INTRODUCTION

1. Reasons for the theme

To turn decrees of the administrative reform into the provisions of village convention, the colonial administration issued a general form of village convention and forced the villages to perform. But the conventions drafted under the general form of colonial administration with the spirit of the administrative reform would be called reformed conventions. The convention was edited at that time, according to the request of the colonial administration it brought the reformist spirit of fragrance and was widely known as the reformist convention.

Nowadays, some concrete researches on the convention of Bac Ninh appear but they don`t reflect pilot main flavor reformist policy fully in the characteristic of form, village life in Bac Ninh in politic, economic, cultural, social aspects through these conventions. The published works don`t give the positive and negative aspects of the reformed convention of Bac Ninh, achieving and not achieving results of main flavor reformist. Therefore, reformed convention of Bac Ninh needs fully studying to clarify these issues.

For reformed conventions in Bac Ninh province (1921-1944), although it was built on models promulgated by the French colonialists and was the tool to implement their colonial objectives but this convention still contained special aspects and positive, progressive contents which are necessary for the process of building new rural areas today. Therefore, an exhaustive study with the theme of Bac Ninh reformed village conventions (1921-1944) will have certain significance:

Scientific significance:

Firstly, research on reformed convention of province Bac Ninh will importantly contribute to clarifying political, economic, social, cultural, custom activities of village Bac Ninh during a period of main reformist flavor and help us understand life of village Bac Ninh deeply, fully before 1945.

Secondly, research on theme will clarify positive and negative values of this text. On basis of this, we assess achieved results and failed results of main reformist flavor objectively,fully through this document

Practical significance:

Firstly, experiential lessons which are drawn from studying reformed convention of province Bac Ninh will usefully serve building of new convention in particular and building and new rural development of today in general

Secondly, research on theme will contribute to clarifying a historical period of Bac Ninh- History of Bac Ninh during modern history. Therefore, the successful research on project will be additional resources for learning, teaching and studying Vietnamese modern history in schools, colleges and universities

With the above-mentioned significance, I decided to choose the theme "*Reformed village conventions in Bac Ninh province (1921 - 1944)*" to continue the study.

2. Subjects, scopes, objectives and tasks of the research

2.1. Research on subjects.

The research's subjects are reformed village conventions in Bac Ninh which are established when the French colonialists conducted the administrative reform (1921-1944)

2.2. Scope of the research

2.2.1.On the space

The dissertation limits the research scope in Bac Ninh province, at that time included 2

capital districts and 8 districts: Tu Son, Thuan Thanh Capital District and Gia Lam, Van Giang, Gia Binh, Luong Tai, Que Duong, Vo Giang, Tien Du, Yen Phong District.

2.2.2. On the time

The dissertation focuses on the reformed conventions of Bac Ninh Province established from 1921 to 1944.

2.3. Research Objectives

Objectives of the research is studying on contents of reformed conventions of Bac Ninh Province (1921-1944) including two parts: Politics and Customs. On that basis, to make serveral remarks on the Bac Ninh reformed conventions, to evaluate results of that administrative reform via reformed conventions

Identify process from pilot reformist flavor to main reformist flavor in Tonkin, the introduction of reformed convention, from pilot reformist flavor to reformed convention in Bac Ninh

The research on the political, economic, social, cultural situation in villages Bac Ninh is shown through the content of reformed convention

Recognize the value of reformed convention in province Bac Ninh and the effect of policy main reformist flavor here will be shown through this source of document

2.4. Research tasks.

The thesis will focus on explain the following scientific problems:

- Analyse causes which France carried out pilot reformist flavor in Tonkin. It is a reason which France chose Bac Ninh to cary out pilot reformist flavor. Research on Bac Ninh convention from the early twentieth century to 1920 to clarify the policy pilot reformist flavor of France in Bac Ninh
- Overview the policy main reformist flavor in Tonkin of France colonial through 3 periods, appearance of reformed convention in general
- Research on formal characteristic of 141copies reformed convention Bac Ninh contributes to the assessment of the effective policy main reformist flavor in Bac Ninh
- The information which reflected in convention outlined the basics of life in village Bac Ninh before 1945. Through this, the value of reformed convention Bac Ninh and the effect of carrying out main reformist flavor are assessed

3. Resources, research methods.

3.1. Resources:

The thesis's scientific issues is solved by developing and processing from many different sources: All written reformed conventions and some village regulations in Nom words (prepared before 1921) of Bac Ninh province. Besides the Decrees, Edicts issued in the administrative reform, achived documents at the librarys, the national archives center, published research works with contents related to dissertation.

3.2. Research methods

To carry out thesis well, the author combines the use of different methods such as historical descriptive, historical, logical, and comparison methods to systematically research the reformed convention of Bac Ninh; historical and critical methods for the reformed conventions of Bac Ninh; statistical, collecting methods, and the method of analysis process to clarify the value of form and content of conventions.

4. Contribution of the Dissertation.

On the basis of solving the tasks set up, the dissertation has contributions as follows:

Reconstruct process from main reformist flavor of Tonkin to reformed convention in Bac Ninh province. Give ideas of causes which France carried out pilot reformist flavor in Bac Ninh. Assess policy pilot reformist flavor of France in Bac Ninh

Outlining the appearance of organizing society, political, economic, social, cultural and custom activities of village Bac Ninh influences on policy main reformist flavor

The result of researching shows positive and negative aspects of reformed convention Bac Ninh and the effect of main reformist flavor is here. Contribution to scientific basis in building and carrying out convention currently

5. Structure of the dissertation

In addition to the *Introduction, Conclusion, References and Appendix*, the dissertation is divided into four chapters, namely:

Chapter 1: Overview of research situation

Chapter 2: From pilot administrative reform to Bac Ninh reformed village convention

Chapter 3: The political, economic, cultural, social lives of village in Bac Ninh through reformed convention

Chapter 4: Some problems are drawn from studying reformed convention of province Bac Ninh

CONTENT

Chapter 1:
OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH SITUATION

1.1. Researchs on village conventions

In studying works of convention, the author divides into the following research:

Firstly, a group of works researches on general problems of ancient convention of Northern village. Some typical researchs such as: Vu Duy Men and Bui Xuan Dinh. *Village conventions, village engagement in village community*. Vu Duy Men, *Antique Village Convention in Northern Delta Zone, etc.*

Secondly, a group of works researches problem which is reflected in convention and convention through area such as Chu Hong Lam. *Village custom of provines Bac Ninh Viet Nam in the early twentieth century*. Vu Duy Men. *Convention with managing land in Northern villages*

Thirdly, a group of works researches on comparing ancient convention of Northern village in relationship with village law Kanto of Japan and convention Korea such as Vu Duy Men. *Convention in Northern village* and *Village law Kanto of Japan*. Pham Thuy Linh. Research on comparing text of convention in letter Han of Korea and Viet Nam.

Fourthly, a group of works researches on ancient convention in relationship with national law such as Bui Xuan Dinh. *Village rules allow country*, Diep Dinh Hoa. *Village rules and their influence on modern law*

Fifthly, a group of works researches on role of convention in managing village and building new convention currently such as Bui Xuan Dinh. *Convention and management village* or theme of convention: Scentific workshop proceedings of convention was held in Hai Hung from 26/12/1995 to 27/12/1995 of Institute of Legal Science

With many aspects, different opinion, the works which as are stated above will provide the author with various look about convention, its value and role in history

In addition, it must take account of works with collecting, introducing, interpreting the

conventions, mostly gathered on the scope of each province as: *Ha Tay antique conventions, Nghe An conventions, the traditional custom of Vietnamese village, etc*. These works mainly focus on the introduction of the ancient writen village regulations, the written tradition of all provinces in the country which is still archived, give the author a deeper awareness of Vietnamese traditional villages.

1.2. Works researches on reformed conventions

The author divides studying works about reformed convention into groups of the following research:

Firstly, a group of studying works about period of pilot reformist flavor such as Dao Phuong Chi. *Intially Studying pilot administrative reform in Northenr Region through a number of written regulations in Nom words*, or Tinh Ha Dong – a first place which uses policy main reformist flavor of France owns Nguyen Thi Le Ha

Secondly, a group of general studying works about reformed convention such Phan Dai Doan and Bui Xuan Dinh. *Three stage of development of village convention*. Nghiem Van Thai. *Vietnamese village conventions in the Modern* Period

Thirdly, a group of studying works about reformed convention through area such as Cao Van Bien. *Storehouse of reformed administrative village conventions in Northern Region*; Pham Xuan Nam and Cao Van Bien. Some *characteristics of Bac Ninh village situation in the period 1921-1945 via convention*… Over last 10 years, there had been many PhD thesis , MSc thesis taking reformed village conventions to do research on many different levels and have been successfully defended.

1.3. Commnents are drawn from previous studying works and ways of researching

In many different ways of research, the works above have solved a number of the following issues: Research about ancient and new village convention on the many different aspects. As for the reformed village convention, the works primarily researches on process of pilot administration reform, general characteristics of the reformed village convention or specific researches on reformed village convention of several localities. However, up to now, there is not any works that research systematically and fully on reformed village convention of a province in general and Bac Ninh province in particular, or the research of the value of reformed convention, the attitude of villages and the effect of policy main reformist flavor.

Thesis inherits the result of research on ancient convention and reformed convention. This helps the author understand main reformist flavor deeper, have full look when the author researches social life of village Bac Ninh, value of this convention as effect of policy main reformist flavor

Thesis solves following scientific problems:

It clarifies policy pilot reformist flavor in Tonkin, causes which France carried out main reformist flavor in Bac Ninh, plots of France in main reformist flavor, appearance of reformed convention, carry out pilot reformist flavor in Bac Ninh

Analysing political, economic, social, cultural, custom situation of Bac Ninh through content of reformed convention

Assess the value of reformed convention Bac Ninh objectively, the effect of carrying out main reformist flavor of France through this text.

Minor conclusion of Chapter 1: In the recent years, there are many works that research on the reformed village convention of the localities in the North Delta. The research of reformed village convention attracts the attention of many young researchers and is divided into two main trends: Research on the pilot administrative reform through Han-Nom documents and research on the reformed village convention of a locality or a certain issue of the village through the reformed village convention. From the basis of research works, the issue of reformed village convention in general and Bac Ninh reformed village convention has been the theme that requires further research, particularly in the period of globalization today.

The concrete case is the reformed convention of Bac Ninh, thesis also contributes to fuller awareness of pilot main flavor reformist policy in Bac Ky, value of reformed convention and main flavor reformist policy of France.

Chapter 2:
FROM PILOT ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM TO BAC NINH REFORMED VILLAGE CONVENTION

2.1. Viet Nam historical background in the early twentieth century

After basically completing pacification of Viet Nam by military, France colonist immediately started exploiting with Indochina primarily Viet Nam. To exploit the Vietnamese people thoroughly, colonial government introduced our country to production method of capitalist but still abused feudal production relation. It included rural organization having special important role. However, after the First World War, France colonist carried out some reforms to deal with dificulties which could occur. These reforms made the economy, society of Viet Nam change well. Besides, they created essential inside conditions for new national movement, influenced on the rule policy of France in this period

2.2. Pilot administrative reform in Bac Ninh and North America

2.2.1. The cause that France conducted a pilot administrative reform in North America

To the early twentieth century, before the changes of world and domestic situation, the French colonialists more and more visibled ambition of strict control of ruling government from centre to locality with grassroots level as villages. Therefore, the French colonialists forced to carry out reforming again the traditional village organization. The reform of traditional village management apparatus, was called as *administrative reform*. However, the reform of village management apparatus existing sustainably for many centuries is not simple . So the French colonialists made the administrative reform policy in Cochinchine in 1904 and the pilot administrative reform in some localities of Red river delta, for surveying people's reaction and drawing experience before official conducting, performed the administrative reform policy simultaneously across Tonkin in 1921.

2.2.2. Pilot administrative reform in Bac Ninh

2.2.2.1. The cause that France selected Bac Ninh as a pilot place of the administrative reform

Until now, there are also plenty of research works mentioning this pilot phase. Accordingly, Bac Ninh is one of 4 or 5 provinces in Tonkin that has been chosen as a pilot place of the administrative reform because of the following reasons.

Firstly, Bac Ninh had an important strategic position. Therefore it might acquire and implement state policy sooner than elsewhere, on the other hand because it is very close to Hanoi, the French colonialists was also easy to manage and control their implementation. *Secondly*, for politic - society, Bac Ninh had many conditions for quickly approach to the country's political and social situation. On the other hand, the scale of village in Bac Ninh was small. Therefore, the implementation of pilot administrative reform policy would be much more favorable conditions. *Thirdly*, for economy, Bac Ninh had various abilities on economic activities, it had contact exchange with other regions and the whole country from very early. This exchange would more or less affect the local resident's lifestyle, thought, perception. *Fourthly*, in terms of history and culture. The villages in Bac Ninh is one of the typical villages of the North Delta with a thickness of tradition, history, culture, relative level of awareness. It would be the basis that the French colonialists drew experiences for conducting administrative reform across Tonkin.

2.2.2.2. Overview of reformed convention of Bac Ninh to 1920

**** Ancient convention (before the 20th century)***

Because of favourable conditions, Bac Ninh has many conventions, fixed-priced contract appearing very early. Some typical works such as regulation text in the 15th century carved on stele “Tran Tan tu le”; the block on stone stele “Dieu le ban giap thach ky” (1773) or “Tam Bao thi bi ky”. The text was carved by stone “Tao lap ban xa trao do tu bi” (1817) . In Trang Liet in the late of 19th century texts “Thap toc tan uoc” (1880); “Khoan le thon Tran xa Nghi Ve” were repaired in 1899,….

These texts extremely varied in content and form. Names depended on notes of each village, so they were different such as Tu le, Dieu le, Tan uoc, Khoan le… In content, depending on particular feature of each locality, the villages of Bac Ninh often write particular conventions about a certain problem of village life such as spiritual life assurance, protection of village security, regulation of using piers, markets, regulation relating to officials in village, social relations,….

****The convention of Bac Ninh from the early 19th to 1920***

Currently, the Library of Institute of Social Sciences Information has 36 village conventions and the Research Institute of Han-Nom has 17 conventions of custom and regulation in Han script, and Demotic script of Bac Ninh with creating time from the early twentieth century to 1920. These conventions are mainly written in the years 1906-1907 to 1920, with 48 conventions (90.06%). Especially the 2 years from 1906 to 1907 had the highest convention quality with 42 conventions (79.02%). Thus, the pilot administrative reform in Bac Ninh probably took place around the year 1906-1907. However, this policy was implemented in a centralized way mainly in the villages belonging to Tu Son capital district, Tien Du District, Vo Giang district and a few in Thuan Thanh. This result showed that the pilot administrative reform policy of the French was not done in all villages of Bac

Ninh, but only done in several representative capital districts and district .

The author conducted to survey the specific content of some conventions of Bac Ninh: *Regulation of Tu Ne commune, Chi Ne canton, Tien Du district* established on 12th August Thanh Thai 19 (1907) *and province Bac Ninh capital district Thuan Thanh popular custom commune De Kieu (1921-1913).* Fee of 5 villages and 3 districts in Noi Vien, in district Tien Du, Tu Son, convention of village Nguyen, Cam Giang, Tam Son and convention of village Da Hoi, Yen Thuong, Tu Son. Research on content of these village conventions showed that they were established for implementing requirements of the superior authority: "All right summons of superior authority" and had a lot of contents reformed. Especially, convention of village Nguyen, Cam Giang, Tam Son and convention of village Da Hoi, Yen Thuong, Tu Son quite have the same structure and content, the reformed section about establishing council and receipts and expenses register according to regulation of colonial government.

These conventions inherited various contents of ancient convention. However, they reflected contents, embraced more many problems of village life before. They consisted of the following contents: vote regulation, right, task of Ly assistant chief; management regulation of budget, land of village; regulation of implementing duty with nation such as taxes and fees, soldiers,…; regulation of protecting village order, defence; regulation of litigation, welcome officials; regulation of celebration, wedding, funeral ceremony, sacrifice and prayer

2.3. An overview of administrative reform policy in Tonkin and the introduction of the reformed village convention.

2.3.1. An overview of administrative reform policy in Tonkin

2.3.1.1. The administrative reform in Tonkin in 1921

The administrative reform in Tonkin was made by the Decree No.1949 of Tonkin Resident Superior Mongghio dated 12/08/1921. The crux of Decree 1921 was with the aim of dissolving Council of Notables that had managed villages for many centuries and replacing by a Council of Lineage Representatives (or Hamlet Representatives)While enhancing role of village mayor with the specific standards.

In order to overcome corruption in the old village officials apparatus, the Tonkin Resident Superior also issued the document No.1950 on the same day on "Establishing book on estimating revenue and expenditure of the villages in Tonkin Annam". The establishing book of revenue and expenditure was applied to all communes from 500 village inhabitants and having paid taxes from 2,000 dong and more.

2.3.1.2. The administrative reform in Tonkin in 1927

Until the year 1927, The Tonkin Resident issued Decree for resetting the Council of Notables next to the Council of Lineage Representatives as an advisory and supervisory village administrator apparatus. Duties and functions of the Council of Lineage Representatives this time is basically same with the Decree 1921. The basic diferent point is that each term of office was extended from 3 years into 6 years and the criteria to participate in the Lineage Representatives also broadened. The French colonialists also launched a number of provisions on the Council of Notables, added position of Village land registrar and Village registrar for more strictly managing on personnel issues and land of the village. Documents in 1927 extended object of villages that shall establish budget not only based on the number of inhabitant (500 village inhabitants) but also based on the collection level of commune budget (VND 500 dong and more) ....

2.3.1.3. The administrative reform in Tonkin in 1941

Under suggest of theTonkin Resident Superiorm, on 29/5/1941, Bao Dai issued edict No.31 with 50 terms for organizing the organization and management of village's activities. Accordingly, the Council of Lineage Representatives was dissolved, the Council of Notables was strengthened to become the executing agency all acvtivities of the village, led by first notable and second notable. The Council of Notables included all village inhabitants in the commune from 21 years old and older with standards as 1927 but extended officialdoms, modern education departments and in-service official people joining the military forces of both Cochinchina and the colonial administration.

Therefore, the basic content of three administrative reforms in Tonkin during 20 years is reorganizing the village government apparatus, turning it into an effective tool of colonial domination and exploitation policy of the French colonists.

2.3.2. The production of reformed village convention.

Through ruling time, the French colonialists understood deeply that the village convention had an important role in village life, thus when conducting the administrative reform, the French colonialists took advantage of village management tradition of Vietnamese people through the village conventions, by turning the terms of the administrative reform decree into the village convention's terms. Therefore, the French colonialists researched and published a general pattern of the village conventions for obligating the villages to perform. Since 1921, the village convention of all villages in Tonkin must be under the general pattern, as required by the colonial administration and under spirit of the administrative reform and called as *reformed village convention.*

Broadly speaking, the reformed village conventions with the same structure were divided into two parts: sample village convention in 1921 called as "*Charter of General Department*", while the village convention check sample 1927 later called as *Politics Section....* The second section on the village's particular custom called as *Custom Section.*

2.4. *Reformed village convention of Bac Ninh province*

2.4.1. Distribution and number of page

Currently, the Institute of Social Sciences Information keeps 141 village conventions of Bac Ninh established in the period from 1921 to 1944. However, the distribution of these village conventions in the districts and capital districts in the province is uneven. With 141 village conventions in a total of 599 communes, the number of villages of the province having the village conventions accounts for 23.5%. This number along with the uneven distribution of village conventions among districts and capital districts of Bac Ninh province showed that the administrative reform policy was made only in a few villages of Bac Ninh.

For number of pages, the Bac Ninh province reformed village convention has 141 village conventions with a total of 3225 pages, the average pages of each village conventions is 22.87 pages. But the pages of each village convention has a quite large difference. Over the process of research, the author listed as follows:

STATISTICAL TABLE ON NUMBER OF PAGE, NUMBER OF VILLAGE CONVENTION AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF EACH VILLAGE CONVENTION IN DISTRICTS OF BAC NINH PROVINCE

NO	District	Number of page	Number of village convention	Average number of each village convention
1	Tu Son	754	27	27,9
2	Yen Phong	653	28	23,3
3	Van Giang	639	22	29
4	Que Duong	344	11	31,2
5	Gia Binh	314	33	9,5
6	Thuan Thanh	258	11	23,4
7	Tien Du	184	6	30,6
8	Gia Lam	55	1	55
9	Vo Giang	24	2	12
Total		**3225**	**141**	**22,87**

STATISTICAL TABLE ON PAGE NUMBER OF VILLAGE CONVENTION IN DISTRICTS OF BAC NINH PROVINCE

From page… ….to page…..	Gia Binh District	Gia Lam District	Que Duong District	Tien Du District	Thuan Thanh District	Tu Son District	Van Giang District	Vo Giang Disctrict	Yen Phong District	Total
1….5	24				3				4	***31***
6…..10	2		3		1	5	2		5	***18***
11…..15	1			1		2	2	2	2	***10***
16…..20	1				1	1	2		2	***7***
21…25		1		1	1	4	3		5	***15***
26…30			1			2	4		1	***8***
31…35	1			2	2	5	2		1	***13***
36…40			2	1	1	5	3		3	***15***
41….45	2		2		1	1	1		2	***9***
46…..50	1		3	1	1		1			***7***
51…55	1					1	2		3	***7***
65…..70						1				***1***
Total	***33***	***1***	***11***	***6***	***11***	***27***	***22***	***2***	***28***	**141**

Results from the second table on page number of village convention in districts of Province shows that not any village in Bac Ninh also drafts reformed village convention completely according to the form provided by colonial administration and, the implementation of administrative reform policies is different from villages.

2.4.2. The form of reformed convention of province Bac Ninh

2.4.2.1. Material for establishing text: All reformed village conventions of Bac Ninh province are represented on the student paper, brown and stapled into book. Inside, most of the first sheets are named village, commune, district and province. There are 16 villages writing year of establishment on cover of the village convention.

2.4.2.2. Letter: In total 141 copies of village convention of Bac Ninh province, there are 4 typewritten copies, 4 typo printing copies and 133 handwritten copies by student pen in blue-black, purple, green and black color, the information and contents in the village conventions are almost handwritten or printed and typewritten by Vietnamese script. Some copies appear little French letter and Han Nom letter which are mainly used at the beginning or ending page to write some information of time, place, name of dignitaries taking part in writing convention. This shows that people participating in writing convention are very various including former and new learners.

2.4.2.3. *Date*: Bac Ninh Province has 96/141 village conventions with the year of establishment, accountting for 68.1%, the village conventions without the year of establishment account for quite a lot with 45 copies, 31.9%. The surveys of 96 copies with the year of establishment shows that the village conventions of Bac Ninh was established in 3 stages of administrative reform: Stage 1: 3 copies; Stage 2: 17 copies; Stage 3: 76 copies. Thus, reformed village conventions in Bac Ninh mainly are established in stage 3 with 76 copies, accounting for 53.9% (especially up to 40 copies in 1942).

2.4.2.4. The seal and signature:

Seal: There are 128 copies with seals of authorities in the village and 13 copies without seals. However, the number of seal in each village convention is not the same, some copies have one seal but some have 2, 3, even 4 seals. The most seal is of Notable and Mayor with 52 copies, accounting for 41.6% of the total copied with seals.

Signature: There are 9 copies without signature and 132 copies with signature, accounting for 93.6%. However, the number of signatures of each village convention is different. 22 copies is the least signature copies only with one signature of Notable or Mayor, 39 copies have 5 signatures and over, The most is 1 copy with 11 signatures, 2 copies with 10 signatures. Remaining 66 copies with from 2 to 4 signatures accounting for 64.8%.

2.4.3. Structure of text

Reformed convention Bac Ninh includes 2 main parts: Politics and Custom. In addition, there are 64 village conventions having extra parts: The purpose of establishing the village convention book.

The purpose part of establishing the village convention often occupies ½ number of page with primary content is to analyse, explain reason and significance of writing convention. In spite of following general form of France, its introduction is different through each phase of main reformist flavor. The purpose part of establishing the village convention is divided into 2 categories: *The first category* follows model structure ò colonial government with 53 copies (82.8%). *The second category* has 38 copies having preamble with personal nouns like "*I*", "*we*", even "*we*" (*as call with parents)*

- *Part of Politics and Custom*: For the copies with 2 separately parts of Politics and Custom can be divided into 2 categories: *The first category*, Structure of content of both parts is same and as prescribed by colonial administration (including 32 Provision and 91 articles (38 copies). *The second category*, Structure of content of both parts is not under the form structure, each village writes with different contents (32 copies). There are 41 copies not dividing Politics and Custom into 2 separately part but combine with each other. Evenly there are 23 copies merely listing the custom of the village. This difference indicates that each village has its own reaction to the administrative reform policy of French colonialists.

Minor conclusion of Chapter 2: Before officially conducting the administrative reform throughout the North Vietnam in 1921, The French Colonialists selected Bac Ninh as one of five provinces implementing the pilot reformed policy. Most of refomed village conventions of Bac Ninh also have general features on materials, letters, dates, structure of text, seals and signatures. Besides these general features, these village conventions also present its own features of each village, commune and district through the different from distribution, number of pages, date, structure of text, the number of seals and signatures. This difference shows that each village has a different reaction to the administrative reform policy of French colonialists.

Chapter 3:
THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, SOCIAL LIVES OF VILLAGE IN BAC NINH THROUGH REFORMED CONVENTION

3.1. Village management apparatus

The administrative apparatus in village of Bac Ninh (1921-1944) as well as many other villages in North Vietnam was also held under the Decrees, Edicts issued in 3 stages of administrative reform.

3.1.1. Village management apparatus from 12/8/1921 to pre - 25/12/1927.

With Decree in 1921, traditional apparatus of government in villages of Bac Ninh - Elder village notable Council was dissolved, the new apparatus of village government includes two parts: Family Head Council and the part of assuming a public function (additional Secretary and Treasurer). In spite of taking place in first spell of main flavor reformist, the village management apparatus of Bac Ninh have difference between 1921 and 1923,1924 about many contents. However, in this new apparatus of government, the French hold the decision-making powers.

3.1.2. Village management apparatus from 25/2/1927 to pre - 23/5/1941**.**

The management apparatus of Bac Ninh village from the beginning of 1927 until 1941 has completely changed compared to the period of 1921-1927. Besides the two parts are Family Head Council and the part of assuming a public function (additional Village land registrar and Village registrar), village management apparatus also had Elder village notable Council with some standards set by French. All three parts were put under the strict control of the French envoy.

3.1.3. Village management apparatus from 23/5/1941 to pre - 1945.

For Edict in 1941 on communal management organization in North Vietnam, management apparatus of Bac Ninh village has completely changed compared to the previous two stages: Family Head Council dissolved, the administrative apparatus in the hands of single organization is Elder village notable Council with the traditional elder village notable mechanism. However, some villages still existed both Family Head Council and Elder village notable Council as stage 2.

3.1.4. Salary and travelling expenses of going to work

Each village has different regulation of paying salary for officials. In form, almost villages pay salary by money. In spite of some villages such as Dai Bai, Huu Ai, Thac Qua, as an old rule, pay salary by land. But each village has different level of paying salary. About the object of being received salary, each village also has different regulation, some villages pay salary to all officials, some villages only pay salary to leader of village or vice-leader of village, or another position.

Convention also regulates about providing fee of going to work far. Primarily, villages regulate in 5km aren`t provided fee, outside 5km, villages are provided fee according to day. Some regulations which supply according to work have to go to district. However, each village has different level of paying salary

In addition to being paid salary, officials are rewarded

3.2. The budget of village

3.2.1. Account-book

The establishment of account-book in Bac Ninh villages also changed through each stage of administrative reform. All three village convention of Bac Ninh established in one stage are written specifically on account-book that regulated clearly the amount of expenses and implementation of account-book with quite many articles, from 14 to 17 articles. In the village conventions established in stage 2; stage 3 and some conventions without year of establishment, the villages provided the rules on setting a cash book briefly - only three articles and according to a common form regulated by the colonial government. In addition, there are also a lot of village conventions established in stage 3 and some conventions without year of establishment provided the rules on setting account-book briefly, no need the consent of the Envoy mandarin.

3.2.2. Taxes and fees

The village conventions established under the form structure most has similar contents including from 7 to 8 articles. The village conventions established on stage 1 specificially regulated on distributing taxes and fees but their contents was completely different from village conventions established in stage 2, 3 and conventions without year of establishment. However, village conventions also have two types of imperative tax, that is poll tax and land tax. Stage 1 provided that types of taxes must be equally distributed under state quotas, but Stage 2 and 3 provided that land faxes must not be equally distributed. Apart from two types of tax as above, most of the village conventions established under form structure had provisions on the taxation of housing, cattle, exterior farming, farm produce...

3.3. Public farmlands owned by the commune -village

In the stage 1, only the regulations on public farmlands owned by the commune-village were established by the method of declaration of farmlands of the village and their use purposes; however, in the stages 2 and 3, the colonial administration units forced the communes, villages to not only declare the quantity, use purpose but also divide them into many different types corresponding with different principles of use.

3.3.1. Public farmlands under equal division

According to the convention about the division of public farmlands, the area of public farmlands of the villages were unequal. Known as public farmlands under equal division, however, the number of farmlands were used for different purposes. The first purpose is to equally divide for the citizens who had to pay tax in the village at the age of 18-60 on the basis of 3 years/one time. The 2nd purpose was to worship and prepare ceremonies in the year, therefore, there was nothing to distribute to the citizens. In addition to two above-mentioned forms, a few villages, communes brought public farmlands for banquet competion, renting to serve for common expenditures and as a result, no public farmlands were distributed to the citizens who pay tax.

In addition to public farmlands, land for division, the villages, communes had some farmlands, land and ponds of public citizens. For farmlands, land and ponds of public citizens, most villages didn't distribute them; they brought them for auction or leasing to gain the money for public expenditures.

3.3.2. The division of public farmlands

Regarding on the quantity, like common division of public farmlands, the division of

public farmlands in the villages, communes was unequal. The village achieved tens of acres such as: That Giang village, Phú lương commune, Que Duong District gaining the most quantity of 74 mau (1 mau =3600m2), 5 sao (1 sao=360m2), 14 thuoc (1 thuoc= 24m2); etc. However, there was the village which didn't have any area of farmland such as Thien Xuyen Village, Phong Xa Commune, Yen Phong District:

Regarding on the purposes of use, the villages agreed to use the farmlands to prepare for annual sacrifice of the village but under different forms: *First*ly, the village will sell the farmlands to get expenditures for annual sacrifice. *Secondly*, the villages will assign these farmlands for individuals or organizations in charge of village's sacrifice for management

3.4. Problem of maintaining security and order

3.4.1. Defense

The village conventions (all 3 stages) agreed that the defense is to keep the life and common property of the villagers and the duty of all men in the village, except for persons working in office, going to school, dignitaries, competition-examinations, the disabled, the poor not need to patrol. The watch is entrusted to village watchman or head of the detachment of village armed peasants but the cutting of watch is specified by family heads and Village Mayor (in stage 1) and by Communal council (in stage 2 and 3). Both village conventions agreed that the defense is divided into two specific works, those are defense in the village and defense in the fields.

3.4.2. Emergency

The provisions related to the emergency stated in the conventions have basically the same contents. These conventions stipulated that when the villages had emergencies such as fire, robbery,dike rupture,etc, all persons in the village, except the old persons, had to participate in rescue. However, in the emergency, those who were injured or disabled, the villagers would provide allowance and awards based on levels, orders. However, the bonuses of each village were not the same.

3.4.3. Fraudulence

Fraudulence was primarily stipulated in village conventions established in 1921, village conventions based on general form and a number of conventions based on form structure. The names may differ over the years. However, the conventions stipulates that Head, deputy head of the commune's delegates need to regularly inspect the village to prohibit the fraudulently clandestines such as banning illegal wine, drugs, openning casino for gambling, keeping the thieft and gamblers,etc.

3.4.4. The protection of property of the village

The village conventions which were esablished in the 1st stage, primarily recorded the responsibilities of the citizens in the village, principles on the use of the property of the village. The village conventions which were established in stages 2 and 3 based on the form structure provided the same regulations. According to this, the public assets of village were mainly assets of religious or spiritual nature, including temples, pagodas, temples, etc. At the request of colonial government, the villages had to clearly state the list of the village's assets minh.For the village conventions were established in stages 2 and 3 with no record of year of establishment, no form structure, each village has a different way of record.

3.5. Residence and funeral registration

3.5.1. Residence

The Bac Ninh villages has launched many different criteria for those who are entitled to reside in the village. Also, occupants who want to be regarded as the villagers must prepare offerings and submit to the village a certain amount into public funds. When occupants having been agreed to join the village, he must also fulfill the obligations and responsibilities to the village as the internal others. Once joinning the village, the occupants who violate the conventions or has bad morals would be thrown out of the village. Despite of having to pay, prepare offerings to enter the village and must to perform all obligations and responsibility to the village but occupants still be discrimination in all aspects of economy, politics and spirit.

3.5.2. Funeral registration

Like the residence, each village has a specific custom on the funeral registration. Although each village has a charter but the conventions of Bac Ninh province agreed on administrative procedures: submiting to the Village Official. Then preparing a celemony to sacrifice to idols and submit land fees, grave costs to the village. The god ceremony and the amount is due to the village's stipulation. Bac Ninh villages divides funera registration by the type of rice-field where bury the remains. There are two types of fields to enter is public land (communal fields) and private land (individual fields). With this division there also are two groups of villages. *The first group* defined each field type corresponding to different payable amounts. *The second group* regulated that the applicant for public land and private land and must pay the same amount and make the same preparation. Some conventions divide according to the first burial type or final inhumation type, each type corresponds to a different amount of money

3.6. Problem relates to sanitation, environment, construction

3.6.1. Sanitation, environment

To keep the sanitation, the village conventions also launched seven prohibitions for villagers. Those who violated the above prohibitions would be fined by the village. The villages, communes also takes some measures to keep the village sanitation and health for everyone.

3.6.2. Construction

In addition, the conventions also provided regulations about the protection of agriculture, repair of roads and bridges. Each village had different rules, however, all agreed to assign a person or group of persons to look after the protection of agriculture, roads and bridges of the village.

3.7. Some other contents

3.7.1. Lawsuit

Among village conventions in the stage 1, only conventions established in 1921 had the regulations on the proceedings; For other village conventions, there were drafts basedon the form and two villages: Xuan Hoa, Bat Phi Commune, Vo Giang District and Que Tan, Que Tan commune, Vo Giang District (Not based on the form) had the regulations on the proceedings. All village conventions came to agreement that the proceedings of villages was divided into two tasks: the household (civil work) and criminal task (Business work). Village conventions in stage 1 and conventions of Que Tan Village (1942) stipulate that the Council has the right to reconcile both civil and business works; however, the village conventions based on the form structure clearly regulate that the Council of conventions just reconciles the household’s tasks.

3.7.2. Assignation of soldiers and servants

The conventions in 1st stage had no provisions about assigning soliders and servants. The conventions in the stages 2 and 3 based on form structure provided specific regulations on assigning soldiers and servants.

For assigning soldiers, all village conventions agreed that any time there was paper of calling soldiers, the Mayor needs to report to the village officials for council meeting. The village convnetions which were established under the form structure stipulated that the principle of soldier assignment was to base on the family name.However, some village conventions that didn't follow the prescribed form, soldier assignment was based on the number of members of a family.

For assigning persons on fatigue duty, in all conventions, there was agreement that when the official had the order of persons on fatigue duty or in the village, the works required to get janitors, the communal council based on the number of persons on fatigue duty in need of use to assign them according to family name.However, those who had titles, or worked in the office or soldiers on duty, achieved degree from France- Vietnam elementary school, persons exempted from fatigue duty, officials wouldn't have to do fatigue duty.

3.7.3. Ritual

The rituals or dealings of a village recorded in the conventions were basically the same. The conventions based on the form specifically stipulated about reception. However, whether they are based on general form or not, all agreed that when the leaders came, all the members of the Council and officials in the commune had to come to welcome them in the communal house in a polite way.

3.7.4. Education

All village conventions agreed that annually, when establishing the book of expenditure estimates, a certain amount would be provided to pay for village's teachers and allowances for poor students or students who gained great progress in learning. These conventions based on the form got additional provisions on the selection of teachers in village. Some village conventions stipulated that sending the children to go to school was an obligation of the parents, the school age was from 7 to 8 years old and penalties for families not sending their children to school.

3.8. Custom

Regarding on *Customs*, in 3 stages, the French colonists prescribed the subsections for communes, villages to self-declare the customs without any written forms as in the political part. Changes in cultural life, customs and beliefs of the villages, communes through village reforms were less obvious. It can be said that the customs expressed the specific culture characteristics of villages, communes in the most obvious manner.

3.8.1. Wedding

Regarding on the wedding, the village conventions stipulated the practice "payments on occasion of wedding" in two types: payments to paternal part and payments to maternal part. Each village had different regulations for each type of these payment; however, most of the regulations stated that the payments to maternal part were more than ones to paternal part. In addition to two these payments on occasion of wedding, some village conventions also mentioned about "payment to commune" or "payments to district". Through village conventions, it can be seen that in Bac Ninh, there were forms of payments on occasion of wedding as follows: *Firstly,*

pay by the method of cash payment to the funds of the village. *Secondly*, pay in kind for receiving the villagers. *Thirdly*, the villages required to pay both in cash and kind. Some village conventions also stipulated marriage age: 18 years old for boys and 16 for girls. The village conventions also prohibits , closing doors, throwing objects to stop the wedding.

3.8.2. Funeral ceremony

The village conventions show that, depending on the custom of each village, the funeral ceremony would be divided into different classes according to various standards and conditions. In Bac Ninh Province, there have been some methods to divide those funeral ceremonies which reflect the caste division as follows: Firstly, the funeral ceremonies was classified by the amount and the offering payable. Secondly, the ceremonies was classified by the guests that householder was approved to invite to perform the sacrifice. Thirdly, those ceremonies was categorized according to the different types of sacrifice. That division thus show the hierarchy characteristic. However, the community feature still exists in the villages, which is expressed in the form of funeral assistance. Some village conventions stipulate the number of coffin bearers depending on the 12-year cycles and regulations for a ban on eating during the funeral, and encourage to organize a simple, orderly and inexpensive funeral.

3.8.3. Honour Celebration

Many villages have allowed people who is celebrated to transfer to the form of payment into these villages' public funds. The payable amount which is much or little depends on the regulation of each village and different types of honour.

3.8.3.1. Longevity celebration.

Bac Ninh villages have following forms of longevity celebration: Firstly, celebrating the longevity by feasting all villagers a banquet. Secondly, the celebration will be performed by making a payment feasting people. Thirdly, celebrating by both paying the money and preparing a feast. Some village conventions also represent a "preferential treatment" for those who are in high ranks, classes or hold village officials or joined the army with not celebrating the longevity. According to the village regulations, people who performed the longevity will receive some benefits such as: being expemted from labour service, being appointed to manage feasts and attending village festivals all the year around. But if no celebration, there is no benefits.

3.8.3.2. Celebration of postion, laureate in formal examination

Through village conventions, it is easy to see that Bac Ninh villages have two ways of division on position and competition-examinations celebration as follows: Firstly, the village offer a common level of celebration for all subjects. Secondly, the villages divide into celebration levels according to position titles, mandarins' grades, qualifications. In addition, some conventions issue rules on position celebration for those who work after graduation and who was promoted must give a feast like ones having dignity or getting good grades.

3.8.4. Custom of selling village ranks, positions and respectful offer

3.8.4.1. Custom of selling village ranks

Under the provisions, for Bac Ninh villages, the selling of village ranks is mainly for obtaining funds to consume or provide public benefit for the village. However, there was not a common price for those postions, each village would regulate a different amount for each rank. Like those who hold high postions, mandarins' grades and graduates, purchasers have to give feasts or pay a celebration sum to villagers, so that the village recognize these ranks.

3.8.4.2. The position of communal house and respectful custom

With respect to communal postions of Bac Ninh villages, they was divided by following customs: Firstly, villages combine both “natural titles” and “mandarin titles” customs but divide these postions into various tops and classes or many different ranks, etc. Secondly, several villages classifies communal positions with both “natural titles” and “mandarin titles” customs but stipulate that those who passed formal examination will hold the highest position. Some divisions according to the “Natural titles” tradition, i.e. older people would be classified above younger ones

Corresponding to those positions, there was respectful offers. The elderly and dignitaries who desire good postions and offers must have a "passport" which is the honour celebration. The villages in Bac Ninh Province have rules dividing offers as follows: *Firstly*, the group which divides according to "royral title", in which the respectful offers will correspond with the mandarins' grades, dignitaries and academic distinctions etc. of receivers. *Secondly*, the group of village dividing according to the "natural title" custom in which the older people, the superior elderly of the village was offered the largest interest then presbyters and village authorities.

3.8.5. Custom of entering post-worship feast.

The Bac Ninh Village conventions although not record particularly on the process of entering post-worship feast, but through these conventions, some remarks can be drawned as follows: Firstly, the age of villagers who can enter the post-workship feast is various at each village. Second, for offerings to enter, each village also provides various regulations, some villages require betel and areca, but others require both money and areca, etc.

3.8.6. Offering sacrifices.

Like many other contents in the Custom section, each village has a different notes on the sacrifices. But generally, the conventions reflects some contents related to the sacrifices as follows: *First,* the funding for the village festival of the year, most of villages had spent some certain fields called "gods and buddha field" for the purpose of sacrifice. *Second*, the villages give various provisions in the festivals. In which, each festival will be holded by different subjects and implement methods. *Thirdly*, for the main celebrant and the sacrifice’s provisions, only people in class " former laureate and dignitaries or veteran” can become the main celebrant. *Fourth*, the number, name, date of holding the annual festival between the villages are also very different. The festival in the village was performed quite plenteously, each village has various festival, records, regulations, these facts creat diversity in religious activities.

Minor conclusion of Chapter 3: The content of Bac Ninh reformed village conventions (1921-1945) essentially includes Politics and Customs. The Political Section represents most specifically the transformation in politics, economy of villages through each stage of administrative reform. This variation is most clearly represented through the village management apparatus and budget problems of the village. For other contents, the changes are mainly reflected in method of recording, structure and contents of the provisions. In Customs section, each village has regulations, records with different rules in form, purpose, quantity, etc. which express cultural characteristics of each village. But the change in each phase of administrative reform is not so much. In Bac Ninh Province also has a large number of conventions with unstructured content like provisions of the colonial government. This makes all activities of the Bac Ninh village is represented more completely and comprehensively through the reformed conventions.

Chapter 4
SOME PROBLEMS ARE DRAWN FROM STUDYING REFORMED CONVENTION OF PROVINCE BAC NINH

4.1. Positive and negative aspect of reformed convention of province Bac Ninh

4.1.1. Positive aspect.

4.1.1.1. Democracy

Admittedly, the Bac Ninh reformed village conventions has some advance provisions with democracy property compared to autocratic feudalism. The democratic, advanced property is presented firstly in election mechanism of the Council of Lineage Representatives, the working regulations of the Council, the publicity and transparency in managing budget and assets of the village and about education.

4.1.1.2. Education

In the village conventions has many provisions that educate people about awareness and responsibility for maintaining hygiene, protecting environment, protecting health and protecting public assets. The provisions of the village conventions about the protection have a major impact on people's awareness on responsibility in protecting village public order and security and community spirit. The provisions about customs and morals, ethics of village convention educate people to implement lifestyle that is proper with morality and regulations of the state, encourage noble work for the village.

4.1.1.3. **The limit of unsound customs**

The provisions of conventions restricted unsound customs such as eating and drinking, economical practice in meetings and customs of the village. The conventions were written by the sample structure stipulating: When finishing the meeting must disperse immediately, strictly forbidden to long stay for opening entertainment with wine, or when meeting to discuss on assessing taxes, use only water but not holding any banquets. In addition, the village conventions also restrict extravagant eating and some serious, costly customs in wedding, funeral occasions or feasting a nomination/a promotion replaced by “the payments on occasion of wedding" into the village's public funds, encourage to organize in a simple, less costly manner.

4.1.2. Negative aspect

4.1.2.1. Pattern property, serving political motive - State-Protection

The common pattern of village convention creates a rigid, inconsistent with practice of the villages. On the other hand, purpose of the French colonialists when promulgating the sample village conventions is not to help people abolish the depraved customs, help people have a more civilized life but it is a tool for implementing the administrative reform policies. It is the cause generating villages' opposition. So it can be said that the biggest drawback as well as the main reason causing the reformed village convention not been widely implemented in the villages is the pattern property and serving political motive - colonial purpose of the State-Protection.

4.1.2.2. Class and inequality

The provisions of the village conventions still exist the provisions that show the hierarchy, inequality property. This is shown clearly through customs. The hierarchy,

inequality property are shown through discrimination between resident population and immigrant residents, dividing the funeral work into different classes, feasting a nomination/a promotion with different classes among villages, and through regulations on common communal positions and offer respectfully custom.

4.1.2.3. Some customs are still serious and costly

In the village conventions still have some provisions on custom that quite serious and costly need to be eliminated. Firstly, the provisions of the village on custom entering post-worship feast . Secondly, feasting a nomination/a promotion still remains commonly in the villages and become a burden for everyone. Per person becoming elderly or having mandarins' grades, position or promotion, terminating course must feast a nomination/a promotion. If not feasting a nomination/a promotion they would not be recognized by the village and not be enjoyed any benefits. Some villages still stipulate the amount paying for occasion of wedding, organizing sacrifice ... that strongly influences to the budget of villages and each family.

4.2. The result of main reformist flavor through text of reformed convention Bac Ninh

4.2.1. Achieved results

4.2.1.1. Management apparatus of village

Through 3 spells of main reformist flavor, management apparatus of village was changed by management increase of French colonial, power restriction of village. Independence of village with administrative apparatus was continuously attacked by main reformist flavor policy

With the decree in 1921, "the French eliminated both human and institution that created by the feudalism out of the village administrator right, created a new government apparatus in the village by implemeting election mechanism "and subject ed to close supervision of the French. Until 1927, the Tonkin Resident Superior issued a decree to re-establish the Council of Notables to the Council of Lineage Representatives as an advisory and supervisory of village management apparatus. French ambassador would still control and monitor carefully all changes and activities of both organizations. With the Edict in 1941, the Council of Lineage Representatives was dissolved, the Council of Notables was the only regular organization in administering village, also with this Edict, the French colonialists achieved the purpose of " appointing people trained by them to come to power of rural governance" and changed the tradition village management apparatus - the Council of Notables. Through three reforms, the village management apparatus in Bac Ninh achieved significant changes. And in a certain level, the French colonialists achieved their intention in reforming and managing the tradition management apparatus of the villages.

Through changes of criteria to take part in management apparatus of village, French colonial created efficient servants who serviced for colonial government

First of all, the French colonialists turned village mayor and officials departments in general into their efficient tools in directing and controlling the countryside. . In order to organize and manage the countryside effectively, the French colonialists “publicly appointed feudal landlord class” modernized education “to keep dominance position throughout the rural areas of the country for replacing the former landlord Confucianism class".

This is clearly shown through the regulations on standard to be recruited into the commune manage mechanism, especially resolution department of the commune. By that,

they not only exploit but also take advantage of these pople's talent to buid and strengthen a sound social support for the colonial administration in the countryside.

4.2.1.2. Budget and property of village

Assessing the controlling level of French colonial in activities of village also has different opinions. According to author, although main reformist flavor of French colonial can not restrict whole activities of village, colonial government reforms management of budget and property of village by increasing the control of colonial government with countryside at certain level

In order to control village's budget and assess, the colonial administration required the villages to establish checkbook. Accordingly, entire commune budget operation shall be subject to the direct and regular control by all levels of government from capital district, district to province chief ambassador. Bac Ninh has 69 village conventions (48.9%) providing on establishing checkbook and practicing checkbook under the government's regulation and 70 inventories of salary of each village official as well as travelling expenses of hamlet official when going for mandarin works… Colonial government also require villages to set up a notebook of village, clearly list a number fiels, goals, ways of using property in this convention.

4.2.1.3. Management of convention

According to author, with main reformist flavor policy and appearance of reformed convention, French directly managed the draft of convention of villages. Independence of village through the draft of convention did not complete like before.

One of the successes of the French in the administrative reform is already exploitting the strengths of the village convention to make the terms of the administrative reform decree become village rules in order that all people know and compulsorily perform. On the other hand, to make "the land law" become the village rules, the colonial administration "researched and published a general pattern of village conventions to force villages to implement". For Bac Ninh, the form structure of reformed village conventions includes 91 articles and 32 clauses divided into 2 parts of Politics and Custom with the same order and content of term (38 copies).

4.2.2. Things are not done

4.2.2.1. The draft of convention

According to author, reformed convention was a form for villages showing reaction to main reformist flavor policy of colonial government. The reaction of villages to main reformist flavor policy showed inequitable distribution and number of page, difference of quantiy and object signed name and sealed. Even many texts did not have signature and seal of village officials and local mandarins. Particularly, the part of content structure clearly showed reaction of village to main reformist flavor policy. Reformed convention of Bac Ninh had 87 versions which did not follow the content structure of colonial government; 14 versions followed sample structure but weren`t fully noted contents according sample text

In addition to the reformed village conventions written in Vietnamese script under the form, Bac Ninh also has the village conventions of Tho Trai Village (Bac Ninh) the title "Thọ Trai thôn hương ước" (Tho Trai Village Convention) (1927) written in Chinese script with content not following the form. Moreover, Bac Ninh has 23 copies (accounting for 16.31%) only listing the previous custom of the traditional village. These are "evidence showing the response of the villages to reform policy of the French colonialist; and these

also show a persistent existence, enduring vitality of traditional customs", express the" conservative "of the villages in Bac Ninh.

4.2.2.2. Management apparatus of village

Through 3 times of reform, one side management apparatus of village in Bac Ninh was changed, the another side through times of reform, traditional management apparatus of village gradually came back content. Only after six years with the absence of traditional management apparatus - Elder village notable Council, the French colonialist could not completely operate activities of villages only with organization of Council of Lineage Representatives so they must reestablished the Council of Notables beside the Council of Lineage Representatives. And after 20 years of performing with many efforts, but finally (in 1941) still had to go back to the original starting-point of the reform with the return of Elder village notable - Sole authority running every operations of the villages.

4.2.2.3. Activity management of village

**Administration of the villages*

A small number of villages in Bac Ninh has sought to maintain traditional management methods. In the village conventions, still can see provisions on electing the Village Mayor traditionally – *elected by villagers*, not following the regulation of the colonial administration. Especially there are 45 village conventions without provisions on the organization and method to elect Council of Notables and Council of Lineage Representatives following the decrees of Resident Superior in North Vietnam. In 1941, according regulations, Council of Lineage Representatives was dissolved, but many villages in Bac Ninh (13 villages) still existed this organization beside Council of Notables under the decree in 1927. Thus, in Bac Ninh, there are still villages refusing to organize the administration apparatus under the administrative reform policy.

** The budget of the village.*

The survey showed that the implementation of the provisions of the colonial administration in many villages was only formalistic. Many villages established the village conventions under the form but not specifically listed the contents as required or had name of term but not written in village conventions: About the cash book, there are 10 copies (7, 09%); about military achievement on land and fields, there are 20 copies (14.18%); about Buddhist temple, fields for common activities of the village, there are 25 copies (17.73%) ... not specifically writing how many copy villages have . With the such inadequate and unspecific declaration, colonial administration could not completely manage the budget and property of the villages.

4.3.Reformed convention – inheritance of ancient convention

Although reformed convention appeared at the time when French carried out main reformist flavor according to colonial government`s require, it had still inheritance of ancient convention about form and content.

In form, reformed convention inherited reason or significance of setting or adding convention of ancient convention. Reformed convention of Bac Ninh had 64 versions with introduction giving reason, significance of setting convention according to the spirit of main reformist flavor and 38 versions with introduction according to the form of convention before 1921.

Besides, reformed convention also inherited some requests for form of ancient convention such as the end of convention must write data, month, year composing a convention, full name, title, signature, sign by pressing finger-print of participants setting a convention

In content, reformed convention inherited some contents relating to the village life of ancient convention such as: form gathered people according to social status including 3 interlocking institutions: village people, elder council, and village official council; the spirit of keeping security order of village, protection of agricultural manufacture, environmental protection, property protection of village, responsibility due to community; regulations of ensuring duty with nation. Even reformed convention still inherited class, phenomena of class and rank division and unsound customs of ancient convention

Minor conclusion of Chapter 4: Although first time coming in an administrative reform and is the tool for French to implement the colonial intentions, It's mandatory to admit that reformed village conventions in Bac Ninh contain many positive values and limitations. Therefore, it's needed to inherit and promote selectively these values. The reform of the administrative apparatus in villages contemporarily called the administrative reform was carried out in Bac Ninh in the 1920s of the twentieth century and brought certainly results including both success and limitations. Therefore, the problem must be evaluated scientifically, comprehensively and objectively. Reformed village conventions are important sources to assess this issue. In spite of composing according sample text of colonial government, reformed convention still has inheritance of ancient convention in content and form, ideologies, advanced content, and the limitation needs to inherit and develop

CONCLUSION

Through the research on subject, I draw some conclusions as follows:

1. Reformed village convention in Bac Ninh province (1921-1944) is the concretization of decrees and edicts issued in the administrative reform. Thus, it significantly impacts on the social, cultural, economic and political life of the village in Bac Ninh in the period from 1921 to 1945. Contents of village conventions in Bac Ninh, particularly the Political part showed quite adequate on administrative reform policies of the French colonialists for over 20 years. We can say that France colonists have been quite successful in making law of protective state into convention of villages. With main reformist flavour policy and appearance of reformed convention French directly managed the draft of convention of villages. Independence of village through the draft of convention did not complete like before. The regulations in convention is mirrors back quite sufficiently to changes in all aspects of villages in Bac Ninh before the administrative reform policies of the colonial administration.

2. Through every stage of administrative reform, the structure of reformed village conventions in Bac Ninh had changes, so all activities of the village also changed. The biggest change is in Political part, in which most evidence is in the content of village management apparatus and cash book. For other contents in the Political part, the changes through every stage are not many, mainly in the presentation, content structure of the terms in the village conventions. Any change in the politics is primarily to restrict the roles on management of the villages, strengthen the role of Protection State. The Custom part is not the main purpose of the administrative reform, it didn't change clearly through every stage. However, it's mandatory to admit that with the regulations of Custom part in the reformed

village conventions, some cultural activities, customs and traditions of the villages have changed compared to the past**.** At a certain level, this change made management apparatus of traditional village which was changed by management increase of French colonial, power restriction of village. Independence of village with administrative apparatus was continuously attacked by main reformist flavor policy. Changes of criteria to take part in management apparatus of village helped French colonial create efficient servants who serviced for colonial government. In addition, colonial government implemented some reforms of budget and property management of village by increasing the control of colonial government with countryside. Through this, French could control some activities of village, including financial source, cultural activities, community activities. Independence and autonomy of traditional Vietnamese village were more or less broken

3. Reformed village convention of Bac Ninh in particular and reformed village convention in general is a tool for protection state to implement the colonial plot. In which, the part concerned the most by colonial administration is Political part, because that is the purpose and content of the administrative reform. If ignoring colonial intentions and evaluating objectively, the changes in provisions of the Political part brought the progressive, democratic contents and contained many educational value ... rather than of the Custom part. In custom part, the change is mainly based on the spirit of reducing unsound customs such as discontinuing the habit of giving expensive feasts in place of payment , giving up some strict ways of punishment. One side shows that ancient customs influenced quite deeply on the villages, the other side confirmed the nature of the colonial government. Change in the main reformist flavour or draft of convention primarily made village life change in the direction of increasing management of colonial government . On the other hand, this change carried considerable progress for village in some sides.

4. Reformed village conventions in Bac Ninh bring both common features and specific management characteristic of each village. During the period of taking place the administrative reform with three stages of reform, People in Bac Ninh had to establish the village conventions as the form of colonial administration (includes 32 clauses and 91 articles). Therefore, Political part of these village conventions is not only similar in content structure but also in specific provisions of each article and clause, the difference is only in the very small details on the public property, land, bonuses, salaries paid to Villag official, ... However, if carefully researching the contents of each provision in each clauses, still finding out the difference between the villages. The difference is not only reflected in the amount or the quantity of assets in the villages, or the duration of incentives and penalties in the villages... it is also reflected in the provisions on the differently form of incentives and penalties in each case, usage purpose of public fields and land, forms to manageand use the lands and citizen ponds, methods to pay the salaries for dignitaries and watchmen in villages, ... Autonomy of each village was reflected deeper in the part of custom. In each content, each village gave different regulations with different ways of note.This depended on custom of villages.

5. Reformed village conventions in Bac Ninh is a form for the villages to express the respond to administrative reform policies of the colonial administration. Bac Ninh has 65 copies

not under the form of province (32 clauses and 91 articles) and not under the common form of reformed village convention including two parts: Politics and Customs; 45 copies without provisions on electing Council of Notables and Council of Lineage Representatives under the provisions of protection state; many provisions of the village convention are still under the methods of village management as the regulations on electing Village Mayor, First Notable, setting up the cash book, or some villages did not fully declare contents as provisions of the colonial administration on: Salaries for villag official, property, land of the village .., or some old customs still existting in the villages, or some village conventions although following the form of the colonial administration, still additionally declaring the provisions of village ... .That is evidences of the attitude of the villages when implementing the administrative reform policies. This will be an important basis for evaluating the results of implementing the administrative reform policies in Bac Ninh. Therefore, reformed village convention will be an important resource to assess the results of the administrative reform policies here.

6. Reformed village conventions in Bac Ninh are not uniform and consistent, reflecting the level of implementing the administrative reform policies is different in villages. These village conventions are not uniform in distribution of districts in province, number of pages in a village convention, seal and signature, quantity of terms, and not consistent in method of term record and content structure, the number of village conventions established in each stage are also not uniform, stage 1 and stage 2 have only 20 copies, stage 3 has up to 76 copies ... This uneveness and inconsistence are evidence that of the level of implementing the administrative reform policies is different in villages. On the other hand, it also shows the level, awareness, concept of who assigned to draft the village conventions is different in villages.

7. Reformed village conventions in Bac Ninh was launched by the administrative reform policies of colonial administration and considered an effective tool to serve colonial purpose, but it remains a source of important historical documents, research valuable in many ways. The successes and limitations of the administrative reform policies in the organization and management of villages in North Vietnam in general and in Bac Ninh in particular in over 20 years also leave us suggestions and practical lessons in the new rural construction and development under the spirit of our Party and State. The successes and limitations drawn from Reformed village conventions in Bac Ninh (1921-1944) are worth nothing can replace that we should inherit and develop selectively in the context of the country in current.

Although the author tried her best, level and condition were limited and in scope of PhD thesis. Thefore, the thesis did not study deeply difference between reformed convention of Bac Ninh and other provinces in Bac Ky. Besides, in the process of doing the thesis, the author had no condition for field in places outside province Bac Ninh and interview many relating witness. In the coming time, if postgraduate has a chance to research new sources of document and go to countryside, postgraduate will continue repair, add, and complete research subject.