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ABSTRACT

Prior to the colonial period, the rudiments of education consisting of religion, basic literacy, and arithmetic had been provided to male children in Burma and Siam through Buddhist monks that lived in local monasteries. Education commenced when the child reached five or six years of age and usually ended at puberty. Formal learning continued for children whose social standing ensured them of a government position. Social and economic mobility for male peasant children occurred occasionally. After the British conquered Burma, various British acts regarding education were implemented that led to the establishment of a public school system to replace the monastic schools, and education was extended to include female children. In contrast to the Burmese educational system, Siam's King Rama V used the monastic schools for advancing his educational reforms. These reforms included a training school for government officials, increased educational instruction at the monastic schools, government supported provincial schools, and teacher training for the monks. (DJC)

THE MONASTIC SCHOOLS OF BURMA AND SIAM DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD (1852-1912)

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Abstract

Prior to the colonial period, the peoples of Burma and Siam were educated by Buddhist monks living in local monasteries. Though both nations were greatly influenced by the West during the colonial period, Siam maintained its independence as a sovereign state, while Burma was conquered during three successive wars with the British. These events had a significant impact on the monastic schools in both countries. In Burma, the British attempted to graft a foreign educational system onto the indigenous schools. The result was the disintegration of monasteries as centers of learning. In neighboring Siam, the Nation's Royalty also sought to build upon the traditional educational system. In contrast with the British in Burma, the association between education and the Buddhist monasteries in Siam was maintained.

Education and schooling were not new to the peoples of Burma and Siam,[1] who lived during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For hundreds of years, young boys had attended local monasteries, where they sat at the feet of Buddhist monks and learned their religion, basic literacy and arithmetic.

> As for the children, they send them to school at five or six years old, where they are taught to write and read, and rendered fit for trades and other employments; some are continued in their studies by the Priests their Masters, until they are called to offices and advancements in the State, and then cast off the yellow frock; others continue there out of hopes of being one day Heads of Temples and Schools, or sharing in the priesthood (Schouten, 1636:108).[2]

Two centuries after this description, the monastic schools were caught up in the confrontation between East and West. Burma, defeated during three separate wars with the British, came under the administration of India's Viceroy with the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886.[3] Siam, though maintaining its independence as a sovereign State, was nevertheless greatly influenced by the West. The purpose of this paper is to describe and compare British and Thai attempts to establish a "modern" educational

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[1] Present day Thailand was known as Siam during the colonial period.

[2] Joost Schouten was a representative of the Dutch East India Company. He visited the Siamese capital of Ayudhya during the seventeenth century.

[3] The three wars occurred in 1824-25, 1852 and 1885. The first was provoked by the Burmese with their occupation of Assam. The Second and Third Anglo-Burmese wars were instigated by the British toward the end of furthering their colonial interests of trade in Southeast Asia and China. (Cady, 1958:68-76;86-89;125-132)

system upon the traditional monastic schools of Burma and Siam. A brief discussion of the traditional Buddhist monastic education will introduce the topic.

BUDDHIST MONASTIC EDUCATION[4]

From the age of five or six, until puberty, boys were sent to local monasteries where they served the monks and were taught reading, writing and the Buddhist religion.[5] Most continued until they were ordained as novices, at which time they received more specialized instruction (Wyatt, 1969:14-18). Some entered advanced studies, choosing to remain as monks or, as mentioned by Schouten, they left the monastery for a position in the State bureaucracy. Literacy was taught primarily for religious purposes[6] and included both the native language and Pali, the religious language of Buddhism. The monastic educational system

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[4] Both Burma and Siam were under the influence of Theravadin Buddhism. Though there were some differences between the two countries regarding the Buddhist hierarchy, or Sangha, (See Aye Kyane, 1984), the descriptions of monastic education was, for all practical purposes, identical. The section on Monastic Education is intended to describe the situation in both Burma and Siam.

[5] Education was limited to males because of religious taboos that prevented monks from having contact with females. In the case of Burma this imbalance was addressed by the lay or "house" schools.

[6] Literacy was also taught for political purposes. At the time of Rama Gamhen's conquest of the Khmer Kingdom, the Khmer language had been the chief vehicle of civilization. During his reign the Thai script was developed so that the Siamese would have an advantage in overcoming the Khmer tongue in the territories newly conquered by Siamese armies (Burney and Coedes, 1927:201)

was characterized by its mutually dependent relationship with the local community, the master-disciple relationship, primarily between monk and novice, and a predominantly religious curriculum (Kaung, 1963:25-31). From a variety of firsthand European accounts it is apparent that the monastic schools were successful in imparting basic literacy skills to the male populations of Burma and Siam.[7] Henry Goucher, a British merchant and one time prisoner of the Burmese had to admit that the literacy rate of the Burmese was higher than that of the English of his day (Goucher, 1860).

Though monastic education never became the exclusive preserve of a single class, caste, or order (Wyatt, 1969:18), it proved to be a limited channel for social and economic mobility. Education was free and universally available to both royalty and a majority of the male population.[8] Though the religious career was open to everyone, this was not the case for vocational jobs in the government. There were a few exceptions, where a peasant rose to a powerful position in society, but these were not the

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[7] For Burma see the comments of Father Sangermano (Sangermano, 1819:94, 140) and A.D. Maingy in his correspondence dated July 31, 1833 (Burma: Office of the Commissioner, Tenasserim Division, 1916:109). For Siam, in addition to Schouten, see La Loubre (La Loubre, 1687:58,59) and McDonald (McDonald, 1871:86,87).

[8] Wales identifies seven social classes: royalty, officials, freemen, monks, Brahmans, slaves (redeemable and non-redeemable, and foreigners (Wales, 1934:26-28). Though the Brahmans and foreigners did not participate in monastic education by choice, the non-redeemable slaves were not allowed to participate.

rule.[9] For the most part positions in government were available only to the sons of noble families (Wales, 1934:39). This limited access was due to regulations of initiation into noble families and also because of the large number of noble children vis a vis the number of governmental jobs available (Akin, 1969:155).[10]

A final, aspect of monastic education, is the relationship between royalty, the Buddhist hierarchy and the commoner. The royalty of Southeast Asia was shaped by both Brahmanical and Buddhist cosmologies (Nivat, 1947). Because of Brahmanical influences the King was considered a type of demi-god and was supreme ruler over his kingdom. At the same time his kingship was founded on a Buddhist ethical foundation (Bentley, 1986:282,283). He was held accountable to Buddhist teachings and was required to maintain the Buddhist moral order. In practice this was done by royal patronage of various monasteries and Buddhist scholarship, and through the appointment of monks to key positions in the monkhood, known as the Sangha. These appointments were based on proficiency in the Pali Scriptures, proven through examination under royal auspices, which were held

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[9] Wyatt mentions a monk from the north who was a teacher of and subsequently the Chief Astrologer for King Narai (Wyatt, 1969:18).

[10] There does seem to have been a higher degree of social mobility during times of political instability and war (Akin, 1969:155).

every three years (Wales, 1934:243; Wyatt, 1969:9).[11] The Sangha, in turn, was responsible for promulgating the Buddhist ethic to both King and commoner, which they did, in part through monastic education. They were dependent, not only on the King's patronage, but also on the common people for their day to day survival. The role of the monk was thus pivotal in society.

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY AND THE BURMESE MONASTIC SCHOOLS

Britain did not have a comprehensive educational policy for Burma until the Department of Public Instruction was established in 1868.[12] This is not to suggest that the British weren't involved in educational affairs prior to 1868. The embryonic stages, of what was later to become known as grants-in-aid support for anglo-vernacular education, were introduced during this period. The earliest evidence of grants-in-aid for mission schools is found in a letter dated August 21 1828, written by A.D. Maingy, the Commissioner of Tenasserim Division of British Burma to the Reverend G.D. Boardman of the American Missionary

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[11] There were examples of more overt royal involvement in the workings of the Sangha in both Burma and Siam but they seem to have been infrequent.

[12] Because of the expansion of British colonialism in Burma over the period of three wars, educational policies affected different parts of Burma at different times.

Society.[13] Maingy agreed to a request for financial support from Boardman for the establishment of a public day school for boys. The only stipulation placed on the support by Maingy was,

> That no steps be taken in the day school calculated to lead the parents of the boys to believe that the British Government entertain any intention of interfering with their religion...(Burma: Office of the Commissioner, Tenasserim Division, 1916:78).[14]

The British themselves became involved in establishing anglo-vernacular schools. In a letter dated April 11, 1835, Commissioner E.A. Blundell sought permission to establish a Government school at Maulmain for the chief object of instruction in the English language, "...though the language of the country should by no means be neglected" (Burma: Office of the Commissioner, Tenasserim Division, 1916:137).

Following the Education Despatch of 1854,[15] and the second Anglo-Burmese War and subsequent annexation of Lower Burma, the British became more actively involved in the education of the Burmese. Arthur Phayre, in a proposal submitted to R.N. Cust (December 26, 1864), Officiating Secretary to the Government of

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[13] This was not the first instance of missionary involvement in education. Kaung argues that prior to British influence, the missionaries had little impact both spiritually and in terms of education among the Burmese (Kaung, 1963). For a brief discussion of missionary involvement and the Burmese Royal Court see (Tipton, 1974).

[14] According to Tipton, Boardman didn't agree with Maingy and saw the school as means of propagating Christianity. The school was closed in 1835 because the Burmese boys who attended only want to learn English (Tipton, 1976:21)

[15] For a discussion of the Education Despatch of 1854 and its implications for Indian Education see (Hennessy, 1969:153-166).

the India Home Department, outlined a plan that would influence British educational policy in Burma until 1918.[16] He began with the premise that the "agricultural population" of Burma knew "nothing of the desire of the British Government to educate and raise them in the scale of civilization." The immediate problem was to "impress them of this truth". He argued for the implementation of a plan that involved two phases. Rather than compete with the monastic schools, Phayre sought to establish central schools in each of the Districts. Over a period of time the Burmese would come to the realization that the British successfully offered a "useful education". Upon this realization and subsequent demand, books would be made available to monks who would in turn use them in conjunction with the traditional curriculum. Phayre maintained that such a strategy would be both economical and conciliatory to the Buddhist population.[17]

Phayre's plan was approved and yet, according to Furnival, "never had a fair trial" (Furnival, 1943:27). The first Director of Public Instruction was well-acquainted with the Burmese but soon after taking over his responsibilities fell sick and returned to Britain. His successor, Peter Hordner, had no Burmese experience. As attempts at implementing Phayre's plan were made the British found a general unwillingness on the part

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[16] The text of the proposal is found in the Appendix of (Kaung, 1963).

[17] Burmese educators are more sympathetic toward Phayre than other British Colonial administrators because he exhibited "...a real wish to build on the indigenous foundations which had successfully provided education in the past" (Kaung, 1963:73).

of the monks to cooperate. Albert Fytche, the Commissioner who followed Phayre's appointment, identified the problem of the monastic school strategy as one of gaining "...the cooperation of the phongyees (monks)...and a stimulus introduced into the monasteries (Fytche Vol. II, 1878:208).[18]

Hordner, rather than deal with the monks began to support lay or "house" schools which, though of much less significance than the monasteries, was another form of education indigenous to the Burmese. Lay schools were established by individuals, often held in their homes, and were supported by village patrons. They operated in conjunction, rather than in competition with the monastic schools. The lay schools allowed girls to participate and thus addressed an educational need that was unmet by the monastic schools. That girls were allowed to participate was also appealing to the British (Fytche, Vol. II:206).

Over the next three decades the British supported the indigenous monastic and house schools[19] as well as the government and mission schools.[20] Over a period of time, a

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[18] The British developed a variety of strategies in addressing this problem; among them were the publication and distribution of a popular Pali text and assigning trained Burmese to selected schools for assistance (Fytche, 1878 Vol. II:208-209,334).

[19] Tipton points out that there were substantial disagreements between the British over the appropriateness of working with the monastic schools (Tipton, 1981:23,24).

[20] Though the number of aided Government and private or mission schools was relatively small in comparison to the number of aided house and monastic schools, their influence as far as the British were concerned were much greater. The education provided was considered superior to that of the indigenous

higher priority was placed on the lay schools as the indigenous educational delivery system. The British had greater control over the lay schools through the provision of salaries based on the grant-in-aid system. Though the monasteries, in some cases, received support from the British, it took the form of books and materials rather than financial remuneration for services rendered.[21] The monastic education system, which had at one time encouraged a higher rate of male literacy than that of England, was soon to become "out of date". "Every year a growing number among the townspeople began to discard the ancient custom of sending their sons for at least three years to the Monastery School now that the latter must keep their 'meetings' at the 'English Schools'" (Kaung, 1963:76).

THE MONASTIC SCHOOLS OF SIAM

The following words are attributed to Siam's Rama III on his death bed.

> There will be no more wars with the Burmese and the Vietnamese. There will be troubles only with the farang (Europeans). Take good care; do not fall into their traps. Whatever they have invented, or done, which we should know of or do, we can imitate and learn from them, but do not wholeheartedly believe in them. (Akin, 1969:125).

Rama III's half-brother Mongkut, Rama IV (1852-1868) and nephew Chulalongkorn, Rama V (1868-1910) followed this advice by

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schools (Fytche 1878: Vol. II,206,207).

[21] According to Buddhist teaching monks were not allowed to be paid for their services.

borrowing certain ideas from the West, while simultaneously retaining national sovereignty, during the age of British and French colonialism in Southeast Asia. One of Rama IV's key reforms was the opening of his kingdom to the West. Educational reform was left to his son, Rama V who, like the British, sought to establish a modern education on the foundation of the traditional monastic schools.

Siam had remained closed to the West since the reign of King Narai of the 17th century.[22] Early in his reign, Rama IV,[23] sought to reverse this policy by inviting the British to draft and sign a "Treaty of Friendship". Sir John Bowring was sent by the British and the result was a treaty signed on April 18,

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[22] King Narai was served by a foreign minister named Constance Phaulkon. Through a series of events, the nobility became convinced that Phaulkon was part of a plot to overthrow the government and establish a type of western vassel state. Phaulkon was executed and Siam closed her doors to the West for over a century. For a record of diplomatic missions between Siam and the West during the early 19th century see (Bruce, 1968:690-694). The result of these missions was frustration for the West. The following journal entry of Townsend Harris, American Consul to Japan typifies this frustration. "I never met a people like them, and hope that I may never again be sent here. The proper way to negotiate with the Siamese is to send two or three men of war of not more than sixteen feet draft of water. Let them arrive in October and at once proceed up to Bangkok and fire their salutes. In such a case the Treaty would not require more days than I have consumed weeks" (Cosenza, 1930:153).

[23] Upon the death of Rama II, Mongkut (Rama IV) was considered by most the rightful heir to the throne. He was usurped by his half brother, Rama III, and left the palace to become a monk. During this time he was tutored by three different missionaries. One, a Roman Catholic, taught him Latin. The other two were Americans, one taught him English (McDonald, 1871:280-181), and the second tutored him in mathematics and astronomy (Watson, 1980:36). Mongkut also initiated a reform movement within the Sangha, which later became known as the Thammayut Sect (Bowring, Vol.II, 1857:336-337).

1885.[24] Though a variety of reasons could be cited in opposition to the treaty,[25] Rama IV agreed to it out of concern for national security. England had defeated Siam's former enemies the Chinese (Damrong, 1925:8) and, more recently, the Burmese in the Second Anglo-Burmese War. British troops were on Siam's northwestern and southern borders while the French were threatening the eastern border, in what was then Cambodia.[26] The impact of the treaty was, as intended, increased trade and subsequent cultural contact with the West.[27] Her sovereignty as a nation was not assured, however, until forty years later.[28]

Upon the death of his father in 1868, Chulalongkorn (Rama V) ascended to the throne at the age of fifteen, and ruled the

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[24] Among the key articles of the Treaty were, the establishment of a British Consul in Siam with jurisdiction over British subjects; agreement to freedom of Trade in Siam; and the categorization of Britain as a nation of favored status (Bruce, 1968:697-698). Other Western nations, including America signed similar treaties with Siam following the Bowring Mission. A copy of the treaty is found in (Bowring, Vol. II, 1857:214-226).

[25] The treaty was against the economic interests of the royalty which exercised a monopoly in trade. The treaty, which permitted the establishment of a British Consul on Siam's territory, was seen as an infringement on the nation's sovereignty. See Bowring's comments (Bowring, Vol.II, 1857:322).

[26] Bowring also mentions in his journal that the Siamese were alarmed of possible foreign intervention following the failure of the American Mission headed by Ballestier (Bowring, Vol. II, 1857:211). The Ballestier Mission of 1850 had proven to be a fiasco of Ballestier's own making. He offended every Siamese custom which structured diplomatic relations and was never granted an audience with the King.

[27] See (Bekker, 1951:4-6) for a discussion of trade as a carrier of cultural influence.

[28] Britain and France signed a treaty in 1896 in which both countries agreed not to infringe upon Siam's territorial rights.

kingdom of Siam for forty-two years. His reign witnessed the initiation of numerous reforms which led the nation into the 20th century. At his coronation he dispensed with the tradition of physical prostration which was required of all who came into the presence of royalty (Clarke, 1902:222). He gradually abolished the corvee system and centralized the collection of revenue. The king also overhauled an administrative system which had been in operation since the mid 15th century (Wales, 1934:48; Vella, 1957:15). In order to eliminate a backlog of court cases, Chulalongkorn established a separate judicial system.[29]

Rama V's educational reforms were first introduced in the palace and were later extended to the general public. Late in 1870, the Royal Pages School was established for the purpose of training sons of royalty and nobility for government jobs. In a decree of invitation to Princes and government officials, Chulalongkorn outlined the purpose of the new school. "His Majesty wishes your sons and grandsons to be educated and be future government functionaries. For this purpose, a primary school is open for them in the Grand Palace, where they can learn Thai language, mathematics, and official functions" (Sukontarangsi, 1966:422). A text was written which emphasized the literacy skills necessary for government correspondence.[30]

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[29] The nature of these reforms brought him in conflict with special interest groups in the country. They came close to deposing him in 1875 but were unsuccessful (Clark, 1902).

[30] The text actually included seven books. A list of the titles are found in (Sukontarangsi, 1966:423).

In 1872, George Patterson, an Englishman, was commissioned to establish an English school in the palace. This school flourished until the middle of 1875 when it was closed due to lack of students.[31]

Chulalongkorn, in 1875, sought to extend public education, under Royal Patronage, to all the royal monasteries. Though he argued that education should occur within the confines of the monasteries, he called into question the abilities of the monks as pedagogues. Nothing seems to have happened as a result of this action on the part of the King (Wyatt, 1969:73).[32] Not until 1884, almost 10 years after the King's call for extending public education, were reforms initiated. Prince Damrong, the King's half brother, was given the responsibility for extending public education through the monasteries.[33] By August of 1885, there were between 12 to 16 "vernacular" schools established in the monasteries (Wyatt, 1969,114). The government provided

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[31] Wyatt makes the point that though the school, by many standards might be considered a failure, it taught some of Siam's key future leaders. The future Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Education and Interior, War and the future Supreme Patriarch of the Buddhist Order were among Patterson's students (Wyatt, 1969:71).

[32] Wyatt speculates that the lack of action could have been due to poor administration or monastic resistance on the part of the Supreme Patriarch (Wyatt, 1975:134).

[33] When the schools were first introduced, a rumor was circulated that the King intended to use the schools as an avenue for military conscription. The King responded with a decree assuring the people of his intention. "His Majesty wishes it to be made known to the people that this rumour is without foundation. Military has nothing to do with the schools...(Jumsai, 1951:21).

textbooks and funding for building renovation and the salaries of lay teachers. In turn, the administration of the schools remained the responsibility of resident monks. The initial success of Damrong's work peaked in the early 1890's when enrollment figures leveled.

The early 1890's witnessed a series of setbacks for educational reform. At that time Damrong, then known as the Commissioner of Schools, was approached by a group of governors who wanted schools established in their provinces. He agreed to provide financial aid if certain standards were established and the schools placed under the administration of local religious leaders. Though 20 governors agreed, the plan didn't materialize because finances were not made available (Wyatt, 1969:141). Shortly after this, Damrong was appointed Minister of the Interior. His replacement, Chaophraya Phatsakorawong, proved to be an ineffective administrator.[34] During 1892 further cuts in the education budget were made which eliminated all monastic schools, except for four, which were continued as examples for other schools to emulate. An attempt was also made to improve the level of teaching by establishing a normal school for teacher training. Only three students enrolled in the school because of the low status and pay of the teaching profession.

Rama V traveled to Europe during 1897. This trip seems to have been a catalyst for evaluating the status of education in

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[34] Phatsakorawong was not dismissed from his post until 1902 amid charges of embezzlement (Wyatt, 1969:297).

Siam at the time (Watson, 1980:96). This evaluation[35] led to the expansion of provincial education under the administration of Prince Wachirayan[36] and the Sangha. In correspondence with the King, dated 26 July 1898, Wachirayan argued the case for raising the standards of all Thai schools (Wyatt, 1969:218). His stated educational philosophy was:

> That education which gives the best results provides knowledge, capabilities (skills), and good behavior...All three of these benefits should be more widespread. They are fed and nourished by the study of reading and writing, science and the Dhamma (Correspondence dated 25 September 1898, Wyatt, 1969:220).

With this argument in mind, the King, in a meeting held 26 September 1898, reaffirmed the institutional link between education and the monasteries. The report of that meeting stated, "No education can be established which is not connected with the monastery" (Report of Special Meeting, Wyatt, 1969:225).

On November 11 1898, a Decree on the organization of provincial education was given. The following guidelines were established. All monasteries were to be made places of study. One school in each of the provinces was to be established and supported by the government, as a model school for others in the province to follow. The government was responsible for distributing texts to the schools while the Sangha was expected to direct provincial education (Watson, 1980:97). Prince

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[35] For a discussion of the factors which led to this decision see (Wyatt, 1969:194, 201-205, 219-223).

[36] Prince Wachirayan Warorot, was the King's younger brother and Patriarch of the Thammayut reform sect.

Wachirayan selected ten respected monks who were sent out to survey the condition of education in the provinces. The survey served two purposes; one was to determine the state of schooling in the provinces while the other was to gain the support of the Sangha for the administration of the Decree (Wyatt, 1969:242-246).

The immediate result of these efforts at expanding education to the provinces was the establishment of 177 "reformed" monastic schools. By 1901, 154 more schools had been added to the list. New, more appropriate texts were written, and some monks received a rudimentary level of teacher training. These rather positive results, in comparison with earlier efforts, were tempered by a general lack of demand for education that went beyond the traditional monastic schools. One of the ten monks, upon his return from the survey observed, "Apart from government officials and some Chinese, there is little faith in modern education. People think that there is no utility to be served in educating their children" (Report, March 1901, Wyatt, 1969:251). Another monk commented, "Laymen are satisfied with (traditional) education as it is. They feel no need for higher (i.e. improved) education, and desire only simple literacy" (Wyatt, 1975:146).[37]

Though the results of these initial efforts at expanding education to the provinces were modest, they provided the

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[37] These comments reflect a general trend. There apparently were certain geographical regions which responded more positively to the improvement of the traditional system (Wyatt, 1975:146).

necessary institutional foundation for compulsory primary education later instituted in October of 1921 (Watson, 1980:105). Education became valued, not merely as a means of training civil servants, but also as a way of improving the traditional vocational needs of the people (Correspondence, Wachirayan to King, 2 January 1906, Wyatt, 1969:325-328). Slowly a demand for improved education grew in the provinces so that by 1912, more than 100,000 were attending the formal monastery schools (Wyatt, 1975:148). Though the content of the education had become more "secularized", this had occurred while at the same time maintaining the traditional association between education and the Buddhist monasteries (Wyatt, 1975:149).

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

While the monastic schools of Burma declined in influence as educational institutions, those of Siam continued to play an integral role in their country's educational policies. This phenomenon can be attributed to a variety of factors.

The Sangha of Burma was much less cooperative than that of Siam in the implementation of the reforms. This lack of cooperation, and in many cases overt antagonism was due, in part, to the British refusal to recognize the authority of the Buddhist Patriarch living in Mandalay. Those of lower Burma were cut off from the spiritual authority of the Sangha and subsequently the traditional discipline of the monks overseeing

the conduct of the schools was undermined. Following the third Anglo-Burmese War, the Primate "...issued a circular instructing monks not to introduce secular subjects into the monastery curriculum or to allow lay teachers into schools" (Tipton, 1981:27). In contrast, the educational reforms of Siam were introduced and initially administered by the respected Buddhist leaders of the nation. Policy was stated in a manner so as not to suggest that the Sangha was coming under the authority of the Department of Education.[38] At the same time, the reformed schools were viewed as a means of strengthening the Sangha in those geographical areas in which it was weak (Wyatt, 1969:245-247).

A second factor which resulted in the dissimilar impact on the monastic schools of Burma and Siam was economic. In Burma, parents sent their children to Government or Mission-sponsored schools because of a higher likelihood of their gaining employment upon graduation (Furnival, 1943:29). This, coupled with a significant migration to towns of economic importance to the British, severed the traditional tie between the community and local monastery. In Siam, the demand for improved education was not as strong, in part because there was not the same economic incentive coupled with education. The population as a whole was relatively satisfied with the traditional education as it existed. Though this proved frustrating to those interested

[38] Wachirayan advised the King not to allow the people to think that the Sangha was under the control of the government (Wyatt, 1969:221).

in reform, it left in tact the traditional monastic schools as a viable educational institution.

A final factor which resulted in the dissimilar impact on the monastic schools of Burma and Siam was that Siam was never occupied by a colonial power. Furnival, along with other British commentators of England's colonial policy, overlook the deep seated animosity which existed among the Burmese against the British. This was due to the British usurping the Burmese royalty and their ignoring the traditional hierarchy of the Burmese society. Animosity also resulted from the four year "pacification" program which the British followed in order to subdue Upper Burma following its annexation in 1886. This animosity, coupled with the competition introduced by the British support for the lay schools, encouraged the demise of the Burmese monastic schools. Though the reforms of Rama IV and Rama V introduced significant change to Thai society, the traditional pillars of the Monarchy and the Sangha remained in tact. The importance of royal authority, and the change which it introduced into the monastic schools, succeeded in transforming these traditional educational institutions without destroying them (Wyatt, 1975:148-149).

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