aid both to knowledge and socialization. But the usual type of programme for conferences in our area has been too much made up of lectures. We have supplemented lectures in our conferences by the discussion method described in an earlier chapter. The first and general reaction to this was expressed by a member of a discussion group when, at the close, the leader of the discussion asked him what he thought of the session. He said, 'I didn't think it amounted to much. You didn't tell us anything. You just made us think.' But the old custom of and liking for passively sitting and absorbing what another has worked to prepare and deliver is now giving way to the more educative if less spectacular way of putting minds together under expert guidance, for the working out of common problems.

Week-end Study Groups. One of the new training institutions which has resulted from the socio-economic activities of the Demonstration Centre and extension is the two-day so-called 'Week-end Study Groups'. Many of the village leaders are teachers and many are senior students ; they can give all of Saturday and Sunday to such study and are very eager to do so. As often as possible such occasions are arranged. The leaders will walk in from the villages to begin the programme very early on Saturday morning. Many Westerners, thinking of the Orient as sleepy and languid, do not realize that the Oriental is an early riser and that he spends many weary hours, the best hours of the day, waiting for the Westerner to wake and get himself ready for business. Rising long before the sun, the Oriental has his private or family devotions and is ready for the day.

This means that we can put in two long days, make the programme intensive, and really learn a great deal, in week-end sessions. A series of every week-end lessons, extending over two and one-half months makes a valuable course. This training arises out of the honorary service these men are doing. They feel the need for getting together with other leaders to discuss common problems and difficulties ; and they ask that such coming together be arranged. The programme then is of a practical nature ; little entertainment is needed. There can be two full days of real study. Several villages—perhaps a dozen—will be represented by as many delegates as can manage to come. Those arranging for the group plan a tentative programme which will be modified by the expressed interests of the group when assembled.

The discussion method is used. The first question may be, 'What is proving to be the greatest difficulty or hindrance to the success of the various projects we are furthering in our villages?' Discussion may bring out the feeling of the group that it is community cleavages and the difficulty of getting members of the various caste groups all to enter into and work together on these reforms. It may be decided to give several hour-periods to the subject of 'How to bring the whole community to act as one for the common good'. This, then, will take a prominent place in the two days' programme, along with other subjects previously decided upon. On Sunday there is opportunity for worship. The two days' programme has been so shaped that the religious aspects and bearings of the subjects decided upon are considered on Sunday.

The Week-end Study Groups have proved socially strengthening in emphasizing to leaders in one village that leaders in the other villages are working with them on similar problems—really on a great common problem

of the whole rural area. They have proved valuable educationally and have increased the ability of the honorary leaders. They are a definite part of the all-important scheme of following up those men who have had instruction in our summer schools or other training sessions.

Special Courses. Such courses of lessons as I describe in the chapter on 'How We Teach Rural Vocations' are taken to the villagers and taught wherever most convenient. My twelve lessons in bee-keeping are best taught to the bee-keepers right under their own bee trees.

Specialized Schools. We have found short schools specializing in a particular subject very successful where students cannot remain together more than a week. It is a mistake to take up several subjects in this short time. Such subjects as Playground Games and Drill, Health and Sanitation, Cottage Industries, Boys' Work—each may be the subject for such a specialized school.

Our Travancore and Cochin School for Workers with Boys held during the Christmas holidays brought together a group of twenty-five excellent men from various parts of these States. The invitation was limited to men especially interested in boys—actual workers with boy—so we got a group of picked men capable of profiting much in a short time from such instruction. It was remarkable how well we could handle the one subject in that time. The most up-to-date methods were taught, in which the leaders does not as of old do the work, but the boys discuss plans and work their own programmes with the leader as an interested and participating advisor. The instruction dealt with the psychology of the group and of the boy. Here again groups of boys were used in demonstration of method. The patrols of the school went out among the bye-ways and hedges

and brought in some of the most pitiably poor boys. In giving these boys some of the joys of Christmas, the students themselves learned something of what they could do with similar groups in their own villages. This specialized school was one of the most successful we have had.

Summer and Folk Schools. To one who believes in the value of systematic study, all of the above features, while very valuable, seemed thoroughly inadequate for the training of our village honorary leaders working in the face of huge and baffling problems.

Early in 1926 we began making preparation for a new experiment. Choosing April, one of the hottest and driest months of the year—when the schools would be closed and teachers and students could attend—we planned a Summer School which would give instruction for about two weeks to village leaders of the nearly one hundred associations in Travancore and Cochin and any others who wished to attend.

The town of Quilon, centrally situated for those who would come by boat, bus or train from north or south, was chosen. The school was held in loaned quarters. Evening sessions were held out-of-doors on the sea-shore where the heat was less intense. The school was put on a self-supporting basis and each student had to pay for his food and the cost of travel. This made attendance difficult for honorary secretaries and leaders of the villages, and, of course, prevented some from attending. Others were prevented by not knowing the language of the school. But about forty young men made whatever sacrifice was necessary.

Nine instructors were secured from various parts of India. The courses given were: Association History and Methods of Religious Work; Modern Indian Bio-



PRACTICAL STUDY AT THE TRAINING SCHOOL

Students transferring bees from old pot to modern hive

graphies ; Educational Methods (including the drama, pictures, charts, lantern slides, and surveys) ; the Co-operative Method ; Mechanics and Methods of YMCA Work ; Bee-keeping ; Poultry Husbandry ; Physical Education (including health) ; Social Service ; Citizenship ; Christian Ethics.

The practice part of the course in Physical Education was given on the play courts or on the beach between the afternoon and the evening sessions. A village variety entertainment was performed by the students of the school on the last night. The students had a good time at this school and the atmosphere of industriousness was very gratifying. The school programme was more intense than students could have carried out for a longer period. The programme began in the morning at 5-45 and carried on until 8-15 at night. Attendance at all sessions and passing the examination were made requirements for the certificate given at the end of the course. There is no doubt that these students accomplished as much in two weeks as students ordinarily do in two months.

There was the language difficulty. In India, 222 languages are reported by the census. In Travancore and Cochin we have two main vernacular languages, Malayalam and Tamil. It was decided that for a general school of the two States, English would be the best-known single language. For a short school the use of more than one language and interpretation would take too much time. When this was announced, most appealing letters came in from those who knew one of the vernaculars only, requesting that we put in at least some vernacular courses. These requests had to be refused with the promise that schools in the vernaculars would be held later. So eager were the applicants that some

came anyway, even if they did not know the language. They sat in the school, joined in the games and picked up what they could.

Just a year later, we held a similar school at Martandam, in South Travancore, using mainly the prevailing language of the area, Tamil. About sixty young village leaders took the courses. In addition to the courses covered at the Quilon School as given above, there were courses in Music for the Village, Rural Sanitation, Boys' Work and Scouting, Spinning and Weaving. Every student learned to prepare the cotton and to spin.

How financially poor are many of the honorary leaders who do such splendid unpaid service in the villages can be well illustrated by the fact that even though the price of food was kept down to 8 annas a day (8 pence, 16 cents) some of the students simply could not pay it. They went without food all day and walked back to their villages as much as five miles away, at night after the night session, to partake of the scanty family meal. This meant ten miles of walking each day.

The English and Tamil Schools left the demand of the Malayalee leaders still unsatisfied. So the following year a school was conducted with Malayalam as the medium of instruction. It was held in Central Travancore in the heart of the Malayalam language area.

Bearing out how truly rural this work is and how closely it is related to farming operations, the one drawback about the Malayalam school was the attendance. Twenty-five of the men who had written to say that they would be present were detained from coming. This was due chiefly to the fact that showers which usually come early in May came this year about the middle of April. This meant that certain ploughing and planting had to be taken in hand immediately or the year's crop would

be lost ; and consequently many of the farmers from the villages who were to have been with us were prevented from coming. In 1929 about eighty village leaders attended our Tamil school at Martandam and in 1930 we held the school in the centre of the Malayalam area at Tiruvalla.

Experience has taught us that the language difficulty is not so great. Translation, if it takes longer, gives more time to think. So since Rural Reconstruction in all its comprehensiveness has become the dominant interest of the learners it was decided to hold all future summer schools at Martandam where we have the programme in action to study. The 1931 school was merged into the last two weeks of the newer Practical Training School in Rural Reconstruction.

This 1931 school of eighty to ninety students and staff was a bit unwieldy, especially when every attempt was made to make it a practical demonstration school. The patrol system did not work so well, and after the smooth running of the school with the smaller groups of students, we were not so happy about the order of things. We then limited the numbers, and the quota of fifty set for 1932 was nearly filled by applications received before any announcement of that year's school was sent out. The students of the longer training course finish and go away after the big central exhibition and after being a few days with the summer school students.

The larger 1931 school was, however, an impressive and inspiring one partly because of the large numbers of splendidly keen students. We had arranged for one physical director from the staff of the National College of Physical Education in Madras. He saw at once that, while he could lead this school in the morning setting up

drill exercises, he could not handle such a large group in the teaching of playground games between the classes and in the evening games hour. We were then fortunate in being able to arrange for a total of three physical directors, adding those from the College of Arts and the College of Science in Trivandrum.

As an educational feature it is arranged to have the Annual Rural Service Exhibition held at the Centre during the School. The students, therefore, not only have a chance to see what can be done in these features of rural reconstruction, but they are assigned according to a very definite and exacting questionaire to study the exhibition in all its departments, and to duties in connexion with setting up and carrying on the exhibition. As it is such a large body, we cannot move it to different villages as readily as we do the smaller group of the Training School, but we do take this class out to show them the villagers at work and play in such activities as transferring bees to modern hives, extracting honey, keeping poultry, instituting bore-hole latrines to improve village sanitation and health, leading the children in character-building games, and enacting rural dramas written and produced entirely in the village.

As I write there comes the latest evidence of the love these unpaid workers have for their work. The honorary secretary of Paranium Village Association, sixteen miles away, comes to try to collect more money for the little association's 'lighthouse' building they are working on so hard to be able to house their library and be the headquarters of their service. He is just up from smallpox. He gets only Rs. 15 ($5, £1) a month as a village teacher, yet he has given Rs. 100—more than half a

year's salary—as his contribution towards the building; and it was on one of his many trips into Trivandrum in its interest that he contracted small-pox during the epidemic there. He was the first case in the village, and his young wife caught it from him. He has come out as soon as he is able (I think too soon), and at once is away down here in the interest of his honorary service. I marvel at the keenness and the actual love these unpaid leaders have for their work. I can hardly understand it. The true work of the professional, full-time leader is in reality very largely the training of such lay brothers who, without pay, are so keen to do what they can.

If the test of the employed leader is how soon he will make himself unnecessary, how soon, then, will his 'expert counsel' train enough lay leaders to do within the group what is needed? The honorary village leader is the first to answer 'Never!'. And probably it is true that any local group, no matter how far developed, can be benefited by some 'expert counsel' and expert information coming from outside. This is the law of co-operation.

'The villager,' says Sir Malcolm Hailey, 'has the keen instincts of a man who lives very close to nature; he will not be persuaded by those whom he has not learnt to trust, charm they never so wisely, and he will not trust those who do not seem prepared to put aside all other claims and considerations, in order to live with him, to learn his troubles, and to support him through them.' this is true; and the villager longs for the strengthening of just that kind of companion whom he can trust, who will study his problems with him, whatever sacrifice it may require, and be a brother toiler with him up from poverty of so many kinds.

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